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THE WORKS OF JOHN RUSKIN

EDITED BY

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AND

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1905

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VOLUME XVII

UNTO THIS LAST

MUNERA PULVERIS

TIME AND TIDE

WITH OTHER WRITINGS

ON

POLITICAL ECONOMY

1860–1873

UNTO THIS LAST
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BY

JOHN RUSKIN

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Note.—The drawing from which the *frontispiece* is made was reproduced by chromo-lithography as frontispiece to vol. i. of *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood, 1893. The drawing of Lucerne (Plate I.) was reproduced, by autotype process, in the large-paper edition of E. T. Cook's *Studies in Ruskin* (Plate 3), 1890. The drawing of the Mountains of Annecy

(Plate VI.) was reproduced by chromo-lithography in *Studies in Both Arts* (Plate X.), 1895. The other drawings have not hitherto been reproduced.

The Portrait was shown at the Ruskin Exhibition at the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours, 1901 (No. 404), and at the Manchester Exhibition, 1904 (No. 363). The "View from the Base of the Brezon" was No. 366 in the Manchester Exhibition. The "View from Mornex" was No. 222 in the Exhibition at the Water-Colour Society. The "Mountains of Annecy" was No. 303 in that Exhibition; No. 104 at Manchester; and No. 76 D at the Coniston Exhibition, 1900 (where it was sold for the benefit of the Coniston Institute for 25 guineas). "Lauffenbourg" was No. 376 in the Exhibition at the Water-Colour Society; it was bought at the sale of Sir John Simon's collection in 1905 for the Birmingham Art Gallery (26 guineas).

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. XVII

(*In the chronological order, Vol. XVII. follows Vol. VII.*)

In this volume are collected those of Ruskin's writings which were devoted exclusively to Political Economy. They range from the year 1860 to 1867. The Political Economy of Art, belonging to an earlier date (1857), has already been given in Volume XVI. The miscellany which he called *Fors Clavigera* is also concerned in large measure with Political Economy, but this belongs to a later date (1871 onwards), and treats moreover *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis.* The pieces here collected are:—

(I.) *Unto this Last.* The volume, so entitled and published in 1862, consists of four essays which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for August, September, October, and November 1860.

(II.) *Munera Pulveris.* This work, though not published as a book until 1872, was written ten years earlier, and originally appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for June, September, and December 1862, and April 1863.

(III.) *Time and Tide.* This book was published in 1867, being a collection of letters which had appeared in newspapers earlier in that year. *Time and Tide* thus belongs to a later period than the other books, and its inclusion here puts it somewhat out of its chronological order; for in the next volume we shall be concerned with Ruskin's productions in 1864–1866. But the inclusion of the third treatise on Political Economy, in the same volume with *Unto this Last* and *Munera Pulveris*, is required by the subject-matter.

The three books were written in the same temper; they deal, from different points of approach, with the same topics; and, as we shall see more fully hereafter, they form progressive parts of a comprehensive scheme. *Unto this Last* delivered Ruskin's first general attack on the Political Economy current at the time; *Munera Pulveris* set forth in outline the scheme of his alternative system; in *Time and Tide* he turned from the science to the art of economics, and threw out suggestions for an Ideal Commonwealth in conformity with the principles

enunciated in the earlier treatises. There was to be a fourth stage in Ruskin's progress as a Political Economist; he was to pass from theory to practice and to initiate various schemes towards the realisation here on earth of his Community which was in heaven. The story of this attempt belongs to the period of *Fors Clavigera*. In the meanwhile, Ruskin had been very busy in following up *Unto this Last* and *Munera Pulveris* with letters to the newspapers, defending and illustrating his views, and meeting his critics. These "arrows of the chace" are collected in the Appendix to this volume.

In this Introduction we shall first carry the story of Ruskin's life and work down to March 1864, when the death of his father changed, for a time, the course of his career. We shall follow the pursuits and studies which accompanied his economic writings; trace, by aid of his letters and diaries, the temper of mind in which those writings were conceived; and narrate the fortunes of the books themselves. "You can in truth understand a man's word," says Ruskin, "only by understanding his temper."[1] We shall then, in a second part, give a connected account—which in accordance with the general scheme of this edition will be expository rather than critical—of the whole body of Ruskin's economic work. It has had a considerable effect on the thought of the age; but his teaching is discursive in method, and is scattered through many different books and papers. "I've no more to say, I believe, now on any subject," wrote Ruskin in later years, "if I knew all I *had* said and could index it."[2] The collection of his principal economic writings for the first time in a single volume gives an opportunity for an attempt to bring them into relation with one another.

PART I

"Unto this Last" (1860)

The completion of *Modern Painters* left the author exhausted, and suffering in some measure from the effects of reaction after a long spell of concentration upon a particular task. "I am more tired out," he wrote to his friend Dr. John Brown (Lausanne, August 6, 1860), "than the bulk of that last volume would apparently justify, but not half the work I did is in it. I cut away half of what I had written, as I threw it into the final form, thinking the book would be too

[1] *Lectures on Art*, § 68.
[2] A letter to Mr. George Allen, of March 27, 1877.

big;[1] and half or nearly half of the drawings were left unfinished, the engraver not having time to do them. There are only three etchings of mine in the book, but I did seven, of which one was spoiled in biting, three in mezzotinting, so that I was fairly knocked up when I got the last sheet corrected." The sheets were passed in May, and leaving his father to see the work finally through the press, the author set out for Chamouni. "My father well pleased," he says, "with the last chapter and the engraved drawings from Nuremberg and Rheinfelden. On the strength of this piece of filial duty I am cruel enough to go away to St. Martin's again, by myself, to meditate on what is to be done next. Thence I go up to Chamouni—where a new epoch of life and death begins."[2] Elsewhere he marks this epoch of transition yet more trenchantly. "I got the bound volume of *Modern Painters* in the valley of St. Martin's in that summer of 1860, and in the valley of Chamouni I gave up my art-work and wrote this little book—the beginning of the days of reprobation."[3] "This little book" was *Unto this Last*, written, as he elsewhere says, at the old "Union" inn.[4]

Of Ruskin's sojourn abroad in this year there is no detailed record.[5] He kept no diary, for this was doubtless written in the form of the usual daily letter to his father, but the letters of 1860 have not been preserved. His companion throughout this time was an American, Mr. W. J. Stillman—then a young artist, whose acquaintance he had made nine or ten years before, and of whose studies of landscape he hoped great things. Mr. Stillman, who was Ruskin's guest, says that "more princely hospitality than his no man ever received, or more kindly companionship." They spent much time in sketching together, Ruskin sometimes sitting over his pupil and directing his work so closely that, as another pupil said, "he wanted me to hold the brush while he painted."[6] "Every day," says Mr. Stillman, "we climbed some secondary peak, five or six thousand feet, and in the evenings we discussed art or played chess, mainly in

[1] One of the chapters thus thrown out was no doubt the discussion of "Sir Joshua and Holbein," which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March 1860 (see a later volume of this edition).

[2] *Præterita*, iii. § 12.

[3] "Readings in *Modern Painters*" (see a later volume of this edition).

[4] See Vol. XIII. p. 497.

[5] He left Dover on May 22 and went to Geneva (May 28). There he stayed for some days; afterwards going by Bonneville (June 15) to St. Martin and Chamouni. He returned by Lausanne (August 6), Freiburg, Neuchâtel, Bâle, Lauffenburg, and Geneva; being back at Denmark Hill early in September.

[6] Mr. Rowse: see W. J. Stillman's *Autobiography of a Journalist*, vol. i. p. 264.

rehearsing problems, until midnight." Ruskin enjoyed his friend's companionship; but there were incompatibilities of temperament:—

> "I have had great pleasure, and great advantage also, in Stillman's society this last two months. We are, indeed, neither of us in a particularly cheerful humour, and very often, I think, succeed in making each other reciprocally miserable to an amazing extent; but we do each other more good than harm,—at least he does me, for he knows much just of the part of the world of which I know nothing. He is a very noble fellow—if only he could see a crow without wanting to shoot it to pieces."[1]

It must also have detracted somewhat from Ruskin's pleasure in his friend that he was "disappointed in the high Alps." Other sources of friction appear in Mr. Stillman's account of the summer:—

"He met me with a carriage at Culoz, to give and enjoy my first impressions of the distant Alps, and for the ten days we stopped at Geneva I stayed with him at the Hôtel des Bergues. We climbed the Salève, and I saw what gave me more pleasure, I confess, than the distant view of Mont Blanc, which he expected me to be enthusiastic over—the soldanella and the gentians. The great accidents of nature—Niagara and the high Alps—though they awe me, have always left me cold. . . . Our first sketching excursion was to the Perte du Rhône, and, while Ruskin was drawing some mountain forms beyond the river, he asked me to draw some huts near by. . . . When Ruskin came back, I had made a careless and slipshod five minutes' sketch not worth the paper it was on, as to me were not the originals. Ruskin was angry, and he had a right to be; for at least I should have found it enough that he wanted it done, to make me do my best on it, but I did not think of it in that light. We drove back towards Geneva in silence—he moody, and I sullen—and half-way there he broke out, saying that the fact that he wanted the drawing done ought to have been enough to make me do it. I replied that I could see no interest in the subject, which to me only suggested fever and discomfort, and wretched habitations for human beings. We relapsed into silence, and for another mile nothing was said, when Ruskin broke out with, 'You were right, Stillman, about those cottages; your way of looking at them was nobler than mine, and now, for the first time in my life, I understand how anybody can live in America. . . .'

"I was disappointed in the high Alps,—they left me cold, and after visiting the points of view Turner had taken drawings from, we went up to the Montanvert, where Ruskin wished me to paint for him a wreath of Alpine roses. We found the rose growing luxuriantly against a huge

[1] *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 99.

granite boulder, a pretty natural composition, and I set to work on it with great satisfaction, for botanical painting always interested me. Ruskin sat and watched me work, and expressed his surprise at my facility of execution of details and texture, saying that, of the painters he knew, only Millais had so great a facility of execution. . . . From Paris, in the ensuing winter, I sent it to Ruskin, the distance being made of the actual view down the valley of Chamonix, and he wrote me a bitter condemnation of it as a disappointment; for he said that he 'had expected to see the Alpine roses overhanging an awful chasm,' etc. (an expectation he should have given expression to earlier), and found it very commonplace and uninteresting. So it was, and I burnt it. . . .

"I finally found a subject which interested me in a view of the foot of the Mer de Glace from the opposite side of the river, looking up the glacier, with the bridge under the Brevent, and a cottage in the foreground, and set to work on it energetically. Ruskin used to sit behind me and comment on my work. My methods of painting were my own . . . and I had a way of painting scud clouds, such as always hang around the Alpine peaks, by brushing the sky in thinly with the sky-blue, and then working into that, with the brush, the melting clouds, producing the grey I wanted on the canvas. It imitated the effect of nature logically, as the pigment imitated the mingling of the vapour with the blue sky; but Ruskin said this was incorrect, and that the colours must be laid like mosaic, side by side, in the true tint. Another discouragement! I used to lay in the whole subject, beginning with the sky, rapidly and broadly, and, when it was dry, returning to the foreground and finishing towards the distance; and Ruskin was delighted with the foreground painting, insisting on my doing nothing further to it. In the distance was the Montanvert and the Aiguille du Dru; but where the lines of the glacier and the slopes of the mountain at the right met, five nearly straight lines converged at a point far from the centre, and I did not see how to get rid of them without violating the topography. I pointed it out to Ruskin, and he immediately exclaimed: 'Oh, nothing can be done with a subject like that, with five lines radiating from an unimportant point! I will not stay here to see you finish that study.' And the next day we packed up and left for Geneva."[1]

Mr. Stillman has another characteristic reminiscence of Ruskin. On Sundays no work was done, and once they fell into a discussion of Sabbatarianism. Mr. Stillman pointed out the critical objections to the identification of the weekly rest with the first day of the week.

[1] *The Autobiography of a Journalist*, by W. J. Stillman, 1901, vol. i. pp. 260-264, 267, 268. Some of his reminiscences of Ruskin had previously appeared in the *Century Magazine*, January 1888.

"To this demonstration," he says, "Ruskin, always deferent to the literal interpretation of the Gospel, could not make a defence; the creed had so bound him to the letter that the least enlargement of the structure broke it, and he rejected the whole tradition—not only the Sunday Sabbath, but the authority of the ecclesiastical interpretation of the texts. He said, 'If they *have* deceived me in this, they have probably deceived me in all,' and he came to the conclusion of rejecting all."[1] Mr. Stillman perhaps exaggerates the effect which this one "demonstration" had upon the course of his friend's thoughts; but the reminiscence agrees with the sceptical mood into which, as we shall presently see, Ruskin was now entering.

In writing to a friend, he described himself during these weeks at Chamouni as "drawing Alpine roses, or rather Alpine rose leaves."[2] But his real occupation was the thinking out of the papers which he entitled *Unto this Last*. His absorption in economic inquiries was, as we have already shown,[3] not so much a change, as a development. His æsthetic criticism had from the first been coloured throughout by moral considerations. "Yes," said his father, after one of Ruskin's lectures on art, "he should have been a bishop." Again, his study of art, and especially of architecture, had convinced him that art is the expression of national life and character. He who would raise the flower must cultivate the proper soil out of which alone it could grow in health and perfection. "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever," said the poet; yes, replied Ruskin, but a joy which is to be for ever, must also be a joy for all.[4] His love of beauty, his study of art, had thus brought him up full front to an examination of the principles of national well-being. His exquisite sensibility to impressions of beauty in the world of nature thus became also

> "a nerve o'er which do creep
> The else unfelt oppressions of mankind."

"It is the vainest of affectations," he afterwards wrote, "to try and put beauty into shadows, while all real things that cast them are in deformity and pain."[5] We have heard him, at the end of the last volume of *Modern Painters*, debating with himself how far he could honestly or with any inward satisfaction pursue the cultivation of the

[1] *The Autobiography of a Journalist*, by W. J. Stillman, 1901, vol. i. pp. 265–267.
[2] Letter to Dr. John Brown, August 6, 1860.
[3] Vol. XVI. p. xxii.
[4] See *Aratra Pentelici*, § 17.
[5] See Ruskin's prefatory remarks to the *Catalogue of the Educational Series*.

beautiful in art, without first endeavouring to realise the good and beautiful in the world of social and political life. It was with such thoughts surging in his brain and such feelings burning in his heart that he had gone, in this summer of 1860, to the mountains; and there, under the same "cloudless peace of the snows of Chamouni"[1] that had inspired and sanctified his earlier essays in art, he now turned his mind to theories of national wealth and social justice. Into these essays Ruskin put the results of much long and earnest thought,[2] and to them he brought all the resources of a now matured and chastened style. Every word of *Unto this Last* was written out twice, he tells us,[3] and "in great part of the book, three times." In one of his Oxford lectures he compared passages in it with others from the earlier volumes of *Modern Painters*, as a lesson in style.[4] "The language of *Unto this Last*," he wrote to his father (Geneva, August 12, 1862), "is as much superior to that of the first volume of *Modern Painters* as that of Tacitus to that of the Continental Annual;" and elsewhere he speaks of it as "the only book, properly to be called a book, that I have yet written, the one that will stand (if anything stand) surest and longest of all work of mine."[5]

The author's judgment of the style in this book has been endorsed by a recent critic, who has made a special study of Ruskin as a master of prose. "As a matter of form," says Mr. Frederic Harrison, "I would point to *Unto this Last* as a work containing almost all that is noble in Ruskin's written prose, with hardly any, or very few, of his excesses and mannerisms. It is true that we have a single sentence of 242 words and 52 intermediate stops[6] before we come to the pause. But this is occasional; and the book as a whole is a masterpiece of pure, incisive, imaginative, lucid English. If one had to plead the cause of Ruskin before the Supreme Court in the Republic of Letters, one would rely on that book as a type of clearness, wit, eloquence, versatility, passion."[7]

[1] Epilogue to *Modern Painters* (Vol. VII. p. 464).

[2] In the previous year he had made a start upon an essay on the elements of political economy; a few pages of it occur in his diary of 1859—"Beginning of Political Economy" he called them in reading the pages many years later. He begins with the case of a ship's company cast away on a desert island, and works out their proceedings. This is a method of approaching the subject which occurs in this volume more than once (see pp. 48, 372).

[3] *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 48 (Notes and Correspondence).

[4] See "Readings in *Modern Painters*" in a later volume of this edition.

[5] *Sesame and Lilies*, § 47 (a lecture delivered in 1864).

[6] See § 74; below, pp. 99–100.

[7] "Ruskin as Master of Prose," *Nineteenth Century*, October 1895, p. 574; reprinted in *Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and other Literary Estimates*, 1899, p. 74. The

By the end of June Ruskin had his first essay, or perhaps more, ready for the printer, and he sent it to the new magazine—the *Cornhill*—which his publisher, Mr. George Smith, had launched on January 1, 1860, under the editorship of Thackeray. Ruskin sent the paper to Mr. Smith Williams, the literary adviser of the firm; warning him that editorial "notes of reprobation" might be necessary, but desiring "to get it into print, somehow."[1] A copy was sent at the same time by Ruskin to his father, who, though not too well pleased at this new venture, loyally supported his son. When others attacked him, the father's combative instincts were aroused; yet he was not altogether happy in the fight, and a little rift in the harmonious relations which had hitherto existed between father and son now begins to make itself felt. The following notes from the father to Mrs. John Simon disclose his state of mind:—

"7 Billiter Street, 21*st July*, 1860.

"I addressed just now the August *Cornhill Magazine*—not out, but obtained by favour—to Mr. Simon, and Mr. Smith assured me his own man should have it at 44 before 5 o'clock.

"John was obliged to put 'J. R.,' as the Editor would not be answerable for opinions so opposed to Malthus and the *Times* and the City of

same position is accorded to *Unto this Last* by another critic: "The volume marks the perfection, for practical purposes, of his style. It has shed the flamboyance and prolixity of his youth; it has not lapsed into the involved garrulity—often delightful, indeed, but at best lacking the gravity of really great art—which alternately charms and irritates in his later essays. Here it is in his hands like the sword of an expert swordsman: keen, rapid, and lustrous, flashing with swift easy turns through impassioned pleading, succinct exposition, searching irony and fanciful irony." (J. W. Mackail in *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature*, vol. iii., 1903, p. 571.)

[1] The covering letter has been printed in the privately-issued *Letters on Art and Literature*, by John Ruskin, edited by Thomas J. Wise, 1894, pp. 78, 79:—

"(*July* 1*st*, 1860.)

"Dear Mr. Williams,—I send you some Political Economy, which, if you can venture to use in any way for the *Cornhill*, stigmatizing it by any notes of reprobation which you may think necessary, I shall be very glad. All I care about is to get it into print, somehow. Please, if you use it, put it on slips, and send it to me to Hôtel de l'Univers, Chamouix, Faucigny, France. I shall send it back by the next post but one, and shall not need another revise. Send proof of slips also to my father.

"I am afraid you have had a great deal of trouble about that book of mine. I wish the binders had had a little more,—but things must be as they may. I am very glad to be at last 'unbound' myself, so perhaps the book will be.

"Kindest regards to Mr. Smith. Ever faithfully and affectionately yours, J. Ruskin."

For Mr. W. Smith Williams, see Vol. VIII. p. 275 *n*. "That book of mine" is the fifth volume of *Modern Painters*.

Manchester. Please tell Mr. Simon I begged of John to spare his brain and write nothing for a year or two, but he said it only amused him and gave no thought, as it was a subject long thought of. I had two reasons to wish him not to write, for I fear his Political Economy was at fault; but I am charmed with the paper, and it can do no harm. The *Times* says Dr. Guthrie and my son are in Political Economy mere innocents, and I suppose we shall have the slaughter of the innocents, but I am glad to see such Political Economy. The tone is high, and our tone in the city is much too low."

"Calverley Hotel, Tunbridge Wells,
"21*st August*, 1860.

"The August and September numbers of *Cornhill Magazine* have articles of John's on Political Economy, which have brought a shower of abuse on him from the *Saturday Review* and *Scotsman*. They are not bad, for all that, and it is rather amusing to see the commotion they make; perhaps I should have preferred his not meddling with Political Economy for a while! They will mistake him for a Socialist—or Louis Blanc or Mr. Owen of Lanark."

"Denmark Hill, 25*th October*, 1860.

"I send you the *Cornhill Magazine*, finding John's paper liked by Mr. Simon. Early in July, John sent me from abroad his first paper, kindly saying I might suppress it if the publishing it would annoy me.

"I sent to Smith & Co., saying I thought them twelve of the most important pages I had ever read.

"Immediately on seeing them in print, Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, a good writer and able reviewer, wrote to me, wondering I had published the article, and saying the *Scotsman* had fallen on this *unlucky* paper. I replied I meant to publish any more that might come, let Scotch or English reviews say what they might; and I am glad these speculations have gone out, though I confess to have suffered more uneasiness about his newspaper letters on Politics and his papers on Political Economy than about all his books. These Political and Political Economical papers throw up a coarser and more disagreeable dust about one. The wrath of the Manchester School will be delivered in worse terms than the anger of certain Schools of Painting."

These shrewd apprehensions were abundantly fulfilled. The publication of the papers in the *Cornhill Magazine* raised a storm of indignant protest; even a theological heresy-hunt could not have been more fast and furious. The essays were declared to be "one of the

most melancholy spectacles, intellectually speaking, that we have ever witnessed."[1] "The series of papers in the *Cornhill Magazine*," wrote another critic,[2] "throughout which Mr. Ruskin laboured hard to destroy his reputation, were to our mind almost painful. It is no pleasure to see genius mistaking its power, and rendering itself ridiculous." The papers were described by the *Saturday Review* as "eruptions of windy hysterics," "absolute nonsense," "utter imbecility," "intolerable twaddle"; the author was "a perfect paragon of blubbering"; his "whines and snivels" were contemptible; the world was not going to be "preached to death by a mad governess"; after which quiet and measured criticisms the Reviewer proceeded, with an amusing lack of humour, to declare that it was "an act of condescension," on his part, "to argue at all with a man who can only write in a scream." The last passage of the book in particular—which the author himself regarded as the best he had ever written—filled the *Saturday* Reviewer with indignant disgust. "Even more repulsive," he said, "is the way in which Mr. Ruskin writes of the relations of the rich and poor." It was incredible that anybody should listen to such appeals, except that "people like for some reason to see a man degrade himself." Ruskin himself was not a man to be brow-beaten by such bludgeoning; but the attack was carried, in newspapers all over the country, into a more vulnerable quarter. What did Thackeray mean by committing himself to such nonsense?[3] What was Mr. Smith thinking of when he admitted into a magazine, which had still to establish itself in popular favour, such loud attacks on the popular creed? The blow went home; and after three of the essays had been published, the conductors of the *Cornhill Magazine* bowed before the storm. Ruskin afterwards told the story in the Preface to *Munera Pulveris* (see below, p. 143), where he describes how the editor's sentence of excommunication was conveyed "with great discomfort to himself, and many apologies to me." Though the editor was the vehicle of communication, it appears from the Memoir of Mr. George Smith[4] that the edict was the publisher's. Ruskin's papers were "seen," we are told, "to be too deeply tainted with socialistic heresy to conciliate subscribers," and Mr. Smith decided to stop so

[1] *Literary Gazette*, November 3, 1860.

[2] H. H. Lancaster, at p. 299 of the book cited in Vol. VII. p. lxvi. *n.*

[3] See, for instance, the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 2, 1860: "For some inscrutable reason, which must be inscrutably satisfactory to his publishers, Mr. Thackeray has allowed," etc., etc.; and the *Scotsman*, August 9: "If Mr. Thackeray had not failed to feel ashamed to print such frenzies," etc., etc.

[4] See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplementary Volume I. p. xxvii.

dangerous a contributor.[1] The intimation was conveyed to Ruskin after the appearance of the third paper ("Qui Judicatis Terram"): "the *Magazine* must only admit one Economical Essay more," which, accordingly, he made (by permission) longer than the rest.[2] He gave it a concluding passage, but the reader should remember that the book remains a fragment. Thus in one place he promises a fuller discussion of definitions given only in extremest brevity, and gives the titles of three intended chapters—"Thirty Pieces" (on Price), "Demeter" (on Production), and "The Law of the House" (on Economy).[3]

To a modern reader, who turns to Ruskin's essays at a time when they have done their work, the excited hostility and violent apprehension caused by their original publication may seem barely intelligible. The heresies have become in part accepted doctrine, and in the remainder the familiar gospel of economic and political schools; if they were "socialistic," did not a distinguished statesman declare, with regard to the tendency of modern legislation, that "we are all socialists now"? But we must judge the matter historically, and put ourselves back to the state of public opinion in 1860, if we would either do justice to Ruskin's editor or appreciate correctly the importance of his own work. The "old" Political Economy was then at the height of its power. It was the established creed, and any man who assailed it was a heretic who could expect no mercy from its ministers. In the present year (1905), if we consider the hostility which Mr. Chamberlain's economic "heresies" have excited, we shall be better able to understand the storm which raged round Ruskin in 1860; though, to avoid misapprehension, it should be added that on the particular issue of Protection *versus* Free Trade, Ruskin was a pronounced Free Trader.[4] In 1860, moreover, the "old" Political Economy was something more than a creed—it was an accepted policy. Its abstractions were taken as rules of conduct. It governed not merely the tariff, but served as a standard for statecraft in other directions. The policy of *laisser faire* was still the accepted rule, and Ruskin was a heretic no less in advocating practical extensions of State interference than in attacking

[1] Ruskin's friendly relations with Mr. Smith continued for many years, and a letter to Thackeray of December 21, 1860, shows no sign of vexation with his friend (see the letter reprinted in a later volume of this edition from Mrs. Richmond Ritchie's *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning*, 1892, p. 126).

[2] Ruskin had some fears whether it would not prove too strong. "I'm so glad," he wrote to Mr. William Ward on October 1, 1860, "you like those economy papers. The *next* will be a smasher,—I'm only afraid they won't put it in. If they don't, I'll print it separate."

[3] See § 59 *n.*; and compare §§ 77, 84 *n.* (pp. 81, 104, 113).

[4] See below, p. 72 *n.*

the theoretical basis of economic doctrine.[1] The perusal of old speeches can only be recommended to those whom Lord Rosebery has called devotees of "blue-books and cracknel biscuits"; but if a reader will turn to the essay which Matthew Arnold entitled *A French Eton*, he will find himself among the ideas which an advocate of State action had still to combat in 1864, and by this pleasant exercise will put himself in a position to understand the wrath which Ruskin's earlier essay aroused among the devotees of the established creed. That creed was indeed beginning to be undermined by other agencies; but Ruskin had not followed the rise of the "historical" or "realistic" school of economics in Germany. He even professed, in a rash (and not entirely accurate) avowal of which his critics were not slow to take advantage,[2] not to have read the authors whom he was attacking. His assault was entirely independent; and it was as trenchant as it was audacious. Herein was an additional source of aggravation. He was an intruder; let the cobbler stick to his last,[3] and the author of *Modern Painters* to his art-criticism. What should an artist and a man of letters know of the mysteries of economics? This is a question which, in one form or another, fills a large part of the replies to Ruskin's essays. Yet there is no reason why the exercise of singularly acute powers of analysis in one direction should disqualify a man for their exercise in another, and, moreover, Ruskin had special qualifications for the new task into which he had now thrown himself. There is perhaps no branch of inquiry which more than Political Economy demands great care and skill in the exact use of language—none in which there are more ambiguities and shibboleths to scatter confusion or excite prejudice. Ruskin, though among the most copious and eloquent of writers, was never "intoxicated by the exuberance" of his language; no English writer has ever used words with greater exactness and precision, and this habit was a valuable equipment for sword-exercise among the "masked words"[4] of Political Economy. It should be remembered, too, that though Ruskin's main interests in the earlier portion of his life had been with art, he was familiar from his youth up with the ideas and practice of the mercantile world as they were to be observed in a city merchant's house.[5] And, again, Ruskin claimed with justice

[1] On this subject compare what has already been said in the Introduction to *The Political Economy of Art*, Vol. XVI. pp. xxiv., xxv.

[2] See Vol. XVI. pp. 10, 406 *n.*

[3] "Let him make but a very slight change in the title of his papers and it will suit them admirably; let him alter 'Unto this Last' into 'Beyond the *Last*.' We never knew a more signal violation of the good old rule, '*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*'" (*Fraser's Magazine*, November 1860, p. 659).

[4] See *Sesame and Lilies*, § 16 (Vol. XVIII. p. 66.

[5] See Ruskin's letter to Dr. John Brown cited below, p. xxxiv.

that his first-hand knowledge of arts and crafts gave him a real insight into the finer qualities of work,[1] and a considerable advantage over many of the armchair economists; to which it may be added that he had used his opportunities of foreign travel to investigate closely the conditions of agriculture and national life.[2]

Ruskin, therefore, was by no means so ill equipped as his critics chose to assume, for the warfare which he carried into the camp of the established school of economics. But it is a tradition of criticism that one author should have one subject, and the intrusion of an art-critic into an alien field remained to the end one of the popular counts in the indictment against him. Yet, even in the first fury of reprobation, there were some who feared, while they affected to despise. He is not worth our powder and shot, wrote one of the organs of the established school; yet, if we do not crush him, "his wild words will touch the springs of action in some hearts, and ere we are aware a moral floodgate may fly open and drown us all."[3] Only the pen of Ruskin himself could do justice to the horror thus naïvely expressed lest an incursion of moral ideas should drown the whole scheme of the orthodox religion in economics. The fear was to be justified in good time. An estimate of the contribution made by Ruskin to the moralisation of Political Economy belongs to the second part of the Introduction; but the history of the little book, *Unto this Last*, with which we are here concerned, is itself eloquent on the subject. The essays in the *Cornhill Magazine* came to an abrupt termination, as we have seen, in November 1860. In June 1862 Ruskin collected them into a volume, with an additional preface. The edition consisted of 1000 copies, and ten years later it was still not exhausted. Ruskin preserved a curious correspondence which he had with Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. in 1873, when he finally transferred the publication of his books to Mr. George Allen. Among this correspondence is a "List of Mr. Ruskin's Works of which Smith, Elder and Co.

[1] See *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 1, and compare note 2 on p. 78, below. "My real forte," he wrote in *Fors Clavigera* (Letter 19), "is really not description, but political economy."

[2] There are some acute remarks in this sense in Mr. J. A. Hobson's *John Ruskin, Social Reformer*: "He had spent most of his laborious life in patient detailed observation of nature and the works of men. Both from contemporary observation and from study of history the actual processes by which large classes of goods were produced and consumed were familiar to him. How many of the teachers of Political Economy who have been so scornful of Mr. Ruskin's claims possessed a tithe of this practical knowledge? How many of them had studied the growth of the different arts and handicrafts in the history of nature as he had studied them?" (p. 58, ed. 1898).

[3] From a leading article in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 2, 1860.

have copies on hand, with the estimated time for the sale of the stock on hand." Of *Unto this Last*, 102 copies remained, and the publishers estimated that two years would be required to dispose of them. A few years later, Ruskin re-issued the book on his own account,[1] and the rate of sale during the last quarter of a century has been 2000 per annum. Ruskin was told of a working man who, being too poor to buy the book, had copied it out word for word.[2] Subsequently a selection of extracts, sold at a penny,[3] has also circulated widely among the working classes, and the book has been translated also into French, German, and Italian. The floodgate has flown open.

Ruskin had faith in the ultimate vindication of his essays; but at the time the stoppage of them in the *Cornhill* and the violent reprobation which they encountered caused him much disappointment and bitterness of spirit. The book not only sold very slowly itself, but its heresies checked the sale of his other books also. "It *will* sell, some day, yet, you'll see," he wrote to his father (Mornex, October 20, 1862); "but is there absolutely no sale yet? It is enough to make one turn knave and try to make money by bad writing." "There is a certain doubtfulness of oneself," he writes again (November 3), "which is difficult to bear when one thing fails after another—the sale of my books entirely stopped;" but "it is to be remembered," he adds, "that I have never yet *set* myself to make money.[4] If I were to prepare a good lecture on Alps or plants, and give it over and over again and again with rich illustrations, I should soon bring people. Or I *could* write a book on Switzerland, which people would buy, but I'm too proud." One word of encouragement, indeed, he received, and it was from the man whose good opinion he most valued. He seems to have sent an "advance" copy of the last essay to Carlyle, whose reply has been placed on record:—

"Chelsea, *October* 29, 1860.

"Dear Ruskin,—You go down through those unfortunate dismal-science people like a treble-X of Senna, Glauber, and Aloes; like a fit of British cholera, threatening to be fatal! I have read your paper with exhilaration, exultation, often with laughter, with bravissimo! Such a thing flung

[1] With regard to the re-issue of the book in 1877, Ruskin wrote to Mr. Allen (January 27, 1877):—

"I can't mend it as far as it goes; but wonder at the feebly delicate dawn in my mind of some things about Lawyers and Clergy."

From an earlier letter to his publisher (February 19, 1875) it appears that Ruskin had contemplated a cheap reprint of the book "for penny circulation."

[2] *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 48 (Notes and Correspondence).

[3] "The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin": see Bibliographical Note, p. 9.

[4] As he says in the Preface to the last volume of *Modern Painters* (Vol. VII. p. 10).

suddenly into half a million dull British heads on the same day, will do a great deal of good. I marvel in parts at the lynx-eyed sharpness of your logic, at the pincer-grip (red-hot pincers) you take of certain bloated cheeks and blown-up bellies. More power to your elbow (though it is cruel in the extreme). If you dispose, stand to that kind of work for the next seven years, and work out then a result like what you have done in painting. Yes, there were 'a something to do'—not easily measurable in importance to these sunk ages. Meantime my joy is great to find myself henceforth in a minority of two, at any rate. The Dismal-Science people will object that their science expressly abstracts itself from moralities, from etc., etc.; but what you say and show is incontrovertibly true—that no 'science,' worthy of men (and not worthier of dogs or of devils), has a right to call itself 'political economy,' or can exist at all, except mainly as a fetid nuisance and a public poison, on other terms than those you shadow out to it for the first time. On third last page, and never till then, I pause slightly, not too sorrowfully, and appeal to the times coming (Noble is the spirit there, too, my friend; but alas, it is not Philanthropismus that will do there; it is Rhadamanthismus I sorrowfully see) which are yet at a great distance! Go on and prosper.

"I am, yours always (sleeping a little better, and hoping an evening soon), T. CARLYLE."[1]

Carlyle was equally enthusiastic when the essays were collected two years later into a book. Writing to his friend Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, (August 4, 1862), he said:—

"Here is a very bright little book of Ruskin's, which, if you have not already made acquaintance with it, is extremely well worth reading. Two years ago, when the essays came out in the fashionable magazines, there rose a shriek of anathema from all newspaper and publishing persons. But I am happy to say that the subject is to be taken up again and heartily gone into by the valiant Ruskin, who, I hope, will reduce it to a *dog's likeness*—its real physiognomy for a long time past to the unenchanted eye—and peremptorily bid it to quit this inflicted earth, as R. has done to several things before now. He seems to me to have the best talent for *preaching* of all men now alive. He has entirely blown up the world that used to call itself of "Art," and left it in an impossible posture, uncertain whether on its feet at all or on its head, and conscious that there will be no continuing on the bygone terms. If he could do as much for Political Economy (as I hope), it would be the greatest benefit

[1] This letter was first published in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for November 1891. The "third last page" refers to the third page from the end of the last article in the *Cornhill* (now §§ 81–85), where Ruskin turns to the future and makes his "plea of pity."

achieved by preaching for generations past; the chasing off of one of the brutallest nightmares that ever sate on the bosom of slumberous mankind, kept the *soul* of them squeezed down into an invisible state, as if they had no soul, but only a belly and beaver faculty in these last sad ages, and were about *arriving* we know where in consequence. I have read nothing that pleased me better for many a year than these new *Ruskiniana.*" [1]

But other friends, whose opinion also Ruskin valued, were coldly critical. Dr. John Brown, as we have seen,[2] remonstrated with Ruskin's father for allowing such doctrine to see the light. Ruskin, writing from Lausanne (August 6, 1860), addressed to his friend a plea for suspension of judgment:—

> "You will perhaps like the Political Economy better as it goes on; meantime, you must remember that having passed all my life in pretty close connection with the mercantile world, and hearing these subjects often discussed by men of business at my father's table, I am likely to know pretty well what I am about, even in this out-of-the-way subject, as it seems; so you must just wait patiently to see the end of it."

The later papers somewhat modified Dr. John Brown's first criticisms, and Ruskin wrote again with more confidence (November 11, 1860):—

> "The value of these papers on economy is in their having, for the first time since money was set up for the English Dagon, declared that there never was nor will be any vitality nor Godship in him, and that the value of any ship of the line is by no means according to the price you have given for your guns, but to the price you have given for your Captain. For the first time, I say, this is declared in purely accurate scientific terms — Carlyle having led the way, as he does in all noble insight in this generation."

Another friend who was out of sympathy with Ruskin's essays was his old tutor, the Rev. W. L. Brown, of Wendlebury. To him Ruskin wrote at the end of 1860:—

> "Do you know, I think you a little enjoy arguing—for the argument's sake—is it not so? Had it been otherwise, would you have written that argument about the oxen? Of course, if we assume the right of one man over another to be that which a man has over an ox (namely, to kill him if he wishes to eat him), all

[1] From *Carlyle's Life in London*, by J. A. Froude, vol. ii. p. 252. Erskine's reply may be read in W. G. Collingwood's *Life of John Ruskin*, 1900, p. 203.

[2] Above, p. xxvii.

other laws of labour and payment of labour must be modified by that right. But the law between man and man is another law than that between man and ox.

"Again, though I am glad to have your clergyman's view of the blessings of the poor, I do not admit it as one bearing on Political Economy. If it is indeed best to be poor, let us all be poor; if best to be rich, try to be rich as many as can.

"But you will find that my assertion to the rich man is precisely this—that he does not know what he is seeking for, but is eating and drinking his own damnation, and that what he calls Political Economy is the foulest form of Not discerning the Lord's Body.[1]

"Kind letter received this morning; again best thanks. All good wishes to you for many happy years.

"You will, on thinking steadily over the matter, find that my definition is *not* wider than the Political Economists'. Their's is as wide as mine. Only it is false. They mean by wealth—money or money's *worth*, and they say money's *worth* is determinable irrespectively of moral faculties. I say—your money's worth depends wholly upon your own head and heart—*cod's* head or man's head, as it happens to be. You buy a horse for a hundred guineas. If you can ride him, he is worth your guineas[2]—may be worth immeasurably more than one hundred guineas. If you can't ride him, he may be worth—a broken neck to you. You have paid your hundred guineas for an executioner on four legs. That is not an imaginative or theoretical way of putting it. It is pure, simple, mercantile fact. So the poor beasts and wretches who fancy themselves rich in this precious city of ours go on working hard all their days in order to obtain on their death-beds the power of saying—in a palsied manner—£100,000, etc., shall belong to A. or B. Fancy it put to a man in his youth, 'Will you work hard all your days—lose your soul and your body together—for the power, on your death-bed, of adjudicating on a property you never had a farthing of?'[3] For this is the *fact:* All the supposed pleasures of money-wealth—are pleasures of imagination. The *fact* is, they work hard—for another man to spend, and refuse themselves even the pleasure of this man's thanks. They give away all they have. But they take care to get nothing but God's damnation and man's abuse in return. This is the clear, incontrovertible fact about them. I get so wild with contempt and anger when I think of these things that I can't write."

[1] 1 Corinthians xi. 29.
[2] Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 35 (below, p. 167).
[3] And here, *ibid.*, § 37 (p. 169).

1861

Such was the mood in which Ruskin passed the winter of 1860–1861. He had returned from Switzerland in September, and he sought relief from more exciting and disturbing thoughts in the quiet practice of drawing. He spent a good deal of time in drawing from the figure, and noticed in letters of a subsequent date that this practice seemed to have intensified his perceptions of natural beauty[1]—a remark which is of interest, because Ruskin is often accused of insensibility to beauty in the human figure, and of ignoring the value of the exercise of drawing from it.

In the spring he had some lecturing engagements to perform. On April 2 he gave a discourse at the St. George's Mission;[2] on April 19 he delivered at the Royal Institution the lecture on Tree Twigs. This lecture was, as we have already seen,[3] generally accounted a failure, and Ruskin felt it to be such himself. He was suffering already from some nervous depression, and the sense of failure in this public appearance increased his nervousness.[4] He felt that it was time to take complete rest, and in the middle of June he went to Boulogne, where he stayed for seven weeks. Before going abroad Ruskin had performed an act of self-denial which signified to himself the consecration of his energies to other than artistic pursuits. He stripped himself of many of his treasured drawings by Turner, and presented them to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Some particulars of these gifts have already been given;[5] it may here be added that, in a letter to Acland, Ruskin states the cost-price to him of fifty-two

[1] "I cannot imagine how it is," he writes from Lucerne (October 16, 1861), "that I feel, or see, everything so much more beautiful than even when I was in Switzerland only last year. I suppose, though it did not seem much, the work on the figure which I had last winter was very good exercise for me; but, be that how it may, all the scenes to-day—old ones enough—Coppet, Nijon, Yverdun, Granson, Neuchâtel, Bienne, Soleure, Morgenthal—seemed lovelier than I ever knew them, and I wanted to draw more things than ever before." So, again, he writes in 1863 (Baden, November 3): "I am drawing as hard as I can at Lauffenbourg, and getting precious details of all sorts; it is the most wonderful place I ever saw. In 1858, when I was there before (by-the-bye, I was there in '60, too), I had not gone through all my Turin and Venetian figure work at Dresden, and my eye was not nearly so subtle as it is now; so that all is far more beautiful to me."

[2] Of this discourse there was no report.

[3] Vol. VII. p. lix.

[4] Writing to his father from Boulogne (August 6, 1861), Ruskin says that he will "get good exercise till late in season, and then I think I shall be able to prepare two or perhaps three very interesting lectures for the Royal Institution (whereat the failure keeps gnawing me, and will, till I efface it). I should be all right there, even with the degree of nerve I have recovered already."

[5] See Vol. XIII. pp. liii., 556–558.

of the drawings presented to Oxford as £2331. Ultimately he gave eighty-three to Oxford,[1] and the whole cost was £3000. The notice of the motion of acceptance and thanks in Convocation describes Ruskin's motive in making the gift: "Whereas John Ruskin, M.A., honorary student of Christ Church, having, with great care and at great expense, formed a choice and valuable collection of drawings, by the late J. M. W. Turner, R.A., and believing that such works, being made accessible to students, may produce very beneficial results, desires to present the greater part of this collection as a free gift to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, to be placed in the custody of the Curators of the University Galleries," etc., etc.

This was a period of complete rest, or of such approach to it as was possible to Ruskin. "The present healthy feature of my character at present," he wrote later in the year (Bonneville, October 9), "is intense indolence." He sat or walked on the sands and rocks; he made friends with the fisher-folk; went out mackerel fishing, and "learned to sail a French lugger, and a good pilot at last left me alone on deck at the helm in mid-channel, with all sails set, and steady breeze."[2] This coast was a favourite sketching ground of Turner's, especially in his later years,[3] and Ruskin found the sketching "superb, better than on the lake of Geneva."[4] Then, too, the shells fascinated him:—

> "I was out a long while yesterday on the beach," he writes (June 29), "and carried a heavy block of stone five miles home—one mass of casts of shells in clear carbonate of lime, all their hinges and delicatest spirals preserved—shells of which the fish lived long before Mont Blanc existed, and while the crest of the Aiguille de Varens was soft mud at the bottom of deep sea; yet the ripple mark of the sandstone that encompasses them is as fresh as that within fifty yards of it, left by the now retiring tide, and the modern living whelk and mussel hide in the hollows of shells dead these thirty thousand years."

He did a little work indoors also—"writing out Greek verbs," he says, and wrestling with German sentences. But what interested him most was "the refinement and intelligence" of the French sailors. "They talk when they should not, but they talk like Rochefoucauld."[5] The

[1] Not including those given at later dates to the Ruskin Drawing School.
[2] *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 119.
[3] See, for instance, the sketch-book of 1845, now at Oxford: Vol. XIII. p. 568.
[4] Letter to his father, June 22.
[5] Letter to his father, June 16. When Ruskin returned to Boulogne later in the year, he found his pilot-friend much interested in the review of *Modern Painters* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes!*

sea air and the comparative rest did him good, and in August he returned to England for a round of visits—on the Wye, in Ireland (with his friends, the La Touches), and at Oxford and the neighbourhood.[1] In the middle of September he was for a week with his parents at Denmark Hill, but he then set out once more for a long sojourn, abroad and alone.

From the middle of 1861 to the end of 1863 he remained, with a few short visits home, an exile and a recluse.[2] His letters, alike to his father and to his friends, reflect during the whole of this period a mood of deep melancholy and gloom. The foundations of his religious faith had been shaken; the tenements which had held the hopes and beliefs of his youth and early manhood had proved too narrow; he was stretching forth to a wider, and, as he felt, a nobler conception of human life and destiny, but the transition was through much travail of soul. "It is a difficult thing," he wrote to his father (Bonneville, Sunday, September 29, 1861), "to live without hope of another world, when one has been used to it for forty years. But by how much the more difficult, by so much it makes one braver and stronger; it is a grand thing to feel what a lie that is of Young's, when he says that a man who has no eternal hopes must necessarily be a knave.[3] The Honesty, which without hope of reward would be Dishonest, is *not* Honesty." And so, again, to Professor Norton: "It may be much *nobler* to hope for the advance of the human race only than for one's own and their immortality; much less selfish to look upon one's self merely as a leaf on a tree than as an independent spirit, but it is much less pleasant. I don't say I have come to this—but all my work bears in that direction."[4] And so, once more, to his father:—

> "(Paris, *November* 9, 1862.)—All your extracts from Robertson are admirable; and so far from its being difficult or strange for a man to hold his morality when he has lost what is called in modern language religion, I believe that all true nobleness and worthiness

[1] His movements at this time were: Chepstow (August 21), Llangollen (August 22), Holyhead (August 24), Harristown (August 29), Chepstow (September 7), Woodstock (September 11), Oxford (September 12), Beckley (September 13). There is a reminiscence of his stay at Holyhead in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 84 (Vol. XVIII. p. 134).

[2] This absence abroad caused him to give up his regular classes at the Working Men's College, but he still lectured there from time to time.

[3] See *Night Thoughts*, vii. ("The Infidel Reclaimed") 1181, 1182:—

> "Who tells me he denies his soul immortal,
> Whate'er his boast, has told me, he's a knave."

[4] *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 98; from Neuchâtel, July 12, 1860.

only comes out when people cease to think of another world.[1] The relations of God to us have been entirely broken and obscured by human lies; it is impossible at present to recover or ascertain them, on *our* side, and we must walk in the darkness, till better days come."

This spiritual unsettlement was accompanied, we must remember, by some physical weakness. His domestic letters at this period tell of much nervous exhaustion, and of the various ills of dyspepsia and depression to which men of letters are heirs in such abundant measure. His doctors, he says, told him that all he needed was rest, but it was not in Ruskin's eager and highly-strung nature to apply their remedy in any continuous treatment. Something must be allowed, too, in understanding his present mood, to the uncertainty of aim which had come over him. Hitherto he had at each turn felt an imperious call to some immediate work; now, having finished *Modern Painters*, and his Economical essays having been cut short for him, he felt somewhat at a loose end. "It seems to me," wrote his father (August 3, 1861), whose shrewdness was seldom at fault, "to be as much a want of purpose as a want of Health. He has done a great deal, but thinks he has done little, and all to little purpose. He was somewhat wearied with work, and I think is just beginning to get wearied with want of work and with not exactly knowing what to turn to next."[2] Ruskin felt this himself. "I find it wonderfully difficult," he wrote to Acland, "to know what to do with myself. If only a little round-headed cherub would tumble down through the clouds and tree-branches every morning to everybody with an express order to do so and so tied under his wing, one would be more comfortable."[3] But neither Ruskin's father nor his friends could fully understand the inmost causes of his mood. His was the soul of a Prophet consumed with wrath against a wayward and perverse generation; but his, also, the heart of a lover of his fellow-men, filled with pity for the miseries and follies of mankind. His intercourse in recent years with Carlyle had stimulated what the older man called his "divine rage against falsity"; but if in Carlyle there were elements of grim and rugged strength denied to his disciple, the "ethereal Ruskin"[4] had on the other hand sensibilities and emotions which were foreign to his master.

[1] Compare *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 13.

[2] *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 115.

[3] This letter, which is undated, but must belong to 1860 or 1861, has been communicated to the editors by Vice-Admiral Sir William Dyke Acland.

[4] Carlyle's phrase: see Vol. XIV. p. 497 *n*.

Ruskin's mother deplored the growing gloom of her son. "My mother asks me," he wrote (Bonneville, October 10, 1861), "if I remember Marmontel's tale of the Misanthrope. Yes, very well; but I am no Misanthrope, only a disappointed Philanthropist—a much more difficult kind of person to deal with." His father talked lightly of the liver as the cause of all evil, and rallied his son—surrounded as he was with so many good things, and possessed of so many shining talents—for torturing himself in vain. "I am depressed," replied Ruskin (Mornex, January 28, 1863), "only for great and true causes, for the sufferings and deaths of thousands, the follies and miseries of millions, the perishing of the greatest works and deeds of human intellect." Peace he sometimes found, but it was only by closing his ears, and then the sounds of human misery soon pierced their way through. "The peace in which I am at present," he wrote from Mornex (March 10, 1863) to Professor Norton, "is only as if I had buried myself in a tuft of grass on a battlefield wet with blood, for the cry of the earth about me is in my ears continually if I did not lay my head to the very ground. The folly and horror of humanity enlarge to my eyes daily."[1] But a long letter to his father, written a little later from the same place, gives the best account of Ruskin's mood:—

"Mornex, *May* 16, 1863.

"I have your two kind letters of the 12th (with the money, best thanks), which I like very much. The long argumentative one is very nice, and I shall keep it, thinking it one of your truly admirable letters and entirely well reasoned throughout, and most wonderful as a piece of bye-work, with all the rest of your business on your hands. It is entirely well reasoned, I say, though misapplied, because you cannot at present conceive the state of my mind. If written to a discontented and foolish youth, the letter would be perfect; written to a man who is at one in every point and tone of thought with Dante and Virgil, and who is discontented precisely as they are—and, in a lower degree, as Jeremiah and Elijah were—the letter has nothing to do with his mind or work. There is no more chaos in my mind than there was in Hesiod's or Virgil's, but you will find neither of them were happy men. The happiest life in the world is probably a caterpillar's or a duck's; they have no 'imaginations,' no fears, and no regrets; and their desires being merely of eatable dirt, are easily and constantly satisfied. Those who hunger and thirst after righteousness[2] may perhaps some day be

[1] *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 139. Compare *Time and Tide*, § 112 (below, p. 411).

[2] Matthew v. 6.

filled; but their larder is ill supplied for the present, and an eagle or a dog have anxiety, effort, and sorrow, just in proportion to their power and sagacity. When Mrs. La Touche came to London, her little terrier, Sprite, very nearly died in Ireland of pure grief—refusing absolutely to eat for several days. He was not bilious, and her ducks remained in perfect peace of mind. I never change my views with my temper: to-day I am peculiarly well and in good spirits. I am working at my best diagram and getting on with it; the window is open; Mont Blanc gleams softly through the leaves of the Virginian creeper outside; the linnets are singing in the garden—à l'envie l'un de l'autre (à l'amour would be better said than à l'envie perhaps); my roses are in blossom, and I have had a perfect night's sleep, and have my full power of mind this morning—my hand is shaky because I am able to write fast and think fast (when I am ill, I write slowly and steadily); and yet, with all this, every view and thought is absolutely unchanged; I regret as poignantly all that I ever regret, and desire as vainly all that I ever desire; the only difference is that I am able to turn my mind vigorously away from what troubles it, and fix it on its employments. You never have been able to understand my feeling about Turners. I so little desire their possession that I would give every one I have to the National Gallery to-morrow, if I thought they would be safe there. I desire their *safety*, as I desire that of Chartres Cathedral. I don't want to buy the Cathedral; but I want to be able to see it and to know it is safe. Cannot you fancy what it is to me—now that Windus' Collection[1] is all scattered—never to be able to refer to a single drawing out of my own possession of the Yorkshire, the Southern Coast, the Scottish Series, and the Englands—having only one in forty or so of each—and to know that all the rest are to be hawked up and down, faded and destroyed, and that I might, if I had *not* been self-denying, have had *every one* now safe and sound, in my own possession, and the magnificent position and power they would have given me in society, and the power of placing and giving them where they would have been serviceable?

"But this regret is all nothing—compared to the sense of indignation which burns me continually, for all that men are doing and suffering, and *this* I can only escape by keeping out of sight of it. This grief is no more biliousness than the Lamentations of Jeremiah were biliousness, or, as I said,[2] Virgil's 'Res Romanæ perituraque regna.' It is just because I am so clear-sighted, so just, and in many

[1] To which, it will be remembered, Ruskin had easy access: see Vol. III. pp. 234–235 *n*.

[2] He refers to his mention of Virgil above, and here cites one of the passages of which he was thinking; see *Georgics*, ii. 498.

respects so unselfish, that I suffer in this way. There are not two men in the Parliament of England who would not be more angry if the Emperor of Russia stopped their partridge-shooting than if he murdered every soul in his dominions.[1] These men are far happier than I. But they are neither better nor wiser. Depend upon it, though crime and folly bring grief, Wisdom and Knowledge bring it also. In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.[2] There has been one man upon the earth of whom we believe, or profess to believe, that he knew all things, and did no sin. Of him it is recorded that he sorrowed constantly, fasted often, wept, and agonised. But it is only *once* said that he rejoiced,[3] and all his followers, if they are true ones, find the *Cross* no light burden, though the Yoke is;[4] they find rest and resurrection, but the rest must be found on Golgotha."

There were heights and depths in Ruskin's nature where his father, shrewd and sympathetic as he was within the limits of his reach, could not follow; and a growing sense of estrangement from the parents, who throughout his life had been also his companions, was a factor which added perhaps the bitterest element to the son's gloom in the period now under review. But Ruskin, like most men of deep character, had two soul-sides, and he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve. To many friends and companions, and in congenial society, he was still as gay as ever. "I never saw him," wrote his father to Professor Norton, "less than cheerful in society, and when Carlyle comes to see him, and with some ladies, and a few favourite children, his spirits are exuberant."[5] He spent many happy and merry days during these years at Miss Bell's school at Winnington, but an account of his visits there is reserved for the Introduction to the volume (XVIII.) containing *The Ethics of the Dust.*

1861–1862

With thoughts and feelings within him, such as the letter to his father reveals, Ruskin set out in September 1861 for Switzerland.[6] The hills had not lost their power over him, his energy returned, and

[1] A reference to Poland: compare *Sesame and Lilies,* § 29 (Vol. XVIII. p. 81).
[2] Ecclesiastes i. 18.
[3] Luke x. 21.
[4] See Matthew xi. 29, 30.
[5] *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton,* vol. i. p. 115.
[6] His itinerary was as follows: Folkestone (September 18), Boulogne (September 19), Paris (September 20), Geneva (September 21), Bonneville (September 22 to October 14), Geneva (October 15), Lucerne (October 16 to November 25), Altdorf (November 25–29), Lucerne (November 30 to December 27), Bâle (December 27),

his home letters contain many passages which speak of quiet enjoyment:—

> "Bonneville, *September* 22, 1861.—Everything looks to me nobler than it ever did before. I walked the last half of the way to Bonneville, so glad to get to the hills again, and I have had a walk before breakfast this morning. The beauty of the hills is unspeakable. Their meadows and pines are still green, faint purple lines of autumn mingled here and there; the vines yet luxurious in leaf, and loaded with purple clusters; autumn flowers upon the rocks; the apples, amber, white, and ruby, more beautiful almost than the blossom; the air soft, and like balm for sweetness; the clouds dewy and broken in loveliest swathes and wreaths about the rock-crests."

Switzerland in the autumn delighted him, and the fall of the leaf[1] fitted in perhaps with his mood:—

> "Lucerne, *November* 4.— . . . I got to the foot of the great crag on the other side of the cross of the lake at B [sketch map]; it is entirely covered to a height of 2000 feet with young oak, beech, and pine—and it is just now half rainbow, half kaleidoscope, and wholly Aladdin's palace; perhaps more like one of the painted windows at Chartres, magnified a thousand times, than anything else. I say a thousand times (in height it would be only eighty or a hundred times—in space, millions of times)."
>
> "Lucerne, *November* 12.— . . . You had all much better come to Lucerne. I had never before seen autumn. Yesterday I had such a ruby sunset on Alps as I have not seen these ten years: the day was entirely cloudless, the afternoon all purple and gold. The groves of tall beeches, straight-trunked, 80—90—100 feet high, are now all in *thin* gold and purple—the sun shining on them was nothing, but the sun shining through them, sprinklings of gold over blue, with background of deep blue mountain, is like the most gorgeous things of Tintoret."
>
> "Lucerne, *November* 20, *Evening*.— . . . Such a walk as I had to-day ought to make one strong. Anything so lovely I think I have never seen—not even the apple-blossoms in spring could compare with the low long sunlight on the pines—the frost clouds on Mont Pilate—the strange tints of amber and purple on the beech woods. Then the walking is so entirely pleasant; one gets too hot

Paris (December 28), Boulogne (December 30), Denmark Hill (December 31). He had his servant Crawley with him, and for most of the time Couttet also. His friends Mr. and Mrs. John Simon joined him for a time at Bonneville.

[1] For his dislike of the autumn in later years, see Vol. VII. p. xxvii.

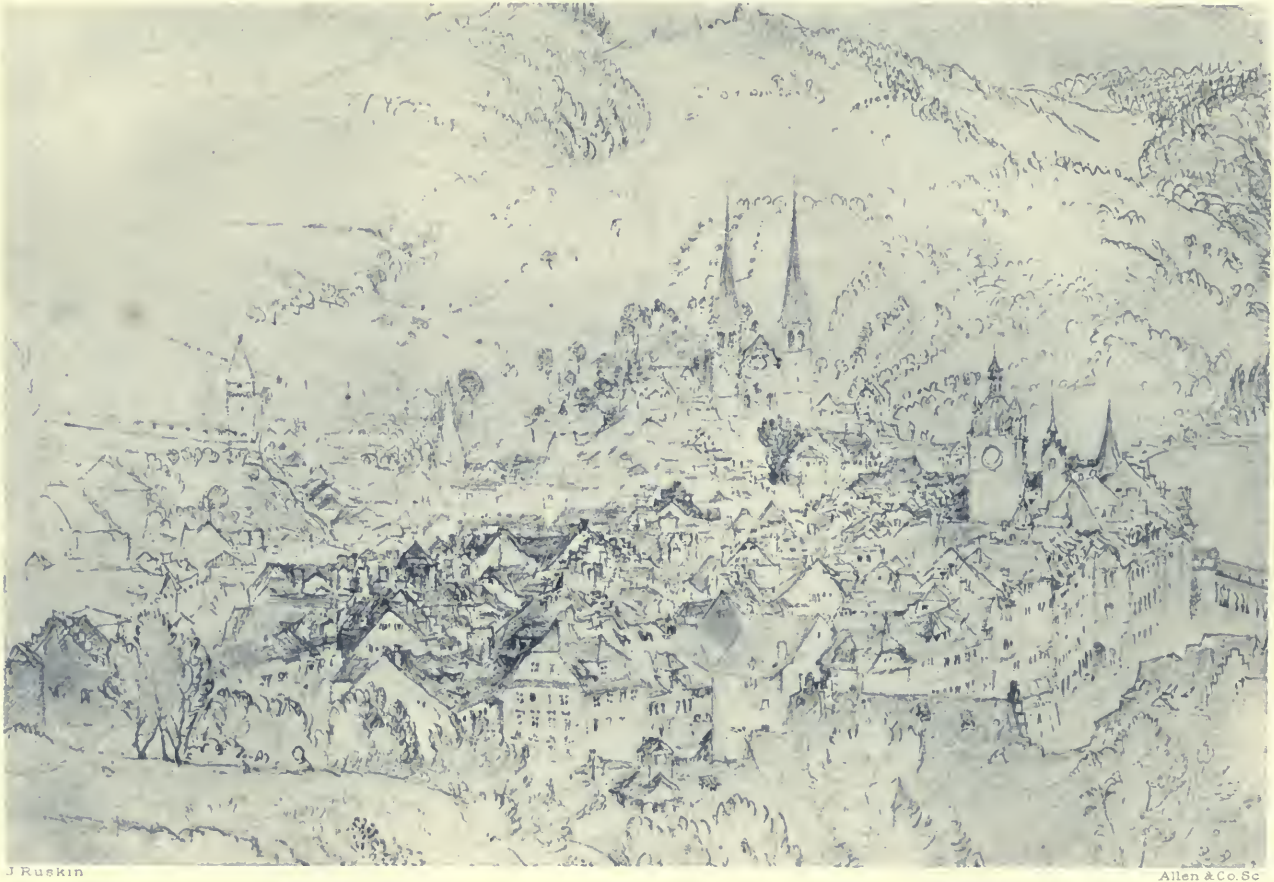
in the summer; but the hard ground and calm air, just two or three degrees under freezing, giving the brace of frost without its bitterness, were delicious."

"LUCERNE, *November* 22.— . . . Yesterday was cloudless frost. I walked far on the road to Sempach, among soft hills and woods; a divine calm in the air, like that of early summer morning, hoar-frost instead of dew—intense blue sky, cloudless Alps, and Pilate, in clear long chain round the horizon. More lovely than summer, far."

"ALTORF, *November* 25.— . . . As for anybody's coming to Switzerland except in November, it is the merest nonsense. Yesterday afternoon was—not cloudless, but resplendent with golden clouds; and the Rigi—what with its green pines, its naturally russet rock, and its grey and purple masses of stripped beech wood, with their red fallen leaves all staining the ground beneath — was just like a great violet and rosy agate, studded with emeralds. We got to Fluelen at five, and I walked here by the clear beginnings of starlight—out again this morning at eight in sharp frost, but perfect calm—the main beauty of the thing being that the highest peaks are in crystal clearness, while frost mist hangs about the lower promontories, and the streams being all low, there are no marshes, so that one can get about everywhere."

"ALTORF, *November* 29.— . . . It rained all yesterday—steadily: all yesterday evening steadilier; at ten o'clock, when I said good-night to the sky, as if the windows of heaven had been opened. I woke at half-past five; the stars were all like beacon fires, so large, only more dazzling; presently up came the moon over the ridge of peaks beyond the village where Tell was born. I couldn't think what was the matter with her, for I knew she ought to be crescent-shaped, and she came up in a long and broad bar of vague light, like a cloud. I thought I must be dreaming, for it could not be halo—the stars were too clear. Presently, as I was still in wonderment, out flashed the point of her crescent; the vague light had been all from her dark side. And now—half-past nine, morning—there are no words for her radiance — all the high crests have new-fallen snow, but the rain has washed it all away from the russet meadows. I've seen much, but nothing ever like this—the intense clearness, calm, and divine purity, with the sadness of the .[1] The mountains look like the gates of the city of God—every several gate was of one pearl, and their foundations all of the Eleventh Stone—Jacinth."[2]

[1] A word is here missing in the original.
[2] Revelation xxi. 21.



View of Lucerne from above

Such was the silver and gold whose intrinsic value Ruskin was at this time considering and possessing.

He was a pioneer, it will be seen, in the new form of enjoyment which of late years has become popular with many English people, and has given Switzerland a winter season:—

> "*December* 15.—There was no rowing to be done, for fear of getting run down by the steamer; and no drawing, for nothing could be seen. I . . . went out in spite of it—climbed the nearest spur of Pilate, and behold, the fog was only a lake of fog, a thousand feet deep. Dead level, white, unbroken, over a hundred square leagues; above, summer, and the Alps. Not a shadow, nor a breath of air. Purest and entire sunlight, and all the Alps one mighty peaked shore of the great Cloud Sea. It was worth a week's darkness to see it."
>
> "*Christmas morning.*—It is darkish to-day, but yesterday was a clear, cloudless frost again, and I have made up my mind that the finest things one can see in summer are nothing, compared to winter scenery among the Alps when the weather is fine. Pilate looked as if it was entirely constructed of frosted silver, like Geneva filigree work—lighted by golden sunshine with long purple shadows; and the entire chain of the Alps rosy beyond. I spent an hour pleasantly enough throwing stones with Couttet, at the great icicles in the ravine. It had all the delight of being allowed to throw stones in the vastest glass and china shop that was ever 'established,' and was very typical to my mind of my work in general."

Ruskin during his stay upon the Lake of Lucerne did much drawing, and two of his sketches of the time are here given (Plates I. and II.). He wrote during this year (1861) little or nothing; but he read much:—

> "At Lucerne," he writes (October 23), "I have got quite into regular days. Morning I get up a little before seven—breakfast at eight, reading Livy; write my letters; read on at Livy till I've had enough; go out and draw till about one or two, taking care not to tire myself—then row, quietly, with little pauses and landings and sketches till five; dress for dinner at six, read Xenophon in evening—the papers at tea, at eight."

The nature of his studies and bent of his thoughts appear in

the jottings which he sent to his father from the books he was reading:—

"Bonneville, *October* 6.—I was pleased with the following passage in Xenophon to-day.[1] Socrates is endeavouring to persuade a man of sense and power, who has always avoided public life, to speak in the public assembly. His friend answers that he is ashamed and afraid. 'What!' (answers Socrates), 'in your own house you are neither ashamed before the wise, nor timid before the powerful (you have no reason to be). Are you then ashamed to speak before the most foolish, and the most weak? Of whom are you afraid? Of the leather-cutters? or the brass-founders? or the husbandmen? or the shopkeepers? or *of those fellows in the exchange who are always thinking how they may buy cheapest and sell dearest?*' What is the use, either of our classical education or our Christianity, if we are at this moment far behind the wisdom which good men had thus reached, 400 years before Christ?"

"(Bonneville, *October* 12.)— . . . I am busy with Livy, whom I have great pleasure in now. *He* is the Roman Homer, not Virgil. One must take the history as a poem, but it is a grand one. The philosophy of it is less occult than Homer's, and more practically useful for all generations."

"(Lucerne, *October* 23.)—It is very notable that the first great step of Rome towards her established power should have been by checking a monopoly, and delivering the poor from taxes. 'Salis vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, [in publicum omni sumptu] ademtum privatis; portoriisque (export and import duties) et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent (who were able to bear the burden. Confero in sense of contribute); pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educent (no charity schools). Lib. ii. Chap. 9."

"(Lucerne, *October* 29.)— . . . How all the great thinkers and great nations agree in the praise of poverty! What *is* the use of people giving boys Latin books to read at our schools, when they dare not press home one of these lessons? The great Valerius Publicola—'confessed master of every power and art of peace and war'—four times consul—victorious in every war he undertook—the deliverer (together with Brutus) of Rome from the Tarquins, and so (because of having avenged Lucretia) publicly mourned for at his death by the Roman nations—yet left not money enough to pay his funeral expenses. 'De publico est elatus,' says Livy, quietly—'They carried

[1] *Memorabilia*, iii. 7, 5, 6.

J Ruskin

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Houses and Mountain-side at Altdorf
1861

him forth at public cost'—'gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumtus deesset.' It is well, by the way, in our English word 'elate' to remember its brotherhood with that other sad sense of 'elatus'—'Behold a dead man was carried out.'[1]

"I strongly suspect that in a well-organised state, the possession of wealth ought to *in*capacitate for public offices."

"LUCERNE, *November* 5.— . . . It is entirely beautiful here to-day. You would be in raptures with distant chain of Alps in misty light. I sit quietly reading Latin grammar, thankful for the bright light—the pure air and the peace, otherwise very unsentimental about the scenery, more so about Livy's sentence. Here are four of his heathen words, which, observed and acted on, would have prevented all the horrors of the Papacy, all the perversions and miseries of false Christianity:—

> "'Doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi in Sacrum Montem secessisse'—'Taught that no religious obligation could be discharged by a deed of Sin, they retired to the Sacred Mountain.'

It is in the 33rd chapter[2] of the second book. The army was in a state of violent discontent because the senate had broken its word about laws for debt. The consuls ordered it to remain outside the city. The soldiers had sworn obedience to the consuls; and did not want to violate their oath, but were furious at being kept out of Rome; their first thought was to kill the consuls to whom they had sworn, but *doctos*, etc., they retired to the Mons Sacer.

"LUCERNE, *November* 17.— . . . Here is a grand sentence of Livy for you, rich in language as in meaning, and alliterative far more than my verses. One of the consuls, Manlius, being killed in the victory over the Veientes, and the brother of the other consul, Fabius—the latter (Marcus Fabius), being offered a triumph, thus refuses: 'If the army can triumph without its captain for its great work done in battle, he would allow it gladly; but for his own part, his family being in shadow of death by his brother's loss, and the republic itself half orphaned by the loss of one of its consuls, he would accept no laurel so defiled with private and public mourning.' It is the last piece of the sentence which is so fine:[3] 'Se, familia funesta Q. Fabii fratris morte, republica ex parte orba, consule altero

[1] Luke vii. 12. See the Preface to *Unto this Last*, § 6 (below, p. 23), where Ruskin cites this same passage from Livy (ii. 16). The true reading is, however, "De publico est datus" (not "elatus"). The latter word is printed in some old editions, but there is no MS. authority for it.

[2] Really the 32nd.

[3] Book ii. ch. xlvii.

omisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum.' For my taste, Livy has overdone his F's a little at first, and in the very finest and most pathetic things, so studied an arrangement of words would be destructive, but this is very fine. When a sentence is so full of matter, the sound of the words may be fitly enjoyed; but if you get into the habit of liking the mere ring of words with no meaning, it is like living on chalk sugar-plums, and spoils the mind's digestion as they do the stomach's."

"ALTDORF, *November* 25.— . . . I find Horace and I are marvellously of a mind just now in all particulars. . . . I don't know anything so magnificent in its way as Horace's calm and temperate, yet resolute, sadness. What weak nonsense the modern talk about death is, compared to his—

> "'Quum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
> Fecerit arbitria
> Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
> Restituet Pietas.'[1]

Grand word that of eternal judgment—clear to all men—splendida arbitria—as of the sun. 'There is nothing hid that shall not be known.'"[2]

"ALTDORF, *November* 28, 1861.— . . . I was out in slippers and without greatcoat this morning before breakfast, watching the soft clouds among the snowy peaks, and breathing softer air. I leave the place because it is not bracing enough! It is now (12) raining; always softly, like our April rain. The trees have nearly lost their leaves here, however; a few still glow among the pines. Horace says they shed their leaves in honour of the Faun—'Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes'—it is a sweet winter song in which that line comes."[3]

"LUCERNE, *December* 20.— . . . It is strange how the value of the writings of the ancients is practically lost to us because we only read the easy bits, and never the stern deductions. Every one has on his lips the 'Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres.' But how many of our rich, or great, remember or obey the following line—'O beate Sesti, Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.'"[4]

His reading of the classics during this autumn at Lucerne, as

[1] *Odes*, iv. 7, 21–24, quoted in *Val d'Arno*, § 221.
[2] Matthew x. 26.
[3] *Odes*, iii. 18, 14 (hence the title of Ruskin's selections from *Modern Painters*—*Frondes Agrestes*).
[4] Horace: *Odes*, i. 4, 13–15.

afterwards at Mornex, was very minute and careful. "As I read my Greek or Latin book," he explained (October 30), "I simply draw a firm ruled ink line down beside the text; wherever that line extends, the book is mastered for ever, or if a word or passage is not, it is written out in my note-book as a difficulty, and can be referred to in a moment. I don't care how little is done every day, but it is pleasant to see the lines advancing, and to feel that 'this at least *has* been read.'" Ruskin read his authors in this way, not only for their subject-matter, but also for their use of language. The study of words had great fascination for him, and it is one of the conspicuous features in his next book, *Munera Pulveris*. In one of the notes added to those essays ten years later, he refers to "the interest I found in the careful study of the leading words in noble languages" (§ 100 *n.*). His note-books and diaries, belonging to this period, are full of this study. He had a series of note-books—for "Latin Verbs," "Latin Nouns," "Greek Verbs," "Greek Nouns," "Myths," "Natural History," "Geography," "Topics" (Price, Commerce, Production, Government, Poverty, Luxury, etc.), "Grammar," and so forth; and in these he entered up passages, notes, and queries from the authors he was studying—especially Xenophon, Plato, Homer, Livy, and Horace. With similar thoroughness—though with less pertinacity, it would seem—he attacked in German Studer's *Geologie der Schweiz* and Goethe's *Faust*.

The studies in the classics were in large measure addressed directly to his intention of resuming and completing his essays on Political Economy. For the present, however, he had no immediate thought of publication. He wished to establish his principles firmly on the foundations laid by wise men of old, and he was as yet undecided with regard to the form into which his work should be cast. He discussed such points with his father, who, we may surmise, devoutly hoped by this time that his son would return to subjects and styles more likely to conduce to immediate fame:—

> "Lucerne, *November* 5.—I fully intend finishing Political Economy, but otherwise than as I began it. I have first to read Xenophon's *Economist* and Plato's *Republic* carefully, and to master the economy of Athens. I could not now write in the emotional way I did then. I am so disquieted by none of the clergymen coming forward to help me anywhere that I shall quote no more Bible for them. I am not going to cast more pearls before swine. I will do the work sternly and unanswerably, in shortest possible language. I think the insolence of these *Saturday Review* scamps in talking to Smith as if they would 'let' me do this or that passes all I

ever met; and I'm not going to 'let' them have any more fine 'language' to call me a 'mad governess' for.[1] They shall have such language as is fit for them, and for the public."

"LUCERNE, *November* 15.— . . . There is plenty time to talk over probable style of Political Economy. I do not allow reviewers to disturb me; but I cannot write when I have no audience. Those papers on Political Economy fairly tried 80,000 British public with my best work; they couldn't taste it; and I can give them no more. I could as soon be eloquent in a room full of logs and brickbats. Perhaps before I write any more I may in some way again change, but I believe the temper in which I wrote those papers to be past, and as utterly and for ever as that in which I wrote the 2nd vol. of *Modern Painters*. There is also little use and much harm in quoting Bible now; it puts religious people in a rage to have anything they don't like hammered into them with a text, and the active men of the world merely think you a hypocrite or a fool. But, as I said, there's plenty of time to talk over these things."

But "Fors" willed it otherwise. Towards the end of 1861, Froude, who was then editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, and who through Carlyle had become a friend also of Ruskin, wrote to the latter "saying that he believed there was something in my theories, and would risk the admission of what I chose to write on this dangerous subject."[2] Ruskin felt that the opportunity should not be lost, and the next year saw the resumption of his economical work. He decided to republish, in collected form, the essays from the *Cornhill Magazine*, in order that they might be accessible in connexion with the sequel to them which he had now begun to plan for *Fraser's*.

During Ruskin's absence on the Continent in 1861, Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. published a volume of *Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin*. It was prefaced by the following "Advertisement":—

"The Publishers beg to state that this volume has originated in suggestions, from numerous quarters, that a book of the kind would be acceptable to a large circle of readers, to whom, from various and obvious causes, the principal works whence it is derived are not easily accessible.

"The Publishers think it right to add that Mr. Ruskin, though tacitly consenting to this publication, has taken no part in making the selections, and is in no way responsible for the appearance of the volume."

[1] See above, p. xxviii.
[2] Preface to *Munera Pulveris*, § 20; see below, p. 143.

The volume originated in the suggestion of Mr. Smith Williams, and he, with W. H. Harrison, was responsible for its preparation. Ruskin refers occasionally to the volume in letters to his father, and these sufficiently show his attitude to the affair:—

> "Bonneville, *September* 28.—I think page 220, vol. 4th, a very valuable passage if it can be got in.[1] You and Mr. Smith must settle about what I am to have. Harrison and Williams have done all the work, but, as you say, I ought to have compensation for the loss of sale of the other volumes. But I have no idea what it should be."
>
> "Lucerne, *October* 22.—I had late last night your letter containing . . . nice little preface to extracts: nothing can possibly be better."
>
> "Lucerne, *November* 9. — Don't send the book of extracts to *any*body, that you can help. Above all—don't send it *here*. It is a form of mince-pie which I have no fancy for. My crest is all very well as long as it means Pork,[2] but I don't love being made into sausages."
>
> "Lucerne, *December* 5.—I have your nice and kind letter of 1st December, enclosing Carlyle's, most interesting and kind also (herewith returned). As *he* says the extracts are right, I have not a word more to say against them. It is the books which must be wrong."

The following note from Ruskin's father to his friend Mr. John Simon is also worth giving:—

"Denmark Hill, 11*th November*, 1861.

"You saw what Mr. Harrison calls *our* volume, and I don't wonder that you do not like it. The sweets are brought together in cloying abundance, and the descriptions thickened into monotony. It is rather a vulgar shop affair, with a too handsome, very questionable, likeness. Mr. Williams is, however, pleased with his work, and the House has called for such a book for years. They had prepared a puffing preface which I have cut down to nonentity, the only escape. The best of the book seems to be the delight it gives Mr. Harrison, who talks as if he were the Beaumont and my Son the Fletcher of these volumes, although so

[1] The passage in *Modern Painters* describing the results upon mountain form "obtained by the slightest direction in the infant streamlets" as a "type of the formation of human characters by habit" (Vol. VI. p. 220). But it was not got in. It is, however, § 35 in the First Series of *Selections* issued in 1893.

[2] It was a boar's head: see *Præterita*, ii. ch. viii. §§ 160, 161.

faithful is he in all his readings and revisings that I never saw (and I have watched closely) a single word of my Son's text taken out and another substituted."

The volume, which first appeared in November 1861, enjoyed considerable popularity, and was frequently re-issued during following years. It assisted not a little to spread the author's fame; yet not in the way he desired. The dissemination of these "elegant extracts," with their "sweets brought together in cloying abundance" helped to encourage the idea, which Ruskin greatly resented[1]—especially in these years when he was concentrating himself upon economical discussion—that he was a fine writer, a pretty "word painter," and nothing more.[2]

"Munera Pulveris" (1862, 1863)

Ruskin reached home on the last day of 1861, and for the next four months he was at home. Among other work, he went again through the Turner sketches at the National Gallery, removing the mildew[3] and adding a good many identifications. He also prepared *Unto this Last* for publication, and wrote the preface for it. This was dated May 10, 1862, and leaving his friend, Mr. John Simon, to make final arrangements for the publication of the book, he started in the middle of May for Switzerland and Italy.[4] His companions on this occasion were Burne-Jones and his wife. "He did everything," writes Lady Burne-Jones, "*en prince*, and had invited us as his guests for the whole time, but again in his courtesy agreed to ease our mind by promising to accept the studies that Edward should make while in Italy, and all was arranged and done by him as kindly and thoughtfully as if we had indeed been really his 'children,' as he called us." Burne-Jones had made Ruskin's acquaintance in 1856, when he was living with William Morris in Red Lion Square. "Just come back from being with our hero four hours," wrote the young artist after his first visit; "so happy we've been: he is so kind to us, calls us his

[1] See, for instance, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 97 (Vol. XVIII. p. 146).

[2] Reviews of the volume of *Selections* appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, January 18, 1862, and in the *Eclectic Review*, March 1864, vol. 6, N.S., pp. 262–276. Further bibliographical particulars will be found in a later volume of this edition.

[3] See Vol. XIII. p. xliv.

[4] The itinerary was as follows: Boulogne (May 15), Paris (May 16), Dijon (May 20), Bâle (May 21), Lucerne (May 22), Fluelen (May 27), Hospenthal (May 29), Bellinzona (May 30), Lugano (May 31), Milan (June 1), Parma (June 7), Milan (June 10), Baveno (August 3), Geneva (August 6), Mornex (August 16), Bonneville (September 23), St. Martin (September 25), Mornex (September 26), Geneva (November 7), Paris (November 8).

dear boys, and makes us feel like such old, old friends. To-night he comes down to our rooms to carry off my drawing and show it to lots of people; to-morrow night he comes again, and every Thursday night the same—isn't that like a dream? think of knowing Ruskin like an equal and being called his dear boys. Oh! he is so good and kind —better than his books, which are the best books in the world."[1] This admiration quickly ripened into an affection which the elder man as warmly reciprocated. Ruskin, as he wrote to his father, felt greatly favoured in "the company of a man like Jones, whose life is as pure as an archangel's, whose genius is as strange and high as that of Albert Dürer or Hans Memling, who loves me with a love as of a brother and—far more—of a devoted friend, whose knowledge of history and of poetry is as rich and varied, nay, far more rich and varied, and incomparably more scholarly than Walter Scott's was at his age."[2] "Like me, like my wife" is a rule that does not always hold among friends; and Ruskin admits that as a rule he did not like his friends' wives, but he made an exception, he says, for "Georgie." He did everything to make his "children" enjoy their holiday; he was a charming companion, and he must have enjoyed some of the pleasure which he gave in showing them scenes and pictures which he had known and loved during so many years. But the mood of oppression could not wholly be concealed. On the shore at Boulogne, writes Lady Burne-Jones, "a mood of melancholy came over him and he left us, striding away by himself towards the sea; his solitary figure looked the very emblem of loneliness as he went, and we never forgot it."[3] They went by Lucerne and "leisurely over the St. Gothard." At Lucerne he fell in with Sir John Nasmyth, who was travelling with his wife and daughter. In subsequent years Ruskin often corresponded with them. The travellers next went to Milan. There Mr. and Mrs. Burne-Jones left him; they went to Verona, Padua, and Venice, while he stayed for some weeks, first to write his first paper for *Fraser's Magazine* (published in the June number), and then to copy and study Luini. This was one of the principal objects of Ruskin's expedition, as he had undertaken to report upon Luini's frescoes to the committee of the Arundel Society. He made a very careful copy in water-colour of the St. Catherine with her wheel, one of the figures in the frescoes which cover the screen or eastern wall of the Church of San Maurizio at Milan.

[1] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 1904, vol. i. p. 147.
[2] Letter from Geneva, August 12, 1862.
[3] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. i. p. 241.

This occupied him during several weeks. The copy now hangs in his Drawing School at Oxford, and is reproduced in a later volume of this edition, where also his own account of it—extracted from letters written to his father at the time—will be found. To complete his study of Luini he visited Saronno, which contains some other of the painter's finest work. Ruskin, as has already been remarked,[1] never wrote so much about Luini as might have been expected from the long study he gave to this master, and from the deep admiration he felt for his work; but in the *Queen of the Air*, § 157, references will be found which are reminiscent of this summer's work in San Maurizio and at Saronno.

Ruskin's devotion to the art of Italy received public recognition at this time; he was made an Honorary Member of the Florentine Academy. A little earlier, he had been similarly elected to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (the oldest artistic body in the United States).

Having finished his work on Luini, Ruskin made his way to Geneva and looked about for quarters in which to spend the winter, and to find peace and quiet for his further contributions to *Fraser's Magazine*.[2] He found what he wanted at the village of Mornex, a few miles from Geneva, on the slopes of the Salève. He first took rooms in the Villa Goullierr, his landlady being the widow of the Professor of History in the University of Geneva. "I am established," he wrote to his father (August 16), "in a little parlour with a look out only on some pines and convolvulus blossoms, and the green slope of the Salève like a bit of Malvern hills above; on the other side I can see the top of the Mole and of Mont Blanc, but little more. I have green chairs, a deal floor, and peace, and my books all about me, and your kind letter, which I am very grateful for." To his mother he wrote a fuller account of his hermitage:—

"Mornex, 31*st August* [1862].

"My dearest Mother,—This ought to arrive on the evening before your birthday [Sept. 2]: it is not possible to reach you in the morning, not even by telegraph, as I once did from Mont Cenis, for—(and may Heaven be devoutly thanked therefore)—there are yet on Mont Salève neither rails nor wires.

"However, arriving in the evening, it will be in time to wish

[1] See Vol. IV. p. 355 *n.*

[2] The second paper must have been written at Milan or at Geneva, for it appeared in the September number, and Ruskin was not established at Mornex until the middle of August.

you many returns of the morning, which you know I do: nor do I see reason why they should be less happy than they have been—with your feelings; nor am I without hope that if I get a house to please me here, a proper degree of feminine and maternal solicitude and curiosity may even, next year, prevail upon you to submit to the degree of vehicular and porterage arrangement which would—with patience—and without pain—bring you as far as Savoy, and enable you to bring and give me some of the good skill you have always had in inventing house arrangements.

"For the present I am making no discoveries: the place I have got to is at the end of all carriage roads, and I am not yet strong enough to get farther, on foot, than a five or six miles' circle, within which is assuredly no house to my mind. I cast, at first, somewhat longing eyes on a true Savoyard château—notable for its lovely garden and orchard—and its unspoiled, unrestored, arched gateway between two round turrets, and Gothic-windowed keep.[1] But on examination of the interior, finding the walls—though six feet thick—rent to the foundation, and as cold as rocks, and the floors all sodden through with walnut oil and rotten-apple juice—heaps of the farm stores having been left to decay in the ci-devant drawing-room—I gave up all mediæval ideas, for which the long-legged black pigs (who lived like gentlemen at ease in the passage), and the bats and spiders who divided between them the corners of the turret-stair, have reason—if they knew it—to be thankful.

"The worst of it is that I never had the gift, nor have I now the energy, to *make* anything of a place; so that I shall have to put up with almost anything I can find that is healthily habitable, in a good situation. Meantime, the air here being delicious, and the rooms good enough for use and comfort, I am not troubling myself much, but trying to put myself into better health and humour; in which I have already a little succeeded.

"I felt more comfort and freshness of spirit in my evening's walk on the rocky road yesterday (after having carefully examined all the tuckings up of the lip of the wild snapdragon) than I have done for this year back. I hope your blue pimpernels will arrive in comfort; they will probably sleep all the way in the railroad, but I cannot flatter you with the hope that they will express any degree of contentment with Denmark Hill—or even Norwood—*air*. I would have sent a box of earth with them, but the red pimpernel grows so frankly by our roadsides, that I have no doubt any light clayey-gravel soil of the Norwood hill will do for them. They grow here only in the cornfields among the stubble, and mixed with their crops

[1] Shown in Plate IV.; see the note on it, below, p. cxv.

of clover, saintfoin, etc., but I suspect these blue ones will object with all their might to smoke, and to wet weather. Most of the Salève flowers, however, have a sort of English domesticity about them, except only one—now, alas, in fruit—not in flower—the infinitely delicate, small-leaved, small-blossomed Rosa Alpina, its leaf about this size only [sketch of leaf spray], which covers the rocks in thickets, as thick as our brambles; the common dogrose mixed with it in quantities. There are no rhododendrons on the Salève, and gentians on the summit only (gentians of the right sort, I mean): the four-leaved autumn gentian is common enough, and the autumn crocuses are just coming into bloom in the meadows. On the other side of the ravine the chestnut wood, and mixed pine, among the granite blocks of the old glaciers covered with moss, is a delicious place for the heat of the day.

"My Father would be quite wild at the 'view' from the garden terrace—but he would be disgusted at the shut-in feeling of the house, which is in fact as much shut in as our old Herne Hill one; only to get the 'view' I have but to go as far down the garden as to our old 'mulberry tree.' By the way, there's a magnificent mulberry tree, as big as a common walnut, covered with black and red fruit on the other side of the road. Couttet and Allen are very anxious to do all they can now that Crawley is away; and I don't think I shall manage very badly without him—for the present, but that is because he has drilled everybody first into my ways. He is *very* anxious to get me well and do all he can (which is a great deal), and people like him usually, I find, though the servants at home quarrel with him, but that is partly the fault of his own temper.

"I intended this letter to be beautifully written, but I see it is quite irregular and bad, so I hope my father will be at home to read it to you. I am going to walk down to Geneva with it myself, to make sure of the shortest post, and with dearest love to my Father, am ever, my dearest mother,

"Your most affectionate son,

"J. Ruskin."[1]

Presently, however, he found the rooms too cramped, and the view did not satisfy him. His establishment was extensive. He had with him his servant Crawley, and Couttet, the guide; and he was subsequently joined by Mr. and Mrs. Allen and their children. So he took another small cottage a little lower down the hill—a cottage *ornée* in

[1] A part of this letter has appeared in W. G. Collingwood's *Life of John Ruskin* (p. 199 of the edition of 1900).

From a photograph

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Ruskin's House at Mornex

1862 - 3

which the Empress of Russia had once stayed. His new arrangements were described in a letter to his father:—

"Mornex, *September* 17, 1862.—I think for the next three months (of course not counting my home visit fixed for November) I have now got myself settled satisfactorily. I had no view from my sitting-room or bedroom—only from the garden; so I have taken —for 10 napoleons a month—the Empress of Russia's cottage as well, which has not only a perfect view, but a little garden, more to my mind than this one. I have slept in my new house two nights, and passed the days in the garden, and am much pleased. The bedroom window opens on a wooden gallery about six or seven feet above the garden; beneath, there is a bed of white convolvulus rising in three spires, as high as the cottage, on hop-poles; then the garden slopes south-east, steeply; having an ever-running spring about four yards from the door, falling out of upright wooden pipes into stone basin, forming a lovely clear pool. Beds of crimson and blue convolvulus, marigold, nasturtium, and chrysanthemum, with intermediate cabbage and artichoke, occupy the most of the little space, all afire; surrounded by a rough mossy low stone wall, about a foot and a half high at the bottom of garden; whence the ground slopes precipitously, part grass, part vines, to a ravine about four hundred feet deep; the torrent at the bottom seen for about two miles up—among its granite blocks (something like view from Lynton in Devonshire); but on the other side of the ravine extends the lovely plain of La Roche, to the foot of the Brezon, above which I have the Mont du Reposoir, and then the Aiguille de Varens; then Mont Blanc and the Grandes Jorasses and the Aiguille Verte; and lastly the Môle on the left, where my own pear-trees come into the panorama and guide back to the marigolds. I keep, however, my old rooms here, for the rooms in my new house—delicious in the morning and evening—have too much sun in the middle of the day; here I have shade and larger space. The two houses are just about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards apart. I sleep at the Empress's—(Crawley and Allen above me, Couttet here); dress chiefly outside in my balcony, the air being as soft as in Italy; then walk over here, after a turn round the garden; find breakfast laid by Franceline, and my little table beside it with Horace and Xenophon. Read till eleven; walk or garden till half-past one. Dine here, where I have a nice little dining-room; back into garden, tea among my convolvuluses there—with sunset on the Alps opposite; bed at nine or half-past."

The larger of the two houses had a pavilion in the garden, here shown in the illustration (Plate III.); the pavilion, as also the terrace-walk, commanded the view which is shown in Ruskin's drawing (Plate V.). "The Empress of Russia's cottage," a humble building with a wooden balcony, may still be seen at Mornex.

Such was the hermitage which now became Ruskin's home, and which saw the travail of his soul, while he was writing the greater part of *Munera Pulveris*. The larger of Ruskin's two houses has since become an inn, but the sojourn there of the great English writer, who, "whilst treading a *via dolorosa*, placed a posy before every shrine of beauty and gentleness and love,"[1] has not been forgotten.[2] Twenty years later Ruskin revisited the place, and wrote an account of it to Mr. Allen (September 8, 1882):—

> "I drove to the foot of the Grande Gorge before taking the Pas, and let the sun come round on it. I walked up nearly as well as ever, and got lovely views to the right towards Annecy as soon as I passed Monnetier. When I came in sight of Mornex I saw they had new-roofed my old house, and (having Mr. Collingwood and Baxter with me) was rather taken aback at finding it a flourishing hotel! I took them in and walked along the terrace to the old Pavillon without saying anything. The view was lovelier to me than ever, but there were people on the terrace having forenoon beer! I went into the house and sat down in the salle-à-manger *under* my old room. The waitress, after taking order for bread and cheese, stared at being asked for news of the Chevaliers;[3] but the landlord, though young, knew of them, and after being asked a few probing questions, asked in *his* turn, 'Seriez-vous M. Ruskin?'
>
> "To my surprise and considerable complacency I found that English people often came up to see where I lived, and that the landlord even knew that I always slept in the Pavillon! I asked leave to see the old room. It was turned into a bedroom, but otherwise it and its galleries unchanged.
>
> "Then I got news of Franceline. She was living with her

[1] Preface by the Right Hon. George Wyndham to the privately-printed *Letters to M. G. and H. G. by John Ruskin*, 1903, p. xvii. These letters are reprinted in a later volume of this edition.

[2] A board on the front of the house bears this legend: "Hotel et Pension des Glycines. A. Corajod. Séjour de Wagner and Ruskin." Richard Wagner spent some weeks in the house a few years after Ruskin's visit. Robert Browning's summer on the lower slopes of the Salève is recorded in his poem *La Saisiaz*.

[3] The Chevaliers were the people in the village who used to send in Ruskin's meals.

husband in her father's house. I went up by myself, and she came running out—had seen me go down, and known me at once. She isn't improved by the twenty years' 'progress,' but was very glad to see me—showed me her four daughters—gave me some excellent tea and currant preserve and a bunch of white roses; listened attentively while I described Sunnyside and its business to her—and heard with reverence of my Oxford Professorship.

"She sent you all manner of regards.

"After saying good-bye, with some promise of coming again, I walked down to Etrembières, and drove home here from the pont; and had a lovely walk and study of the Rhone, and made a sketch of it and the old town at sunset.[1]

Reminiscences of Ruskin still linger about the house. Only last year (1904) a well-known French critic, M. Augustin Filon, having gone to the mountains for rest and peace, found that he had hired the very rooms occupied by Ruskin, that he was writing in Ruskin's chair, by Ruskin's window. The villagers still had memories of their old friend. "A thin-faced, reddish-whiskered Englishman," they said, "neither old nor young." They did not know him as a writer of books. They must have thought him an eccentric person (being English). They used to see him messing (tripotant) about his little kitchen, digging, delving in his garden, mixing mortar, trundling his wheelbarrow, pottering about all over the place, never idle. In that far-off period Ruskin, reflects M. Filon, was practising his philosophy of the union between brain work and hand work, the philosophy which in after time he taught his Oxford students when he turned them into navvies—to show them that a well-made road was "a work of art." And M. Filon goes on: "It was Ruskin who put up the bell by which I call for my dinner; and who paved the courtyard. Every single stone of it was carried on the back of a diminutive donkey, Ruskin having devised this whimsical method of transport as a means of disguising his act of charity to the donkey's owner, a very poor woman."[2]

In November 1862 Ruskin returned to England for a short time in order to see his parents and to give an address to the Working Men's

[1] This letter has been printed in the *Strand Magazine*, December 1902.

[2] From the *Gaulois* of September 18, 1904, an article entitled "La Maison de Ruskin à Mornex." M. Filon's sketch is most sympathetic, but he claims too much for the house in saying that Ruskin there composed "the greater part of the pages published between 1855 and 1865." The recollections of the villagers are perfectly correct; Ruskin describes the old woman with the donkey in letters to his father; but it was Mr. Allen who did most of the paving.

College.[1] By Christmas, however, he was back again at Mornex.[2] The peace of the place, the beauty of the surrounding country, and its rich geological interest restored him to much of his old power of enjoyment. He had days, as he wrote to his father, when his very happiness frightened him:—

> "*October* 25.— . . . I have been up and along the ridge of the Salève right to its southern brow to-day. There is no giving you any conception of the loveliness of its golden mossy turf, with the gentians set at intervals of a square yard or so—one at every second step; nor of the glades of grass fresh with frosty dew, under ranks of Spanish chestnut and pine."
>
> "*October* 26.—There have been such divine things, all day long, between autumn leafage, flying sunshine, and floating cloud, that there's no talking of it. The grass is so intensely green—with the dew and the pure air together—that in the morning it is like glow-worms' fire in vast masses. I enjoy immensely sauntering on the old road to Chamouni, and looking at the mists flying over the hills I knew in youth—past which my life has flown, like a cloud."
>
> "*October* 27.—I have had so good a day, to-day, that it almost frightens me, lest I should be 'fey' or lest something should be going to happen. I have been literally in 'high spirits'—the first time this six or seven years. I was walking on the old, *old* road from Geneva to Chamouni, down the steep hill to the bridge and up again, and towards Bonneville—Mont Blanc so clear, and all the near mountains so purple and pure, and the sunshine so dazzling, and air crystal with slight bracing North wind; and I had found out quantities of things in a heap, in Homer and Theognis in the morning, and found more in my head as I walked; and came to old things by the roadside that I've known these twenty years, and it *was* so like a dream. Then when I came home I had your pleasant letter, and a nice one from Froude, and nice one from Allen—giving good account of College,—and sate after dinner on my sofa quietly, watching the sunshine fade softly on the aiguilles of Chamouni and the Reposoir. And it is so strange to me to feel happy that it frightens me."

Ruskin liked the place so well that the idea of fixing his tent permanently among the mountains grew upon him. He had a friendly

[1] Of this address (delivered on Saturday, November 29) there is no adequate report; but Ruskin refers to it, as having been on the subject of Reform, in *Time and Tide*, § 9 (see below, p. 324).

[2] The following dates show his movements during the winter and spring of 1862–1863: Geneva (December 20), Mornex (December 24), Annecy (April 8), Talloires (April 13), Annecy (May 10), Mornex (May 11), Chamouni (May 25), Mornex (May 26), Boulogne (May 30).

J Ruskin

Allen & Co. Sc

View from the base of the Brezon, above Bonneville

From the drawing in the collection of W. Pritchard Gordon, Esq

neighbour at Mornex in an old Genevese doctor[1]—seventy-five years old and still hale and hearty. "He is going to walk up the Salève with me to-morrow," writes Ruskin to his father (September 9, 1862), "saying with perfect coolness that he will *wait* for me when I am out of breath, which, I doubt not, he will in very truth have to do. He is going to show me from the top the various districts of this part of Savoy—where it is damp, or dry—bleak or sheltered—clay or rock in soil, etc., and to tell me the qualities of the hill plants. He says I ought to live for at least three months of the year in the gentian zone." On his mountain rambles Ruskin was the most delightful and stimulating of companions. He often took Mr. Allen with him at this time. "He had an eye for everything," says Mr. Allen in reminiscences of days at Mornex; "clouds and stones, hills and flowers all interested him in the same intense way; and his printed passages of adoration in presence of the sublimity of nature were the expression of his inmost feelings and in accord with his own practice. I seem to hear him now breaking forth into a rhapsody of delight as we came unexpectedly, during a walk up the Brezon, upon a sloping bank of the star-gentian. He was full, too, of sympathy with the life of the people. I can see him now kneeling down, as he knelt on Easter Sunday, 1863, to pray with a peasant woman at a wayside chapel. 'When I first reach the Alps,' he said to me once, 'I always pray.'"[2] The Brezon, a mountain rich both in botanical and in mineralogical interest, was a constant delight to Ruskin. There is a spot a little below the summit which was the destination of many a ramble, and which he used to call "the lunch bed." Mr. Allen remembers Ruskin's pleasure on one occasion in counting no fewer than nine Alpine vultures during one ascent. The erratic blocks, too, greatly interested him; one of great size, stranded near La Roche,—containing 15,000 cubic feet of gneiss from the Mont Blanc range—he desired to purchase; he was agreeably surprised to find that a citizen of Geneva had already bought it, so that its preservation might be guaranteed. On other days Ruskin would walk or drive in the valley. A frequent walk on geological days was to the Gorge des Evaux;[3] another favourite spot was near Bonneville, where at a particular hour there was a peculiarly beautiful glint of sunshine to be seen on the cascades: great would be his vexation if he arrived too late

[1] Dr. L. A. Gosse, mentioned by Ruskin in a letter to the *Times* (October 24, 1862) on "Oak Silkworms" (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 232, and in a later volume of this edition).

[2] "Ruskin and his Books: an Interview with his Publisher," *Strand Magazine*, December 1902, pp. 712–713.

[3] See W. G. Collingwood's *Limestone Alps of Savoy*, 1884, pp. 83, 86, 97.

or the clouds were envious. The gloom which overshadows many of Ruskin's letters and the bitterness which colours his writings at this time were not unmixed. He said of himself that, for thinking of the sunset, he could never thoroughly enjoy the sunrise; but if the sorrows of his sensitive soul were deeper than other men's, so also was the sunshine of his unclouded hours more intense.

Ruskin during his sojourn at Mornex reverted with some enthusiasm to a scheme he had long had in his mind for the reproduction of drawings by Turner. We have referred above to the uncertainty of aim which perplexed him during these years (1860–1863). Ultimately he devoted his main thoughts to economics, but he often felt equally drawn to the continuation of his artistic work. It is curious that a biographical notice of him, which appeared in 1861 and which he himself revised, ended with these words: "Mr. Ruskin is reported on good authority to have abandoned his other studies, in order to devote his future labours exclusively to the work of Turner and the Venetians." What Ruskin said to the biographer was "to the illustration of the works of Turner and the Venetians."[1] And similarly to another correspondent Ruskin wrote (Denmark Hill, February 25, 1861): "Touching my plans, they are all simplified into one, quiet and long:—to draw as well as I can without complaining or shrinking, because that is ill, for ten years at least, if I live so long; in hopes of doing, or directing some few serviceable engraved copies from Turner and Titian."[2] This intention, in the case of Turner, had long been present to him,[3]

[1] The notice appeared in *A Dictionary of Contemporary Biography: a Handbook of the Peerage of Rank, Worth, and Intellect.* London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Company, 1861. The publisher had submitted to Ruskin a proof of the intended notice, which had presumably stated his presumed intention to abandon art for economics. Ruskin replied as follows:—

> "Sir,—There is hardly anything in the enclosed statement to correct, for it seems to me wholly to consist of statements of opinion. There is one professed fact at the end of it which is precisely and accurately the reverse of truth. If for the underlined sentence you like to substitute the following, you will find it eventually more to the credit of your book: 'Mr. Ruskin is reported on good authority to have abandoned the study of art in other directions, in order to devote his future labours exclusively to the illustration of the works of Turner and the Venetians.'
>
> "But you can't make much of the notice, do what you will, for it is written by some one who knows nothing whatever about me or my books, and is a bad English writer besides. 'Flourish the weapon of invective,' for instance, is a common penny-a-liner metaphor. Very truly yours,
>
> "J. Ruskin."

The whole notice must have been revised in consequence of this letter, for "the weapon of invective," etc., does not appear.

[2] *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton,* vol. i. p. 105.

[3] See Vol. VI. p. 4; Vol. VII. p. 8 and *n.*; and Vol. XIII. p. lix.

J Ruskin

Allen & Co. Sc

"View from my window at Mornex"
1862

and at Mornex he began to carry it out. Mr. Allen was sent for to join him, and was to bring a printing-press in order that they might print the plates which Mr. Allen was to engrave from Ruskin's tracings of Turner's drawings. The work did not make great progress, but two of the engravings thus made at Mornex are given (reduced) in this edition (Vol. XIII., Plates xxiv. and xxvi.).

But Ruskin's main work at Mornex was done in complete solitude. This consisted of the third and fourth essays for *Fraser's Magazine*, now chapters iii. to vi. of *Munera Pulveris*.[1] Ruskin regretted their "affected concentration of language"—the result, he said, of "thinking too long over particular passages, in many and many a solitary walk towards the mountains of Bonneville or Annecy."[2] In revising the essays for publication in book-form he found it impossible to break up the concentration, and the work remains one of the most difficult of his treatises. It was intended, he says, only for "earnest readers"; but reviewers are not always, or perhaps often, in that category, and the curtness of expression in the essays proved a stumbling-block to many. It should be remembered that the essays as they stand were written only as an introduction to an intended treatise on a larger scale; as a mere "dictionary for reference," in Ruskin's words (p. 145). But there is another peculiarity of the work which helps to explain its failure to catch the popular ear at the time, and which to this day makes it less read than *Unto this Last*. It is, in some ways, a more important part of Ruskin's economical writings;[3] it is also very closely reasoned, and it follows throughout a clear plan. But there is mixed with it so much of excursus into classical fields, so much of verbal and literary argument, that readers fail to keep hold of the main thread. Ruskin, as we have seen, was occupying himself at the time with a minute study of many Greek and Latin authors, and Dante was his constant companion. All of them were impressed into the service of his economical theories.

There is a letter to his father written from Mornex which well illustrates the manner in which Ruskin made everything that he was reading work together; it also illustrates a particular passage in *Munera Pulveris*:[4]—

> "*October* 23.—I have been reading the *Odyssey* to-night with much delight, and more wonder. Everything now has become a

[1] References to his walks and talks at Mornex occur in §§ 147, 148 *n.*, 150, 151.
[2] Preface to *Munera Pulveris*, § 22; see below, p. 145.
[3] See what Ruskin says in the letter on p. 487, below.
[4] § 87 (below, p. 208). Compare the letter given at pp. 224–225 *n.* ("everything becomes endless when one works it out").

> mystery to me—the more I learn, the more the mystery deepens and gathers. This which I used to think a poet's fairy tale, I perceive to be a great enigma—the Apocalypse, in a sort, of the Greeks. People's ineffable carelessness usually mixes up the gentle, industrious, kind Calypso with the enchantress Circe. She is the Patmos spirit of the Greeks (Calypse, Apo-Calypse), the goddess of wild nature. But what it all means, or meant, heaven only knows. I see we are all astray about everything—the best wisdom of the world has been spoken in these strange enigmas—Dante's, Homer's, Hesiod's, Virgil's, Spenser's—and no one listens, and God appoints all His best creatures to speak in this way: 'that hearing they may hear, and not understand';[1] but *why* God will always have it so, and never lets any wise or great man speak plainly—Ezekiel, Daniel, St. John being utter torment to anybody who tries to understand them, and Homer scarcely more intelligible—there's no guessing."

Ruskin's reading of these "enigmas" is full of flashes of insight and abounds in happy illustrations; but it sometimes led him into fanciful analogies, dubious etymologies, and strained interpretations.[2] Matthew Arnold selected a passage from the essays in *Fraser's Magazine*—that in which Ruskin analyses the meaning of Shakespeare's names—to illustrate what he called "the note of provinciality"; by which he meant an absence of moderation and proportion—an excessive indulgence in literary whims—in Ruskin's criticism. Ruskin's infinite ingenuity in discovering hidden meanings in ancient legends, and his determination to make all things—in classical and mediæval poetry and mythology—work together for the enforcement of his principles, recall the syncretism of the first centuries after Christ, when Greek philosophy sought to harmonise all creeds and assimilate all legends and all worships.[3]

A result of his thus giving the reins to his fancy is, in *Munera Pulveris*, a subtle and full-charged allusiveness, which makes the book somewhat difficult to read closely, and which calls, in this edition, for frequent annotation. Some of the explanatory notes are drawn, it will be seen, from the author's letters to his father, who had complained that he found the essays "dry."

The allusive note in the essays in *Fraser's Magazine* is struck in the title—"Munera Pulveris"—which Ruskin afterwards gave to them. This title is one of the most obscure in his series, and even learned

[1] Matthew xiii. 14.

[2] For some characteristic passages in this sort, see §§ 100, 101, 109 *n.*, 110 *n.*, 125 *n.*

[3] For the importance which Ruskin attached to his readings of "the mythology of Greece and the legends of Rome," and which he indicated in the titles of his later books, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 67.

commentators dismiss it with the bald remark that it is cryptic.[1] It has been suggested that the title may be taken "in disconnection from its context in Horace," and has "no ulterior meaning."[2] But Ruskin expressly cites the passage from Horace as the motto of his book (p. 147), and if the title had no "ulterior meaning" it would be very unlike Ruskin. "I am not fantastic," he wrote, "in my titles, as is often said; but try shortly to mark my chief purpose in the book by them."[3] The desire to disconnect the quotation from the context is, however, very intelligible, for the Ode in question (i. 28) is one of the most vexed passages in Horace. Who is speaking, and who is being addressed; how many speakers there are; the scene of the Ode, the nature, the division of its parts, its purpose, are all points on which there are almost as many opinions as commentators. And on the solution of such questions, the translation of the lines quoted by Ruskin must depend. He does not himself give any translation; and it would be possible, with the necessary supply of ingenuity, to devise as many meanings for Ruskin's title as there are versions of the lines from which it is taken. This exercise, however, is hardly necessary; for there are sufficient clues in Ruskin's other works, and even in this book itself, to show what he had in his mind. The most important passage occurs in the *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 34. He is there speaking of the wasted labour and ill-directed ingenuity in too much of the art of the day; and apostrophising some patient toiler in that sort, he exclaims:—

> "Over that genius of yours, low laid by the Matin shore, if it expired so, the lament for Archytas would have to be sung again:—'pulveris exigui—munera.'"

It is thus clear that Ruskin read the first lines of the Ode as a lament over Archytas dead and buried, and not as meaning that Archytas lacks the gift of a little sand that would give rest to his shade.[4] A literal translation of the lines, as Ruskin took them,

[1] "*Munera Pulveris* is the title taken from the line of Horace—the cryptic allusion of which so few readers understand"—so says Mr. Frederic Harrison (*John Ruskin*, 1902, p. 102), and he does not explain the secret. Other writers do not allude to the title. A probable explanation was given in an article in *Good Words*, July 1893 ("Mr. Ruskin's Titles," by Mrs. E. T. Cook).

[2] W. S. Kennedy in the New York *Critic and Good Literature*, June 21, 1884.

[3] See *Ariadne Florentina*, § 27.

[4] This latter is the version adopted by Sir Theodore Martin:—

> "Thee, O Archytas, who hast scanned
> The wonders of the world by sea and land,
> The lack of some few grains
> Of scattered dust detains
> A shivering phantom here upon Matinum's strand."

would be: "Once thou measuredst the sea and earth and the countless sand; now, Archytas, art thou contained in the small gifts of a little dust by the Matin shore."[1] The closing words of Ruskin's treatise confirm the interpretation suggested by the *Cestus of Aglaia*. The conclusion of the whole matter is the choice between the wealth which makes for life, and the phantom of wealth which makes for death; and it is in an alternative of *epitaphs* that Ruskin puts this choice between his readers:—

> "There is no other choice; you must either take *dust* for deity, spectre for possession, fettered dream for life . . .; or else, having the sun of justice to shine on you, and the sincere substance of good in your possession, and the pure law and liberty of life within you, leave men to write this legend over your grave:—
>
> "He hath dispersed abroad. He hath given to the poor. His righteousness remaineth for ever."

So, again, in § 79 of *Munera* (p. 201) we read that when men exchange speculation for toil, their riches "change only from the slime of Avernus to the sand of Phlegethon." And so, once more, in *The Crown of Wild Olive* (§ 16), Ruskin speaks of men "gathering dust for treasure, and dying rich in that." The object, then, of Ruskin's treatise was to attack the conception of "wealth," current in the ordinary political economy, which, in the emphasis laid upon merely material possessions and upon accumulation as distinct from distribution, "took *dust* for deity." (The word in the quotation above has been here italicised in order to emphasise the clue.) The latter end of such wealth is dust also; and this, no doubt, is what Ruskin meant when he placed the lines from Horace at the head of his book—thence choosing for its title the words "munera pulveris," "Gifts of the Dust." There is another kind of gift which Ruskin sought to press upon his readers, another order of riches in which, according to his science of political economy, the well-being of states, as of individuals, alone consists. "There is no wealth but life";[2] and there are "riches untormenting and divine: serviceable for the life that now is; nor, it may be, without promise of that which is to come."[3] The reward for

[1] Or, in Conington's version:—

> "The sea, the earth, the innumerable sand,
> Archytas, thou couldst measure; now, alas!
> A little dust on Matine shore has spann'd
> That soaring spirit."

Compare below, p. 259 *n.*

[2] *Unto this Last*, § 77 (p. 105).

[3] *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 16.

the gathering of that kind of riches is "The Crown of Wild Olive"; but the title of the present book expresses, in scc rnful phrase, the fallacy which it is meant to expose, not the theorem which it is meant to enforce. The science of Political Economy, he says, has been hitherto "the weighing of clouds and the portioning out of shadows" —tasks like those of Archytas. And "woe to us," he adds, if we take the "dust" for reality, for so "all procession is to the tomb."[1]

Probably, however, Ruskin had many other ulterior meanings. The title which he gave to his "Letters to Workmen"—*Fors Clavigera* —sufficiently shows how fond he was of adopting many-sided titles. Archytas, it should be remembered, was a philosopher—a professor, it may be, of some dismal science; a man given to "counting the sand" —a proverbial expression with the Greeks and Romans for wasted trouble. It is therefore probable enough that Ruskin intended partly, by this initial motto for his book, to apostrophise the professors of the pseudo-science, as he called it. Again, he often reverted in mind to this economic doctrine and practice as mere gathering of dust. Thus, in the first edition of *Sesame and Lilies* he wrote, "the treasuries of the true kings are the streets of their cities; and the dust which others gather is for them a crystalline pavement for evermore."[2] "Measuring the sand" had, too, another signification to him, and one directly connected with false methods of State economy. So in a passage in the original essays Ruskin speaks of men "enlarging their lust of wealth through ignorance of its use, making their harlot of the dust, and setting Earth the Mother at the mercy of Earth the Destroyer, so that she has to seek in hell the children she left playing in the meadows" (p. 201 *n.*). See, also, the passages in *Proserpina*[3] where he speaks of the power of the Earth Mother, as Mother and as Judge; watching and rewarding the conditions which induce adversity and prosperity in the kingdoms of men—"the three kinds of Desert—of Reed, *Sand*, and Rock"—exhaustively including the states of the earth neglected by man. These passages, he tells us, contain "the summary of the aims kept in view throughout *Munera Pulveris*." When this thought was uppermost in his mind, he would perhaps have taken another of the meanings of *munera* and translated his title "Functions of the Dust" (see § 9).[4]

It has seemed worth while to enter somewhat fully here into the

[1] *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 34, 35 (pp. 165–167).
[2] See Vol. XVIII. p. 105 *n.*
[3] In i. ch. vii., and ii. ch. iv.
[4] Compare the passage at the end of § 48.

possible meanings of Ruskin's phrase, because the choice of such "cryptic" titles was very characteristic of the later workings of his mind.[1] We have seen instances of it already in the fifth volume of *Modern Painters*. When he called one of his plates in that volume "Venga Medusa" and another "The Locks of Typhon," reminiscences of Aristophanes and Dante and Hesiod and Turner all crowded into his mind at once; the title had facets as many as his mingling thoughts. This habit of writing in parables—of turning an idea, or a word, or a phrase over and over, and making it flash out, for those who had eyes to see, a different shade of light at each turn—became more and more frequent with Ruskin, especially in books or passages written in what he calls his "third manner"—the manner of saying "all that comes into my head for my own pleasure."[2]

It may be added that the title *Munera Pulveris* — though not printed before 1872—was in Ruskin's mind much earlier. The passage in Horace was incidentally quoted in the original essays in *Fraser's Magazine* (see § 134 *n.*); and in *Time and Tide* (1867) he refers to the essays, not then republished, under the title *Munera Pulveris* (see §§ 115, 155, 167).

The long interval which elapsed between the appearance of the essays in *Fraser's Magazine* and their publication as a book was due to a rebuff of the same kind as that which had cut short the earlier essays in the *Cornhill*. The fourth paper was sent to *Fraser's Magazine* from Mornex in March 1863, and duly appeared in the number for April. "The present paper," wrote Ruskin at the end of it, "completes the definitions necessary for future service. The next in order will be the first chapter of the body of the work."[3] But the next in order was never to come. Froude, the editor of the *Magazine*, "had not wholly lost courage," but "the Publisher indignantly interfered; and the readers of *Fraser*," says Ruskin, "as those of the *Cornhill*, were protected for that time from further disturbance on my part."[4] This second veto was a bitter vexation to Ruskin. Mr. Allen well remembers the day on which Ruskin heard the news; he paced his terrace-walk for hours like a caged lion, and deep gloom gathered upon him. Froude, it is clear, had not lost faith in his contributor; for,

[1] See, for instance, the title given to Letter xi. in *Time and Tide* (below, p. 368 *n.*).

[2] *Queen of the Air*, § 134.

[3] See below, p. 290 *n.*

[4] See the Preface to *Munera Pulveris*, § 20; below, p. 143.

a few months later, when Ruskin's views had called forth a reply in *Macmillan's Magazine* (by Professor Cairnes), Froude invited Ruskin to write a rejoinder. This supplementary paper—in the form of a dialogue on Gold—was duly sent to Froude, but it was not printed. Probably it was Ruskin's father who stopped it; he was particularly sensitive, as a City merchant, to his son's heresies on questions of currency; and Ruskin had promised his father "to publish no more letters without letting you see them."[1] Many years later this suppressed chapter came to light, Ruskin's servant and amanuensis Crawley having been in possession of a copy of it. It is now included in the Appendix to this volume (pp. 491–498).

It should be stated, as explaining the stoppage of *Munera Pulveris* in *Fraser's Magazine*, that the papers excited the same violent hostility and reprobation that were called forth by *Unto this Last*. Indeed, the outcry was now at its height, for reviews of *Unto this Last*, in its collected form, were appearing. The contemptuous tone of the writers in the press, and the remonstrances of private friends, hurt Ruskin's father not a little, and a strain of vexation in the son's letters at this time was caused by paternal entreaties for alterations or suppressions. Ruskin in reply (Mornex, August 19, 1862) begged his father "to mind critiques as little as possible; read, of me, what you can enjoy, put by the rest, and leave my 'reputation' in my own hands, and in God's—in whose management of the matter you and mama should trust more happily and peacefully than I can—for you believe that He brings all right for everything and everybody; and I, that He appoints noble laws, and blesses those who obey them, and destroys them who do not." Now, as in the case of the papers in the *Cornhill Magazine*, Ruskin had an enthusiastic supporter in Carlyle, who tried to reassure Ruskin's father. Writing to Ruskin on October 24, 1862, Froude said:—

"The world talks of the article in its usual way. I was at Carlyle's last night. . . . He said that in writing to your father as to subject, he had told him that when Solomon's temple was building it was credibly reported that at least 10,000 sparrows sitting on the trees round declared that it was entirely wrong, quite contrary to received opinion, hopelessly condemned by public opinion, etc. Nevertheless it got finished, and the sparrows flew away and began to chirp in the same note about something else."[2]

[1] From a letter of November 23, 1863.

[2] Here reprinted from p. 203 of W. G. Collingwood's *Life of John Ruskin* (1900).

To Ruskin himself Carlyle had already written (June 30, 1862):—

"I have read, a month ago, your *First* in *Fraser*, and ever since have had a wish to say to it and you, *Euge, macta nova virtute.* I approved in every particular; calm, definite, clear; rising into the sphere of *Plato* (our almost best), which in exchange for the sphere of *Macculloch, Mill and Co.* is a mighty improvement! Since that, I have seen the little *green* book, too; reprint of your *Cornhill* operations,—about ⅔ of which was read to me (*known* only from what the contradiction of sinners had told me of it):—in every part of which I find a high and noble sort of truth, not one doctrine that I can intrinsically dissent from, or count other than salutary in the extreme, and pressingly needed in England above all."[1]

After the last paper in *Fraser* Carlyle wrote again. Ruskin accidentally destroyed the letter, but he had copied out some sentences of it to send home, and he remembered others. "There is a felicity of utterance in it," said Carlyle, "here and there, such as I remember in no other writer, living or dead, and it's all as true as gospel." "What enlightened public," he added, "will make of it, I know not. To be visited with such a dividing of joint and marrow! so quiet, so sudden, fatal as the sword (here a proper name for sword I could not read) to the unhappy smith who only knew he was killed by feeling the iron in his inside, and had to shake himself before he fell in two. *Euge!* I tell you I know nothing like it for felicity of expression; John Mill keeps not closer to his dialectics, and he but with one gift, while here are so many;—a man who comes on etymologically, phantastically, prophetically (I am not sure of this last word—could not decipher it; if it is right, it means 'eloquently,' but is stronger) all at once. Glad I am that you are in for a continuance—I care not now at what interval: I have lived to see it said clearly that government—(I forget the exact phrase following, but it meant the assertion of authority generally over mob)."[2]

Cut short in mid-career, the essays entitled *Munera Pulveris* had to bide their time. Just as the collection of the *Cornhill* essays into a volume was due to the beginning of the *Fraser* essays (see above, p. l.), so the republication of the *Fraser* essays was due to the beginning of a fresh series. In 1871 Ruskin's preoccupations were largely political and economic; he had resumed the preaching of his social gospel; and in connexion with *Fors Clavigera* he determined to

[1] W. G. Collingwood's *Life of John Ruskin* (1900), p. 202. Carlyle forgot that he had read one at least of the *Cornhill* papers and written to Ruskin about it two years before (see above, p. xxxii.).

[2] Ruskin's letters to his father from Annecy, April 7 and 11, 1863.

include *Munera Pulveris* in the collected series of his works. It there appeared—for the first time in collected form—on January 1, 1872. In this form the book was expensive, and the sale was slow. Fourteen years later Ruskin wrote to his publisher that "people seem ready for" a cheap edition. In 1886 such an edition was issued, and the book has of late years found many readers.

But in 1863 Ruskin turned away, in disappointment for a while, from economic writing; the continuation of his essays in Political Economy was put aside, and he devoted himself to finishing his lecture for the Royal Institution on the Forms of the Stratified Alps of Savoy. He had by this time tired of his hermitage at Mornex, which indeed was less peaceful than he had hoped. He could no longer endure, he says, "the rabid howling, on Sunday evenings, of the holiday-makers who came out from Geneva to get drunk in the mountain-village."[1] Also he had "thought in winter there would be storms, and lovely skies and effects in the Alps"; but "there was not *one*, from Christmas to April—nothing but crystalline clearness with cold wind, or black grey with snow."[2] So, to complete his mountain studies, he left Mornex for a while and went to the Lake of Annecy—staying first at the Hôtel de Genève, Annecy, and afterwards at Talloires on the east bank of the lake, in the ancient Benedictine Abbey there, part of which had been turned into an hotel. He found the "stratification of the mountains inconceivably wonderful and interesting," and enjoyed the coming of the spring:—

> "Annecy, *April* 10.—I have had a good day, to-day; feeling strong in drawing and enjoying myself generally. I am glad to find it isn't my fault when I grumble; and that provided the sky is blue, the air soft, plenty of violets and hyacinths on the banks, the mountains beautiful, the peasantry pretty, and the road good, I don't feel anything much to complain of; so that nobody can say I don't know what I want."

One of his drawings of the mountains of Annecy is here reproduced in colours (Plate VI.). After a few weeks he returned to Mornex. "You can't think," he wrote (May 11), "how pleased I am to get back to my den. . . ." (May 12): "I have really been enjoying myself mightily this evening; there has been a clear sunset on the Brezon with quiet air; and I've had tea in my garden house, with the lilacs in bloom outside, and a red hawthorn, and pink chestnut; and the nightingales are in

[1] *Time and Tide*, § 47; see below, p. 356.
[2] Letter to his father from Talloires, April 21, 1863.

full song (or were last night till I fell asleep—for I could hardly tell them from the other birds this evening), and the view of the plain of the Arve, now coming into the rich tufted loveliness I first saw it in—thirty years ago—is very precious to me." But Ruskin was too sensitive to other impressions for unchequered enjoyment. "The air is very soft and sweet now," he wrote on the following day, "but it is cloudy and gloomy; the gloomiest part of it, however, is the contrast of spring and its blossoming with the torpor and misery of the people; nothing can be more dreadful than their suffering, from mere ignorance and lethargy, no one caring for them."

At the end of May 1863 Ruskin again went to England, reaching Denmark Hill on June 1. He had two public engagements to fulfil—one, the lecture on Geology which had occupied much of his time and thoughts during the preceding months; a report of it is reserved for the volume containing *Deucalion*. His other public engagement was to give evidence before the Royal Commission on the Royal Academy; this has been printed in a previous volume.[1] He then went for a round of visits in the North—to Winnington, to Wallington, to Lady Waterford at Ford Castle, and to his friend, and Turner's, the Rev. William Kingsley at Thirsk.[2] To Winnington, on this occasion, Ruskin took with him Mr. and Mrs. Burne-Jones; and in the *Memorials* of the painter we catch a glimpse of Ruskin "taking his place occasionally in a quadrille or a country dance. He looked very thin, scarcely more than a black line, as he moved about amongst the white girls in his evening dress."[3]

In September 1863 he returned once more to the Alps.[4] His mind was now set upon building a house for himself among the Savoy mountains, and of making it his permanent home. He had already during his residence at Mornex been prospecting. It was to be a "hill-top" house. He had been one day for a solitary ramble up the Brezon, above Bonneville, and was entranced with the flowers and the view. There on the mountain summit was the place chosen for his châlet. He entered upon the scheme with characteristic enthusiasm.

[1] Vol. XIV. pp. 476 *seq.*

[2] The following are the dates: Winnington (August 8), Newcastle (August 10), Wallington (August 11), Coldstream (April 18, driving over to see Lady Waterford at Ford Castle), Thirsk, with W. Kingsley (April 20), Wallington (August 23), Winnington (August 25 and following days).

[3] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. i. p. 264.

[4] The following were his movements: Boulogne (September 8), Geneva (September 10), Bonneville (September 11), Chamouni (September 12), St. Martin (October 8), Geneva (October 10), Baden (October 13), Schaffhausen (November 2), Baden (November 3), Bâle (November 11), Paris (November 13).

J. Ruskin.

Mc Lagan & Cumming, Edin^r

Mountains of the Lake of Annecy

The good people of Bonneville were delighted. They thought to see Ruskin permanently established among them as an earthly providence; and Mr. Allen, who was on one occasion sent to meet the village elders on the spot and discuss the water supply, describes how he was received with salvoes of artillery. "The hardest day's work I ever had in my life," says Mr. Allen, "was marking out the boundaries of Mr. Ruskin's intended purchase." He was resolved to buy the greater part of the mountain. There was no water; he would construct a dam to collect the snow. Dante Rossetti was to come out and design the decorations of the châlet; Burne-Jones was to paint the walls. Alas! this "house beautiful" among the mountains was to remain a châlet in the air, but for a time the scheme was very near accomplishment. He had two objects in view. First, as he explains in *Præterita* (ii. §§ 206 *seq.*), he wanted to make some practical effort to help the peasantry, whose fundamental nobleness of character he respected, and for whose hard and often neglected lot he had so profound a pity. But also he had more and more come to feel the homelessness of his own home. He was no longer understood by his parents, nor could he enjoy their sympathy. His religious heresies grieved his mother; his economic, his father. The more he loved them—and no parents ever had a more affectionate and dutiful child—the more he felt the bitterness of the estrangement. Already, early in 1861, he had written to Professor Norton of the "almost unendurable solitude in my own home, only made more painful to me by parental love which did not and never could help me, and which was cruelly hurtful without knowing it."[1] Hence Ruskin felt that he must have a home of his own; and for reasons already stated, as well as for peace and seclusion, he decided to find it among the Alps. He had told the plan to Burne-Jones, who was distressed at Ruskin's loneliness of spirit, and pleaded that, as an alternative to exile, he should find some retreat in England: for this home the painter would design a set of hangings with figures from Chaucer, and the girls at Winnington would work them. Ruskin's reply to Burne-Jones and his wife was written just before he left England for Chamouni:—

"Denmark Hill, *8th September*, 1863.

"My dearest Children,—I am very deeply moved and comforted by all your letters—as who would not be, unless he were himself rock, instead of merely wishing to live among rocks. You would make me entirely happy with your loves if I felt strong,

[1] *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 106.

and as if I should have life and time to stay with you, but I have a great feeling of its being too late. But do with me and for me as you will—that will be best for me. All that I mean to do—at the worst—is to buy this bit of rock land as I would a picture. You may like some day, some of you, to climb to it, with children's feet, among Alpine roses; and I've another notion of a thing the great cliff above may be useful for—some day—or night—but, for this time, have your own way. I daresay love is very nice when it doesn't always mean leaving people—as it always does with me, somehow; and if you can find this dream of yours with its walled garden, I don't think I should want to leave it, when I got in. And for the tapestry, *please* begin that directly; *that* at least I can live with; and let it be as you say—Chaucer's legend. I should like that better than any—any—anything, and it is very beautiful and kind and lovely of the twelve damosels to work it for me—and I would not have had any other if I had chosen. And it will be very wonderful and helpful and holy to me. And let the little maidens do birds and mice and funny things and little flowers, underneath; and give them all now my love and wearying for them, and take it, for you.

"I hope it will make you very happy to be there, as far as any outward thing can make you and Georgie happier than you always are; but I like so much to think of you there, and I can't bear to think of you in London. It is the only quite pleasant thing I have to think of in all the world. So stay as long as you can, that I may have it to think of." [1]

Mrs. Burne-Jones had also written to Ruskin's father, who replied as follows:—

"I am happy to think of my Son possessing so much of your and Mr. Jones' regard, and to hear of so many excellent people desiring to keep him at home; my own earnest wishes are, and, since his visits to Winnington, to Thirsk, and to Wallington, my hopes are, that my Son may ultimately settle in England; but these hopes would not be strengthened by his too suddenly changing his mind, throwing up his Engagements, breaking his Appointments, or at all acting on the whim of the moment. He so far proceeded towards a settlement in Savoy as to have begun treating with a Commune about a purchase of Land. His duty is, therefore, to go to Savoy and honourably withdraw from the Affair, by paying for all Trouble occasioned, and I fully expect the Savoyards will afford him some ground for declining a purchase by the exorbitant prices they will ask for

[1] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. i. pp. 266–267.

their Land. As for the ground he has bought at Chamouni, it will be a pleasure to him to keep it though he saw it not once in seven years. It is the Building Plan near Bonneville that I should rejoice to see resigned —but not suddenly abandoned for a momentary Indulgence among the Delights of Winnington, but deliberately, and after some goings and comings and Comparisons, between Weeks spent abroad, and Weeks spent at home. He has made a short engagement to go to Switzerland with the Rev. Osborne Gordon, which I hope he will keep, and I shall endeavour to hope that his Engagements abroad may in future be confined to a Tour with a friend, and that Home Influences may in the end prevail. Tell Mr. Jones that I know enough of him not to be jealous of any Influence he may have with my Son—I cannot be jealous of the Influence of Any one on this subject, because I do not attempt to exercise any—I want my Son to find out for himself where he is likely to be most happy, and am ready to acquiesce in any plan, Swiss or English, that shall most thoroughly secure this end.

"My Son's fellow Traveller now is the best he could possibly go with. Being rather cynical in his views generally, and not over enthusiastic upon Alps, he is not likely to much approve of the middle heights of the Brezon for a Building Site."

The quiet humour and practical wisdom of this letter, and, discernible beneath them, the affectionate tenderness for his son, are very characteristic of the father whom Ruskin was soon to lose. The old man's shrewdness was justified by the event. Ruskin went to Geneva with his "cynical" tutor, who walked up to the proposed hermitage and, "with his usual sagacity, calculated the daily expense of getting anything to eat, up those 4000 feet from the plain."[1] Having successfully accomplished the climb, and remembering that the return journey would be of the same length, Gordon remarked drily, "If you ask your friends to dinner, it will be a nice walk home for them, at night." Ruskin feared that if they came to call and found him "not at home," they would not come again; to which Gordon added, "and I don't think they would come again anyhow."[2] Perhaps these quiet criticisms had their effect, but the determining factor was the conduct of the Commune of Bonneville, who raised their price on Ruskin exorbitantly. "Unable to see why anybody should want to buy a waste of barren rock, with pasturage only for a few goats in the summer," they concluded that he had found a gold mine or a coal-bed in it[3]—a suspicion to which Ruskin's frequent visits with his geological hammer, and

[1] *Præterita*, ii. § 206.
[2] Ruskin's letter to his father from Bonneville, September 11, 1863.
[3] *Præterita*, ii. § 206.

Mr. Allen or Couttet carrying baskets for the collection of mineralogical specimens, no doubt afforded additional ground. The land at Chamouni, at the foot of the Tapia, had been duly bought; but Ruskin never built upon it, and presently sold it, "perceiving what ruin was inevitable in the valley after it became a tourist rendezvous."[1] The top of the Brezon he left on the Commune's hands; and after spending a few weeks at Chamouni—busy mainly with geology—Ruskin went off to Northern Switzerland, to sketch at Baden and Lauffenbourg and Schaffhausen, and returned to Mornex no more. His interest in economical questions was unabated, and from various places on his travels he fired in "arrows of the chace" to the newspapers. Thus from Chamouni on October 2 he wrote a letter to the *Times* on the Gold Discoveries then being made in Australia (see below, p. 489); and this in turn led to the Dialogue on Gold which has already been mentioned (p. lxix.), and which begins with a reference to his visit to Schaffhausen. His visit to Zurich at this same time is referred to in *Time and Tide*.[2]

In the middle of November he returned to England, and after a few days with his parents he went North—making Winnington again his headquarters, and paying visits to Manchester and to Lord Somers[3] at Eastnor. At this time he had an idea of adding a little to his papers in *Fraser's Magazine* and publishing them in a volume. He explains the scheme in a letter to Burne-Jones:—

> "I want you to do me a set of simple line illustrations of mythology and figurative creatures, to be engraved and to make a lovely book of my four Political Economy papers in *Fraser*, with a bit I'm just adding. I want to print it beautifully, and make it a book everybody *must* have. And I want a Ceres for it, and a Proserpine, and a Plutus, and a Pluto, and a Circe, and an Helen, and a Tisiphone, and an Ἀνάγκη, and a Prudentia, and a Sapientia, and a Temperantia, and a Fortitudo, and a JUSTITIA, and a CHARITAS, and a FIDES, and a Charybdis, and a Scylla, and a Leucothea, and a Portia, and a Miranda, and an Ἀρετή, and an Ophelia, and a Lady Poverty, and ever so many people more, and I'll have them all engraved so beautifully, you can't think—and then I'll cut up my text into little bits, and put it all about them, so that people must swallow at once, and it will do them so much good. Please think of it directly."[4]

[1] *Præterita*, ii. § 206.
[2] In § 45; see below, p. 355.
[3] For whom, see Vol. I. pp. xxxv., 409, 463, and Vol. XV. p. xvii.
[4] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. i. p. 271.

J Ruskin

Allen & Co. Sc

Lauffenbourg

The letter is very characteristic of the mythological and fanciful strain in *Munera Pulveris*, which we have already discussed. But this scheme, as many another, was interrupted by the death of Ruskin's father, which took place on March 3, 1864. He was 78 years of age, and Ruskin himself was 45; but the parting meant much more to Ruskin than the death of a father in old age means to most sons in middle life. It deprived him of his best friend and counsellor, and it cast upon him duties and responsibilities from which he had hitherto been shielded. His literary schemes were abandoned for a while, and the publication of *Munera Pulveris* was not made till nine years later. The epitaph which Ruskin wrote for his father's tomb in Shirley Churchyard, near Elmer's End, Kent, may fitly find place in this volume, which contains so many pages of passionate exhortations to Truth, Honesty, and Affection:—

Here rests from day's well-sustained burden,

JOHN JAMES RUSKIN,

born in Edinburgh, May 18th, 1785.
He died in his home in London, March 3rd, 1864.
He was an entirely honest merchant,
and his memory is, to all who keep it, dear and helpful.
His son, whom he loved to the uttermost
and taught to speak truth, says this of him.

LETTERS TO THE PRESS (1863–1868)

The death of his father left Ruskin a freer hand in striking at the current doctrines of Political Economy, though for the time the pressure of other duties prevented him from writing any elaborate work on the subject. His essays in the *Cornhill* and *Fraser* brought him a good deal of correspondence, and to sympathetic readers he wrote letters of encouragement and counsel; some of which have been preserved, and are given in Appendix I. But so long as his father lived, Ruskin wrote under some constraint, or was even restrained from writing at all. It was probably, as we have seen, the paternal edict that suppressed the Dialogue on Gold (Appendix II.). But now that his father was no longer at his side, Ruskin plunged with constant ardour into the fray. The almost single-handed contest which he waged at this time with the accepted religion in economics is one of the most spirited

incidents in the history of such disputes, and his frequent letters to the newspapers did a great deal to call attention to his views. In 1864 he wrote a series of controversial letters on "The Law of Supply and Demand" (Appendix III.); in 1865, another and a longer series on "Work and Wages" (Appendix IV.). In the same year a popular discussion in the *Daily Telegraph* on the eternal Servant Question gave Ruskin an opening for pointing an economic moral (Appendix V.). At later dates he similarly discussed in the newspapers the nationalisation of railways (Appendix VI.). These discussions introduced, to a wider circle than was as yet reached by his books, the theories and principles which he had closely at heart.

"Time and Tide" (1867)

Ruskin's next contribution to economic discussions was also made, in the first instance, through the daily press. This was the series of letters subsequently collected in the volume entitled *Time and Tide*. The story of his life during the intervening years belongs to the next volume; but we must give here such particulars about the book as are necessary to its better understanding. The letters were addressed to Thomas Dixon, of Sunderland (1831–1880), a representative of the highest type of working-man; an example, one may say, in real life of the ideal working-man, to whom Ruskin addressed so many of his writings, and of the type which he strove to influence and to create. Dixon was a corkcutter by trade, a skilful workman, and a good manager. His business throve, and a short time before his death he was able to retire on the modest competence that sufficed for him. His main business was supplying public-houses with corks, and he never liked the trade.[1] For many years he was a chronic sufferer from asthma, but he had the temper of a Stoic and the resources of a cultivated man, to whom his mind is a kingdom. "He had," writes a friend, "the ingenuous simplicity of a child and the tender sympathetic heart of a woman. He was an unostentatious, practical philanthropist, and his secret pecuniary benefactions were not only large in proportion to his means, but, what was of far more permanent good service to humanity, he never lost an opportunity of inducing the young persons who frequented his shop or visited his house to become keen art students, judicious book-buyers, and discriminative, earnest readers. Young men and women, by dozens, owe to

[1] See Appendix iv. to *Time and Tide* (below, p. 469).

him the first impulse they got to cultivate something higher than either mere amusement or sordid money-making; and many, who were already treading steadily in sundry walks of literature and art, were indebted to him very materially for assistance he was able and ready to give from out-of-the-way sources."[1] He took an active part in all local efforts for the establishment of public reading-rooms, art galleries, co-operative stores, and mechanics' institutes. He used to correspond with eminent men,[2] and those who made his acquaintance soon became his friends. "You know," wrote Max Müller to Mr. Brockie, "that Thomas Dixon was not a learned man, but I can assure you that his letters, in spite of occasional mistakes in spelling, showed a clearer insight into the true objects of all my writings, and conveyed to me more useful criticisms than many a review in our best weekly, monthly, or quarterly journals. How he found time to do all he did, and to read all he read, and to think out all that he thought out for himself, is still a riddle to me. Nothing gives me a stronger faith in the intellectual vigour and moral strength of the English people than that such a man as Thomas Dixon could have lived and passed away almost unknown, except to his friends and fellow-citizens."

A working man of this kind was a man after Ruskin's heart. He gave to Dixon his warm friendship, and Dixon to him a whole-hearted admiration. Dixon had asked for copies of Ruskin's writings on Political Economy. The inquiry, coming from a man representative of the highest type of the working classes, suggested to Ruskin to carry a little further the work which had been suspended in 1863. He had during the intervening years been seeing much of Carlyle, who was constantly urging him to "be diligent" in hurling his arrows into "the black void of anarchy" around them. In 1865–1866 he had joined Carlyle in the committee for the defence of Governor Eyre. The American Civil War had also stirred him profoundly; and if he did

[1] "Sunderland Notables. By William Brockie. No. 16. Thomas Dixon, Cork-Cutter," in the *Sunderland Weekly Times and Echo*, April 6, 1888. A briefer biographical notice, also by Mr. Brockie, appeared in the *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend*, for October 1889, vol. iii. pp. 447–448. An interesting chapter (xvii. in vol. ii.) is also devoted to Dixon in W. B. Scott's *Autobiographical Notes*, and references to him occur in the various books about D. G. Rossetti issued by Mr. W. M. Rossetti: he was well known to both the brothers.

[2] He had a habit also of sending them presents, often of valuable books. "I ought to have mentioned," writes Carlyle to his brother (December 5, 1863), "that a certain cork-cutter at Sunderland, 'combining with a few other working men,' sent me yesterday a fair enough copy of Bewick's *Birds*, 'in honour of my 70th birthday'" (*New Carlyle Letters*, vol. ii. p. 233). That such gifts were sometimes embarrassing to their recipients is shown by a letter of Robert Browning (see W. M. Rossetti's *Rossetti Papers*, p. 179).

not take so pronouncedly the side of the South as was the case with many notable Englishmen of the time (Mr. Gladstone, for instance), yet the methods of the North were intensely abhorrent to him. Many violent diatribes on this subject occur in his letters to Thomas Dixon. But the condition of the time which most directly influenced these letters was the agitation, then at its height, for Parliamentary Reform. In June 1866 the Reform Bill had been defeated, Lord Russell's Government resigned, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Disraeli as leader in the House of Commons. The rejection of the Bill caused great indignation among the masses of the people. Reform Leagues and Reform Unions started up as if from the ground. A great demonstration was organised to meet in Hyde Park; it was refused admission, and the Park railings were torn down. Throughout the autumn and the winter the agitation went on; and the Trade Unions, as yet unrecognised by the law, organised meetings and demonstrations in all the great industrial centres. The new Government read the signs of the times, and, "stealing the Whigs' clothes," Disraeli introduced a Reform Bill in February 1867. It was at this moment that Ruskin began his letters to Dixon. To the working men, as to the professional politicians, engaged in the exciting controversy of the day, Parliamentary Reform seemed to open a direct path to the Promised Land. Ruskin did not oppose Reform in itself, but he saw that it was no panacea. Social justice was more important than electoral redistribution; the reform of the suffrage might be well, but reform was needed also in the laws bearing upon honesty of work and honesty of exchange; political reform generally might be valuable, but the building up of the individual character was the thing yet more needful. To change a bad law was desirable, but first let the working men see that they could obey a good one.

Such were the ideas with which Ruskin began his letters to Thomas Dixon, the corkcutter of Sunderland. They are shown in the full title which he gave to the letters when he presently collected them into a volume—*Time and Tide by Weare and Tyne: Twenty-five Letters to a Working Man of Sunderland on the Laws of Work.* It was the unalterable laws of national and individual well-being that Ruskin sought to enforce—laws which, whether men recognised them or not, will assuredly make themselves felt "in due course of time and tide."[1] Ruskin began the letters with the object of supplementing *Munera Pulveris* (see pp. 315, 442); he was not in vigorous health at the time, and he chose the vehicle of familiar correspondence as requiring

[1] See *Munera Pulveris*, § 96 (below, p. 218).

less concentration than a formal treatise, and as enabling him to write as the spirit moved him. The chance which dictated the choice of subjects often seemed to him strangely significant (§ 164), and herein we may find the origin of the later series of "Letters to Workmen" which he entitled *Fors Clavigera*, and which, as he says, covered ground originally intended for a second series of *Time and Tide* (p. 313). As the letters proceeded, Ruskin allowed himself to take up now this subject and now that, "just as fate or fancy carried"—as afterwards also in the "Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain" entitled *Fors Clavigera*. There was, however, in these letters to Dixon not only a general purpose (as already partly indicated above), but they all fitted into a general scheme, which was to sketch in outline an Ideal Commonwealth.

A few pieces subsequent to *Time and Tide* are also included in this volume. Ruskin was a member of the Social Science Association, which in 1868 occupied itself with discussing the relations of Capital and Labour—a question which the growing power of Trade Unions and the labour disturbances of the time had made very acute. Ruskin's speeches at meetings of the Association are given in Appendix VII. A little later in the year he drew up for private circulation some "Notes on the General Principles of Employment for the Destitute and Criminal Classes": these are printed in Appendix VIII. The "Notes" were written at Abbeville in September 1868. The letters on Inundations, written in 1871 (Appendix IX.); and the discussions in 1873 with Professor W. B. Hodgson on "Demand and Supply" (Appendix III. 4, 5) and with W. R. Greg on the Economics of Luxury (Appendices X. and XI.) are also here included, as illustrating or supplementing passages in Ruskin's other economic writings.

PART II

Ruskin never put his economical work, either on its critical or on its constructive side, into connected form. He wrote by snatches; he wrote allusively; and he wrote in fierce indignation. The particulars set forth in the preceding pages of this Introduction sufficiently explain the broken character of his economic writings. We have seen, too, how freely he gave the rein to his fancy in following up any clue in literature or mythology which seemed suggestive of his conclusions. One

can sympathise with the City man who is said to have given up Ruskin's articles in despair, on finding that, according to this new counsellor, the principles of sound economics required a familiarity with "Scylla, Charybdis, Circe, the 'Gran Nemico' of Dante, and Spenser's Plutus."[1] Ruskin himself was aware, in half-mocking humility, of the extent to which his writing fell short (if such be the case) of the calm and orderly style of other economists. "I really *am* getting practical," he wrote to Professor Norton, "and I'm thinking of writing Hamlet's soliloquy into Norton-and-Mill-esque: 'The question which under these circumstances must present itself to the intelligent mind, is whether to exist, or not to exist,' etc."[2] But that, as we all know, was not Ruskin's way; and least of all when he wrote under stress of strong emotion. His friends counselled him to be cheerful, to keep calm, to moderate the force of his expressions. "Those expressions," he replied, "may do me harm, or do me good; what is that to me? They are the only true, right, or possible expressions. The Science of Political Economy *is* a Lie,—wholly and to the very root (as hitherto taught). It is also the Damnedest,—that is to say, the most utterly and to the lowest pit condemned of God and his Angels—that the Devil, or Betrayer of Men, has yet invented, except his (the Devil's) theory of Sanctification. To this 'science,' and to this alone (the professed and organised pursuit of Money) is owing *All* the evil of modern days. I say All. The Monastic theory is at an end. It is now the Money theory which corrupts the Church, corrupts the household life, destroys honour, beauty, and life throughout the universe. It is *the* Death incarnate of Modernism, and the so-called science of its pursuit is the most cretinous, speechless, paralysing plague that has yet touched the brains of mankind."[3] Ruskin goes on to say that he thus wrote coolly and deliberately; but he wrote in what Carlyle called "divine rage," and the heat sometimes blinds the reader to the substance of the argument. For these various reasons it seems desirable in this volume—wherein for the first time Ruskin's principal writings on economics are brought together—to explain the logical order of the several pieces, to set forth in outline the successive arguments, and to state the nature and extent of his contributions to economic thought and practice.

There was in Ruskin's mind a scheme of economics more comprehensive than any which he actually wrote.[4] It was threefold. He

[1] *Weekly Review*, December 6, 1862.
[2] *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 212.
[3] Letter to Dr. John Brown, August 1862.
[4] See *Time and Tide*, § 155; below, p. 442.

sought to overthrow the basis of the accepted doctrine (*Unto this Last*); to outline a scheme of Social Economy which should take its place (*Munera Pulveris*); and to show how its principles would work out in laws, customs, and institutions (*Time and Tide*). To some extent, the three books cover the same ground; the same topics, and occasionally the same illustrations, occur in all of them—the references to parallel passages, now given in footnotes to the text or in the course of the following pages, are, it will be seen, numerous. But looking at the books broadly, we may say that they correspond to the threefold division just stated.

Ruskin's attack on the accepted theory of Political Economy was a double one, as stated by himself in a note of 1883 upon an exposition of his doctrine, entitled *A Disciple of Plato*, by Professor William Smart. At page 41 of this study, the writer said, "Ruskin does not object to Political Economy, so long as it is confessed *Mercantile Economy*." Ruskin's comment was as follows:—

> "There is no word I want to add or change up to page 41; but, as regards what follows, I would like to add that, while I admit there is such a thing as mercantile economy, distinguished from social, I have always said that neither Mill, Fawcett, nor Bastiat knew the contemptible science they professed to teach."[1]

"Unto this Last"

This note may serve as an introduction to a short summary of the contents of *Unto this Last*. In the Preface Ruskin states the main objects of his treatise. They are (1) to give a definition of Wealth, more precise than any to be found in the then accepted manuals; and (2) to show that certain moral conditions, and especially honesty, are necessary for its attainment. (The portion of the Preface dealing with measures of practical reform will be noticed presently.)

In the *First Essay* Ruskin objects to the whole basis of the Science of Political Economy. The Science (as then formulated) was founded on an abstraction; it postulated an economic man, from whom the social affections were eliminated. This proceeding, which

[1] "Note by Mr. Ruskin" on p. 48 of *A Disciple of Plato: a Critical Study of John Ruskin*, by William Smart [now Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow]: Glasgow, Wilson & M'Cormick, 1883.

would be legitimate if the factors thus eliminated made only a quantitative difference, is unscientific and nugatory, because those factors make a qualitative difference (§§ 1–3).

> See in illustration of this statement *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 137 *seq.*, where Ruskin shows that the relations of rich and poor "depend, from beginning to end, on moral conditions." See also a letter to E. S. Dallas of August 18, 1859 (*Letters from John Ruskin to Various Correspondents*, privately issued 1892, p. 21; reprinted in a later volume of this edition).

The inability of the abstract science to deal with concrete facts is illustrated from the case of disputes between employers and workmen (§§ 4–7).

> On this subject, see Ruskin's letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on "Work and Wages," Appendix iv. (below, pp. 506 *seq.*); the resolution proposed by him at a meeting of the Social Science Association, Appendix vii. (below, p. 539); and a letter to E. S. Dallas of September 4, 1859 (*Letters upon Subjects of General Interest to Various Correspondents*, privately printed 1892, pp. 26–29; reprinted in a later volume of this edition).

The true basis of sound economic relations between them is shown in the case of Domestic Service (§§ 8–10): unselfish treatment gives the employer the best return.

> See Ruskin's letters to the *Daily Telegraph* on Servants, Appendix v. (below, pp. 518 *seq.*), and the other passages collected in a note on p. 28.

The same principle is illustrated in the case of a commander and his men (§ 11).

Applying similar considerations to the relations of manufacturers and workmen, Ruskin lays down that the objects to be attained are (1) regular wages, and (2) fixity of employment (§ 12).

He proceeds (1) to give instances of other employment in which wages are regular (§§ 13, 14).

Under the second head—(2) fixity of employment—he dwells on the importance of steady conditions, and on the way in which speculation interferes with them (§§ 15, 16[1]); and then passes to appeal to the honour and public spirit of the manufacturers. Why is the soldier held in superior honour to the manufacturer or the merchant? Because the latter is seen to act in the main selfishly (§§ 17–19). The need is for soldiers, or captains, of Industry, whose code of honour

[1] On the evils of speculation, compare *Time and Tide*, Letter xv. (p. 389).

would be (*a*) to keep their engagements, (*b*) to provide pure goods, (*c*) to care for their men (§§ 20–25). Hence this first essay is entitled *The Roots of Honour*.

To the subject of adulteration Ruskin often returned; see the passages collected below, p. 383 *n*.

In the *Second Essay* Ruskin continues his attack on the narrow basis of the *soi-disant* Science of Political Economy. The science is wrong, he has already shown, in isolating the individual man from the social affections; it is also wrong, he now goes on to show, in isolating the individual from society. He insists on a distinction between *Political* Economy (the economy of a State) and *Mercantile* Economy (§§ 26–29). The "riches" with which the latter is concerned mean the establishment of the maximum inequality in favour of particular persons (§ 30).

Such inequalities of wealth are good or bad for the general community according to (*a*) the methods by which they are acquired, and (*b*) the purposes to which they are applied (§§ 31, 32).

This distinction is illustrated from various cases (of shipwrecked sailors, etc.), in which it is shown that "the establishment of the mercantile wealth which consists in a claim upon labour, signifies a political diminution of the real wealth which consists in substantial possessions" (§§ 33–36).

Hence it is futile in any scheme of *Political* Economy to isolate the accumulation of wealth from considerations of justice, and wealth itself from "the moral signs attached to it." These signs are, from the point of view of the State, material attributes of riches. Hence the essay is entitled *The Veins of Wealth;* the wealth of a State consisting in healthy souls and bodies (§§ 37–41).

The *Third Essay* begins with a passage on Scriptural exhortations to justice in commercial dealings (§§ 42–45), and assumes that the science of Political Economy means "the Science of getting rich by just means" (§ 46).

What, then, is the law of justice respecting payment for labour? Ruskin defines it as the payment of labour for labour in equal measure (§§ 47, 48)—modified by the fact that "the order for labour, given in payment, is general, while the labour received is special" (§ 49). The general order may in justice be less in amount, but "the equity of payment is wholly independent of any reference to the number of men who are willing to do the work" (§ 48).

Injustice comes in with the so-called "law of demand and supply."

When two men compete for work from one employer, the tendency of that law is to underpay the workmen; when two employers compete for one workman, its tendency is to overpay the workman (§ 50).

The payment in all cases of "just" wages would tend to the more equal distribution of property and diminish the power of wealth in single hands (§§ 51–53)—a statement which leads Ruskin to explain that he is not a socialist (§ 54); his object is to declare that as the poor have no right to the property of the rich, so neither have the rich any right to that of the poor (§§ 54–55). It is the rule of justice he wishes to enforce; hence the title of the essay, *Qui Judicatis Terram.*

The *Fourth Essay* takes up the question, What is value? (for the exchanges of labour were to be of equal value, § 74). Ruskin notices first a lack of consistency in the definitions given by Mill and Ricardo (§§ 56–60): the examination of a passage in Mill leading him to point out the unsatisfactory nature of any economic analysis which measures utility only by "capacity to satisfy a desire or serve a purpose," and does not go on to inquire what kind of desire and what kind of purpose (§ 58).

Value, according to Ruskin's definition, is "that which avails towards life"; it is intrinsic and fixed (§ 61).

Wealth is "the possession of useful articles which we can use" (§ 62); or "the possession of the valuable by the valiant" (§ 63). Many things popularly accounted "wealth," and many persons accounted wealthy, are in fact only forms of "illth"[1] (§ 64). In a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply, "the persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person" (§ 65).

Passing to the consideration of Price (or, exchange value), Ruskin says that there can be no profit in exchange, but only acquisition (§ 66); and thence he derives the principles of just exchange (§§ 67, 68). Price is "the quantity of labour given by the person desiring a thing, in order to obtain possession of it" (§ 69). Since price is thus measured in terms of labour, "cheapness of labour" means "dearness of the object wrought for" (§§ 70, 71).

Labour may be either positive (that which produces life) or negative (that which produces death). The prosperity of a nation

[1] Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 46 and 70.

depends on the quantity of labour which it expends in obtaining and employing means of life; wise consumption is the crown of production (§ 72).

On this essential point in Ruskin's doctrine compare *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 77.

So, in the case of Capital, the question for the economist is, What substance good for life will it furnish? The final object of Political Economy being to get good method, and great quantity, of consumption (§§ 73–75).

Mill's assertion that "a demand for commodities is not demand for labour" is thus shown by Ruskin to be a "colossal" error (§ 76).

As consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption: "there is no wealth but life" (§ 77).

This is the pith of the book. The remaining sections glance slightly at the over-population question (§ 78); at the necessity for educating the poor and instilling into all classes habits of contentment with simple joys (§§ 79–82). The advancement towards this true felicity must be by individual, not public effort (§ 83), and so Ruskin concludes with a personal appeal (§§ 84, 85) to his readers to forward the coming of the kingdom "when Christ's gift of bread, and bequest of peace, shall be '*Unto this last* as unto thee.'"

With regard to public effort Ruskin stated in his Preface "the worst of the political creed" to which he wished his principles to lead. The reforms advocated were:—

1. National Schools for the young to be established at Government cost and under Government discipline over the whole country.

2. Every child to be taught, further, some trade or calling.

3. In connexion with these technical classes, Government workshops to be established, at which, without any attempt at establishing a monopoly, "good and exemplary work should be done, and pure and true substance sold."

4. Any person out of employment to be set forthwith to work at the nearest Government workshop.

5. Such work to be paid for at a fixed rate in each employment.

6. Those who would work if they could, to be taught. Those who could work if they would, to be set to penal work.

7. For the old and destitute comfort and home to be provided.

"Munera Pulveris"

The volume, whose contents we have thus briefly summarised, was an introduction to Ruskin's economic teaching. It was mainly destructive, its primary object being to challenge the accepted science, and was only incidentally constructive; that is to say, Ruskin only indicated in passing and by inference the terms of an alternative system. Carlyle, as we have seen, encouraged him to go on; and Froude, "thinking that there was something in it," invited him to pursue the subject in *Fraser's Magazine*. In this second collection of essays Ruskin gives a series of definitions and a list of headings which were to have served as "a Preface" to a more elaborate treatise (Preface, § 20). His object was now constructive, and only incidentally destructive. In broad outline he defined in *Munera Pulveris* the terms on which, as he conceived, a system of Political Economy should be based, and stated the questions with which such a system ought to deal.

Political Economy, he begins by stating, is a system of conduct founded on the sciences and impossible except under certain conditions of moral culture. It regulates the acts and habits of a Society or State, with reference to its means of maintenance (§ 1)—viz. (1) the support of its population in healthy and happy life; and (2) the increase of its numbers so far as is consistent with its happiness (§ 3). The material things which it is the object of political economy to produce and use are those which sustain and nourish the body or the soul, and no others (§ 8).

The inquiry into such things divides itself under three heads, according as it studies the phenomena of—I. Wealth; II. Money; or III. Riches. Wealth is "things in themselves valuable"; Money, "documentary claims to such things"; Riches, "the relation of one person's possessions to another's" (§ 11).

Wealth consists of "things in themselves valuable." Value signifies the life-giving power of a thing, which involves (*a*) a thing essentially useful, and (*b*) a capacity to use it (§§ 13, 14).

Here compare *Unto this Last*, §§ 62, 63; *Munera Pulveris*, Appendix iii.

Value in this sense must be closely distinguished from *Cost*, which means "the quantity of labour required to produce a thing"; and *Price*, which means "the quantity of labour which the possessor of a thing will take in exchange for it" (§ 12).

Valuable things are: (1) Land, considered (*a*) as a means of producing food and mechanical power; and (*b*) as providing objects of sight and thought.

The development of this chapter in Ruskin's intended treatise would have been of particular interest. If one were constructing such a treatise out of his actually written passages, one would refer under (*a*) to *Time and Tide*, § 151, where he lays down the conditions of land-tenure with regard to making the most of it, and to many similar passages in *Fors Clavigera;* while under (*b*), one would go to almost all his books for passages on the importance of national scenery as an element of national wealth; see in the General Index the headings "Landscape" and "Scenery." Compare p. 545, below; and see also *Fors Clavigera,* Letter 95; and consider the question which in one form or another Ruskin so often puts: "If the whole of England were turned into a mine, would it be richer or poorer?" See, for instance, *Sesame and Lilies,* § 83; *Crown of Wild Olive,* § 123 *n.*; *Queen of the Air,* § 92; and *Fors Clavigera,* Letter 12.

(2) Houses, Furniture, and Instruments; (3) Food, Medicines, Luxuries, Clothing; (4) Books; and (5) Works of Art.

Here, again, the discussion of these elements of national wealth is widely scattered through Ruskin's books. For typical passages, see *Cestus of Aglaia,* § 96, and "Kings' Treasuries" in *Sesame and Lilies.*

The definition of wealth thus given (*i.e.*, that it is in "an intrinsic value developed by a vital power") opposes three current views:—

(1) That a thing becomes wealth by becoming an object of desire. True wealth, however, is "the constant object of a legitimate desire, not the accidental object of a morbid one" (§§ 32–34).

On this point compare *Queen of the Air,* § 125.

(2) A second popular view of wealth is that the worth of things depends on the demand for them, instead of on the use of them. But all exchangeableness of commodity depends on the sum of capacity for its use; things which we cannot use may be a form of money, but they are not wealth (§§ 31, 35, 36).

The idea that the value of a thing is what it will fetch in the market is called by Ruskin in *Fors Clavigera* "the Judasian fallacy" (Letter 82). Compare also Letter 70.

(3) The third popular view of wealth, contradicted by Ruskin's definition, confuses Guardianship with Possession. But the things

which a man possesses but cannot use, he does not in the full sense possess at all; he is merely a curator (§§ 37, 38).

From the definition of wealth, given in opposition to these three views, it follows that the sum of wealth held by a nation depends strictly on its intrinsic quality, and varies with the number and character of its holders (§§ 39–46). Hence the questions to be asked are: (A) What is the National Store? (B) Who hold it?

(A) The first question resolves itself into three, thus:—

(*a*) What is the nature of the national store? Everything depends on whether the accumulation is of things that conduce to life, or to death (§§ 47, 48). There is also waste of toil in the production of unnecessary luxuries (§ 49); and this is not easily calculable, for it is not true that "labour is limited by capital": the amount of labour obtainable depends on the amount of heart and head put into it (§§ 50–53).

(*b*) What is the quantity of the store in relation to the population? Of two nations who have equal store, the more numerous is the richer, if the type of the inhabitant be as high; but the question remains what degree or extent of poverty is counterbalanced by the degree or extent of wealth (§§ 54–57).

Ruskin says (1872) that of these large plans of inquiry he had accomplished nothing (§ 57 *n.*, p. 181). But in various places he glances at such questions. See, for instance, on the relations between rich and poor, the paper on "The Basis of Social Policy" in *A Joy for Ever* (Vol. XVI. pp. 161–169); and therein especially §§ 178–181. Also *Sesame and Lilies*, note to § 30. And, on the question of numbers, *Queen of the Air*, §§ 120, 121 ("utmost multitude of good men on every given space of ground").

(*c*) What is the quantity of the store in relation to the currency? MONEY, it will be remembered, has been defined as the documentary expression of a legal claim. It is not merely "a means of exchange," but a token of right. It is not wealth, but a documentary claim to wealth; all the money in the world might be destroyed, and the world be neither richer nor poorer than it was before. If the wealth increases, but not the money, the worth of the money increases; if the money increases, but not the wealth, the worth of the money diminishes (§§ 21–24). The worth of a piece of money, which claims a given quantity of the national store, depends on cost and price. Cost is the quantity of labour required to produce a thing. (Labour is "that quantity of our work which we die in".) Cost is thus an ascertainable physical quantity; but price involves the human will, and is

dependent on the cost of a thing, its attainable quantity at that cost, the number and power of the persons who want it, and the estimate they have formed of its desirableness (§ 62). "Cheapness" is either a form of the rage for badness in commodities or "a measure of the extent of distress" (§ 62 *n.*).

On this subject, compare *Two Paths,* § 186; *Fors Clavigera,* Letters 51 and 59; and *Art of England,* § 125.

Ruskin works out the action of these factors (§§ 63, 64), and goes on to point out that "the real worth of the currency is founded on the entire sum of the relative estimates formed by the population of its possessions (§ 65); and to distinguish between the *truth* and the *strength* of a currency. It is strong or weak, in proportion to the degree of estimate in which a nation holds the house, horse, or picture which is claimed; it is true or false according to the security of the claim which it gives, and the first necessity of all economical government is to make the security absolute (§ 67).

(B) Who are the holders of the store, and who the claimants?

In discussing this question, Ruskin begins with a clear statement of his theory of Currency. "The currency of any nation consists of every document acknowledging debt which is transferable in the country" (§ 69). "National currency, in its perfect condition, is a form of acknowledgment of debt, so regulated and divided, that any person presenting a commodity of tried worth in the public market, shall, if he please, receive in exchange for it a document giving him claim to the return of its equivalent, (*a*) in any place (§ 71), (*b*) at any time (§ 72), and (*c*) in any kind" (§ 73).

This idea is worked out in *Fors Clavigera,* Letter 58.

The fulfilment of these purposes requires that the basis of currency should be indestructible and easily tested; and these qualities are united in gold, with however some disadvantages (§§ 25, 74, 75); as the sole basis of currency, it has the further disadvantage of instability (§ 76). Therefore the currency should be based on several substances of truer intrinsic value (§ 77).

Passing to discuss the total currency, this represents the quantity of debt in a country, and the store, the quantity of its possession. Most property-holders are both currency-holders and store-holders. The store-holder is the more useful member of society; for the currency-holder is as a rule the idle accumulator, and what is vainly accumulated

is as a rule vainly spent (§ 81–86). These last sections are followed by illustrations from literature and mythology (§§ 87–94).

On the subject of money and currency generally, the reader should compare the Dialogue on "Gold" and the letters in Appendix ii. (below, pp. 488–498); and also *Queen of the Air*, §§ 122, 123. For money as a token of right, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 44; for Ruskin's proposals to base currency on food instead of gold, see below, pp. 200, 488–489; *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 58; and *Sesame and Lilies*, note to § 30.

The next chapter discusses Commerce. As currency conveys right of choice out of many things in exchange for one, so "Commerce is the agency by which the power of choice is obtained." It is a necessary process (§ 96); but the right condition of it is that the merchant should receive pay (*i.e.*, wages for labour or skill) but not profit (*i.e.*, gain dependent on the state of the market). The greater part of such gain is unjust, as also is usury (*i.e.*, an exorbitant rate of interest) (§ 98). The "inhumanity of mercenary commerce" is then illustrated from Shakespeare (§ 100), and the law of grace in such dealings from other authors (§§ 101–103). From the point of view of the State, honesty is the best policy, for what one member gains by fraud or undue advantage, another loses (§ 104).

Ruskin then passes (ch. v.) to examine PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT (or, economically considered, the machinery and scope by which the State contributes to the accumulation, distribution, or use, of wealth). The Government of a State consists in (1) customs, (2) laws, (3) councils.

(1) Customs. The customs and manners of a sensitive and highly trained race are always vital (§ 107, and therefore conduce to its wealth). Hence it is the business of the State to educate its people so that such customs may be induced (§§ 106, 108).

It were superfluous to give full references here to passages where Ruskin insists on education as a matter of State concern (see, e.g., *Unto this Last*, Preface, § 6), and on education as an ethical process (see Vol. VII. p. 429 *n.*; Vol. XI. p. 204 *n.*): these are constant themes in his writings. Compare also *Time and Tide*, §§ 13, 29.

The highest sensibility is inconsistent with foul or mechanical employment (§§ 108, 109: see below, in the analysis of *Time and Tide*, p. xcix., for Ruskin's treatment of this question).

(2) Laws. These are of three kinds:—

(*a*) Archic Law, dealing with acts; that of appointment and precept, defining what is and is not to be *done* (§ 111). Ruskin here

draws two distinctions — first, not everything which is enjoined need be enforced by penalty; and secondly, educational laws should be strict, in order that criminal ones may be gentle (§ 112).

This is an idea which is constantly developed in Ruskin's books. See, in this volume, Appendix viii., pp. 541–545; and on principles of punishment, see *Lectures on Art*, §§ 89, 90.

(*b*) Meristic Law, dealing with possessions; that of balance and distribution, which defines what is and is not to be *possessed*. Here Ruskin's treatment is very brief. He advocates laws "enforcing the due conditions of possession"; notices incidentally the proper management of national museums; and hints at laws limiting the accumulation of property (§ 112).

The place of Museums in a system of Social Economy was a principal subject in Ruskin's lecture at the Royal Institution in 1867 (see Vol. XIX.).

(*c*) Critic Law, dealing with injuries; that of discernment and award, which defines what is and is not to be *suffered*. Here, again, the treatment is very brief. Ruskin glances at the large cost of law, and the sums grudgingly spent on research (§ 116). He then distinguishes between injuries of which a man is conscious, and those of which he is unconscious; a man is injured alike (*a*) if he is hindered from doing what he should, and (*b*) if he is not hindered from doing what he should not (§§ 117, 118). Hence the worth and worthlessness of every man should be ascertained (§ 119); and reward and punishment become help and hindrance (§ 120).

With these passages on "Critic Law," Letter xii. in *Time and Tide* should be compared, "the necessity of imperative law to the prosperity of states." Compare also *A Joy for Ever*, § 15. Here Ruskin is in line with, and anticipated, the thought of the political thinkers who developed the idea of "positive freedom" and advocated its embodiment in legislation. "Freedom of contract, freedom in all the forms of doing what one will with one's own, is valuable only as a means to an end. That end is what I call freedom in the positive sense; in other words, the liberation of the powers of all men equally for the contribution to a common good" (*Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract:* a lecture by Professor T. H. Green, Oxford, 1881).

(3) Government by Council. This is (*a*) visible, and (*b*) invisible—the latter being that exercised by all energetic and intelligent men, in regulating the ways and forming the character of the people, and this is the more important kind of government (§ 122).

On this point, see below, in the analysis of *Time and Tide*, p. cii.

Visible Governments are either (*a*) monarchies, (*b*) oligarchies, or (*c*) democracies. Forms of government are, however, only good or bad so far as they attain, or miss, the government of the unwise and unkind by the wise and kind (§§ 123–126).

Compare *Time and Tide*, § 158, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 1 and 14.

All modern governments are costly (and this is why, as Ruskin probably had in his mind, there is a cry for limiting the sphere of government). But this is only because we set governments to unproductive, instead of productive, work; governments should manage the railways, thus (and otherwise) earning income for its subjects (§§ 128, 129).

Here, again, see below, in the analysis of *Time and Tide*, p. cii.

Ruskin next glances at the kind of suffrage which would produce a true government capable of true work. Votes should be proportioned to intelligence and experience (§ 129).

Compare the earlier letters intended for the *Times*, in Vol. XII. pp. 600–603.

Slavery is then touched upon. A condition of slavery is inherent in human nature; some men are made for it (§§ 133–135), and compulsion is not in itself an evil (§ 130). The purchase by money of the right of compulsion is an evil; and this is not confined to negro slavery (§ 131)—nor is the yet worse form, namely, the purchase of body and soul (§ 132).

For references to illustrative passages in this connexion, see the footnote on p. 254, below.

In the sixth chapter Ruskin takes up the third branch of the subject as mapped out at the beginning, namely, Riches—that is, "the magnitude of the possessions of one person or society as compared with those of other persons or societies." Such inequalities between the shares of different persons are just and necessary, depending on the various industry, capacity, good fortune, and desires of men (§ 26). But economists have to inquire into: (1) the advisable modes of collection; (*a*) how far distribution enters into the matter: "the first of all inquiries respecting the wealth of any nation is not, how much it has, but whether it is in the possession of persons who can use it" (§ 27); and (*b*) how far the poverty takes away from the advantage of the wealth (§ 28). Secondly, economists have to inquire into

(2) the advisable methods of administration—under the headings of (*a*) selection, (*b*) direction, and (*c*) provision (§ 29).

Taking up in chapter vi. the inquiries thus outlined, Ruskin illustrates from simple instances the ways in which the inequalities mentioned may arise and the extent to which they may be carried. Entirely selfish action on the part of the provident creates maximum inequality in his own favour; entirely unselfish, minimum inequality: he enriches his neighbours instead, and has acted as their true Lord and King (§ 143). Every rich man is a Master; it is by his choice of the work to which he puts the poor that his worthiness or unworthiness is proved (§ 142).

The key to the whole subject lies in the clear understanding of the difference between selfish and unselfish expenditure (§ 147). Three things are to be considered in employing a man (§ 152):—

(i) You must employ him to produce useful things, and more especially food, houses, clothes, and fuel (§ 155). The way to produce more food is to bring in fresh ground (§ 156).

> With this subject of the reclamation of waste lands, etc., Ruskin dealt in his "Notes on Employment" (see below, Appendix viii., p. 545) and Letters on Inundations (Appendix ix., pp. 547–552).

The way to produce house-room is to improve the dwellings of the poor, before you try your hand at stately architecture (§ 157).

> This was a topic in Social Economy which Ruskin constantly enforced by precept and illustrated by practice. See on the latter point *Time and Tide*, § 148; and for other passages, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 135; and *Lectures on Art*, § 122.

The way to get more clothes is to think more of better distribution at home than of underselling abroad (§ 158).

> Compare *Time and Tide*, § 110, and *Sesame and Lilies*, §§ 130, 137.

The way to get more fuel is to make coal-mines safer, and to promote afforestation (§ 159).

> Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 60.

(ii) You must set him to make that which will cause him to lead the healthiest life.

> Here, again, a chapter in Ruskin's intended treatise on Political Economy might be compiled from his other books; see especially ch. vi. in vol. ii. of *The Stones of Venice*.

(iii) Of the things produced, it is a question of wisdom and conscience how much you take, and how much you leave to others. The natural law is to provide for old age, but otherwise to die poor (§§ 152, 153).

See, under this head, p. ci., below, in the analysis of *Time and Tide.*

"Such methods will not pay." No, not at first in currency, but in life and in light (§ 160); in "the sincere substance of good," though not in "gifts of the dust"—hence the title of the book (on which see above, pp. lxv.–lxvii.).

The book, whose contents have thus been summarised, gives, it will be seen, the headings under which Ruskin would have arranged a systematic treatise on Political Economy, had he ever written one. It states, as its principal object, the outline of his own system, and only incidentally attacks the current doctrine. In the Preface which he added in 1872 he summarises some of his points of attack:—

1. He emphasises the importance of considering at every stage intrinsic value (§§ 1–8), and, as correlative to this, intrinsic contrary of value, "the negative power having been left by former writers entirely out of account, and the positive power left entirely undefined" (§ 9).

2. Political Economists, he says, basing their science upon popular demand, connect demand and supply "by heavenly balance." This, as a statement of the way in which prices are regulated, is partly true; as a statement of a process with which it is unwise to interfere, it is untrue (§§ 9–11).

On this subject see the Letters on the Law of Supply and Demand in Appendix iii. (pp. 409 *seq.*); and compare *Cestus of Aglaia,* § 103 (Vol. XIX.), *Sesame and Lilies* (Vol. XVIII. p. 35).

3. The "law" of Political Economists that wages are determined by competition is neither true in fact, nor expedient in policy (§ 12).

These three matters have already been touched upon in the analysis, both of *Unto this Last* and of *Munera Pulveris.* And to them should be added the further points of attack already indicated in *Unto this Last* (see above, pp. lxxxiii., lxxxv.). But, continues Ruskin, the current handbooks of Political Economy are defective, in that, even within the limits of their scope, they fail to state clear principles. Thus:—

4. Expenditure on Luxury. There is no explicit teaching on this point (§ 16). Mill's treatment of it is inconclusive (*Unto this Last,*

§ 57); and, as Ruskin elsewhere says, it was sometimes alleged that luxury was good for trade.[1]

5. In this connexion we may here notice Ruskin's criticism of Mill's theorem that "a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour" (*Unto this Last*, § 76, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 2)—a theorem which is used to support the expediency of unlimited saving, and to reduce the economic importance of consumption.

6. Next, Ruskin asserts that the handbooks do not grapple with the question of rent, or settle the just conditions of the possession of land (*Munera Pulveris*, § 17, a criticism of Fawcett; and *Time and Tide*, §§ 156, 157, an attack on Mill; with which latter, however, compare *ibid.*, § 157 *n.*).

This attack on Fawcett is carried further in *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 11, 14, 78.

7. Similarly, he asserts that they do not tackle the question of National Debt (*Munera Pulveris*, § 18; again a criticism of Fawcett).

On the ideas of National Debt and National Store, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 1, 7, 14, 22, and 58.

In order to give a true summary of Ruskin's attack on the current Political Economy, it is necessary to add here two propositions of his, of which one is only briefly touched upon in the present volume, while the other belongs to a later stage of his thought. They are generally accounted fallacies, even by those most sympathetic in other respects to his economic standpoint, and the prominence which they assumed in his later writings probably did much to prevent or delay political economists from recognising the validity of his other criticisms.

8. Ruskin alleges that there can be "no profit in exchange." At first he limits this statement to a verbal distinction, admitting that while there is no "profit," there is "advantage" (*Unto this Last*, § 66); but presently he describes the whole process as "nugatory" (*ibid.*, § 67), thus denying that exchange can benefit both parties and increase the amount of wealth—a position strangely inconsistent with his own fundamental conception whereby wealth can be increased by placing the right things in the right hands. In his later writings he is still more emphatic in denying any profit to processes of trade: see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 45, 82, where he calls the view he is

[1] See below, p. 423; and *A Joy for Ever*, § 48 and note 5th (Vol. XVI. pp. 48, 123); and *Two Paths*, § 189 (Vol. XVI. p. 406).

attacking "the heresy of the tables"—the heresy, that is, of the money-changers.

9. Next, he attacks all interest as illegitimate. In this volume, indeed, he attacks only the taking of an exorbitant rate of interest (*Munera Pulveris*, § 98[1]); but his later note, added to that passage, points to the view elaborated in *Fors Clavigera* and elsewhere that the taking of any interest at all is extortion, the process of lending capital being essentially unproductive (*Fors*, Letters 1, 14, 18, etc.)

"Time and Tide"

Of *Time and Tide* it is unnecessary to give here a summary of all the contents. The author himself supplied headings to the Letters, and the book was confessedly rambling.[2] In part it reinforces various points in the earlier economic works; such references have already been supplied in this Introduction, or will be found in footnotes to the text. In part it throws out suggestions towards an Ideal Commonwealth, founded in accordance with the principles of social economy laid down in *Unto this Last* and *Munera Pulveris*. Of these suggestions a brief resumé may here be found useful.

Casting these suggestions into logical order, we may begin with the birth of the individual citizen. Ruskin attached great importance to "good birth"—distinguishing, however, "race" from "name" (see *Modern Painters*, vol. v., Vol. VII. p. 345 *n.*). The first requirement of the Ideal State is that its citizens should be well-born; hence Ruskin, like his master, Plato, proposed in his republic to regulate marriage (§§ 123–126). It is characteristic of the way in which one study worked in with another in Ruskin's mind, that his first ideas on this subject were connected with an early Venetian custom (see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., Vol. XI. pp. 138, 263). In his Ideal Commonwealth he devised a marriage festival which should vie in picturesqueness with that of The Brides of Venice.

The well-born children of Ruskin's Utopia were in the second place to be well taught. Education was to be the first duty of the State;

[1] See also "Home, and its Economies," § 20 (p. 565, below). It may be noted that incidentally Ruskin criticises, in an earlier book, the kind of borrowing which pays no interest (Vol. VIII. p. 195).

[2] See § 18 (p. 333); but there was, for all that, a pattern in the threads (§ 49, p. 359 *n.*).

it was to be compulsory and free; and its scope was to be both liberal and technical.

See *Time and Tide*, § 70, and the other passage there cited; also *Unto this Last*, Preface, § 6, and *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 106, 107, and indeed all Ruskin's works of this period, *passim*.

Among the elements of education was to be decent and fine dress (see § 62).

On this subject, see, among many other passages, *A Joy for Ever*, § 54 *n*.

The schools were also to teach music and dancing, for to Ruskin (as again to Plato) to rejoice rightly was no small part of education (§§ 41, 61).

On this subject, see *Cestus of Aglaia*, §§ 27 *seq*., and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 5, 73, 82, and 95.

That drawing was to be universally taught, we have already seen (Vol. XVI. p. xxix.).

Ruskin's schools were, however, not only to educate, they were also to sift. They were to be "trial schools," finding out what each child was fit for and setting him to it—thus realising the ideal of "la carrière ouverte au talents."

See *Time and Tide*, § 6; *Unto this Last* (below, p. 22); *A Joy for Ever*, § 132; and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 86.

But how would time and money be found for the cultivation in after years of the liberal pursuits and artistic tastes thus inculcated in youth? The answer is to be found in the gradual realisation of the economic conditions aimed at in Ruskin's system. There would be an Eight Hour Day, or less (*Munera Pulveris*, § 142 *n*.). Wages would be fixed, not by stress of competition, but by standards of justice; and employers would be in no haste to get rich (*Unto this Last*, §§ 12 *seq*., 23 *seq*.).

Yet, even so, a difficulty remains. Some employments are in their nature base and servile; and how in an ideal community would the dirty work be done? Ruskin's answer to this question occupies many scattered passages in the present volume. In the first place, he would reduce the amount of mechanical toil by the abolition of senseless luxuries (*Time and Tide*, §§ 128, 129; *Munera Pulveris*, § 109; and see *Modern Painters*, vol. v., Vol. VII. p. 427). Next, a certain amount of rough manual labour would be undertaken as a form of healthy work and as a matter of public duty by the upper classes (*Munera Pulveris*, § 109).

Of the remainder, "criminals should be set to the most dangerous and painful forms of it" (*ibid.*). But even in an ideal community there will always be a servile element, upon which must be imposed servile toil: to this extent Ruskin recognises, like the Greeks, a slave basis of civilisation (see p. 254 *n.*).

Ruskin's treatment of the subject of machinery may here be noted, as bearing on the question of servile employment. It is a mistake to suppose that Ruskin was opposed to the use of machinery altogether. It is in a book by him that is to be found what is perhaps the finest panegyric of a machine that English literature has produced (see *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 33); and in this volume he looks forward to "conceivable uses of machinery on a colossal scale in accomplishing mighty and useful works, hitherto unthought of" (*Munera Pulveris*, § 17)—works which in some sort have, since he wrote, been actually accomplished. The basis of his objection to the wholesale use of machinery is that he supposed, rightly or wrongly, that machine-labour was in nearly every case servile as compared with hand-labour. This view is first found in *The Stones of Venice*, vol. ii.: "There might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lords' lightest words were worth men's lives, and though the blood of the vexed husbandmen dropped in the furrows of her fields, than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke, and the strength of them is given daily to be wasted into the fineness of a web, or racked into the exactness of a line" (Vol. X. p. 193). Ruskin held further that the use of steam to do what could equally well be done by agency of wind and water was a double waste—a waste of natural force, and a waste of human life (see *General Statement . . . of St. George's Guild*, where it is noticeable that Ruskin exempts electricity from condemnation; *Lectures on Art*, § 123; and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 44). Hence the restriction of the use of machinery is one of the factors to which Ruskin looked, in his ideal community, for reducing the amount of servile labour.

What, let us next inquire, are the honourable forms of employment, and how are they to be organised? First, says Ruskin, come the Landed Proprietors, from which class the Soldiers, Lawyers, and State Functionaries are also to be drawn (§§ 151–153). To Ruskin's views on the Land Question we shall have to return when we come to *Fors Clavigera*. He was opposed to Land Nationalisation (Letter 89); but the land was to be in the hands of "those citizens who deserve to be trusted with it according to their proved capacities" (§ 151); their income was not to be derived from rent (§ 151); and they were to be

required to keep "great part in conditions of natural grace" (§ 152). Here he is dealing with ideal conditions; in discussing practical measures he insisted on Fixity of rents, and Security for tenants' improvements (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter 45; and see what he says in this volume about Mill's pamphlet on the Irish Land Question; below, p. 444 *n.*).

The second great order would be the Merchants. Here Ruskin seems to make a distinction. The great organisers—the Captains of Industry—would be free to make fortunes (*Time and Tide*, § 5)—subject, however, to the honourable discharge of their functions (on which point see *Unto this Last*, §§ 22 *seq.*); to the elimination of great profits which would result from avoidance of speculation, etc. (*Time and Tide*, § 82 *seq.*); and to a general law of limitation of incomes (§§ 8, 126). But retail trade would be freed from its element of baseness by making the traders salaried officers of trade guilds (§ 134).

Subordinate to the merchants, and gradually usurping the functions of capitalist employers, would be the organised trade guilds. Why, asks Ruskin, should not the workers themselves own the tools requisite for production (capital)? (see Appendix vii., p. 539). Co-operative industry would induce enormous social changes (*Time and Tide*, § 3). Trade Guilds should be established to fix a standard of quality in production (§ 78), to sell warranted goods (§ 79), and to publish accounts of the trading (§ 80). Here it will be seen Ruskin assigns to voluntary associations a function which in *Unto this Last* was to belong to the State (see *Unto this Last*, Preface, § 6); but in either case no monopoly was to be established (see *ibid.*; *Time and Tide*, §§ 79, 80).

The organisation of the Professional Classes is hardly touched upon in *Time and Tide*. With regard to arts and crafts, however, see § 132, and consult *The Political Economy of Art* (Vol. XVI.).

We may pass, therefore, to the Officers of State—to be recruited, as already stated, from the landed aristocracy. Ruskin's hierarchy is stated in § 154, but it is not elaborated (compare also § 159). One or two essential features of the scheme should be noted. There are to be "State officers charged with the direction of public agency in matters of public utility" (§ 154). Ruskin's Utopia, it should be stated, was not a Socialist State. In many respects, indeed, he agrees with the Social Democrats;[1] but he is opposed, as we have already said, to the nationalisation of land; and of property generally (see

[1] Ruskin's relations to Socialism are clearly traced and summarised in ch. viii. of Mr. J. A. Hobson's *John Ruskin, Social Reformer*.

Appendix i., p. 487); his Guild system was to be voluntary; he insisted upon individual effort as the mainspring of his system. But, on the other hand, Ruskin's system contemplates a great extension of State activity. We have traced already in a previous volume his earlier views on this subject (Vol. XVI. p. xxiv.); and in this volume it will be seen that, in addition to State education, Trial Schools, and Old Age Pensions, he advocates a great extension of public works (*Munera Pulveris*, § 128); Free Libraries and Museums (*Munera Pulveris*, § 115); an extension of the Postal service, since then carried out (*Munera Pulveris*, § 128); and a system of State Railways (*ibid.*; and see Appendix vi., pp. 533 *seq.*). The "State officers charged with the direction of public agency" would therefore in Ruskin's Ideal Commonwealth be busily employed.

His next category of Public Officers—"Bishops, charged with offices of supervision and aid, to family by family, and person by person" (*Time and Tide*, § 154)—would also have important functions. The object of these is to preserve the due organisation of the community by seeing that no member shall "suffer from unknown want or live in unrecognised crime" (*Time and Tide*, § 72). "The bishop's office is to oversee the flock; to number it sheep by sheep; to be ready always to give full account of it" (*Sesame and Lilies*, § 22; and for a fuller working out of the scheme, see *Time and Tide*, §§ 73–75).

"For forms of government" Ruskin left it to fools to contest (§ 158). Nor did he attach supreme importance even to such State action as he desired to see. The most efficient laws are those which men make for themselves (§ 9); the most essential of the reforms he advocated "it is in the power of all men quietly to promote, and finally to secure, by the patient resolution of personal conduct" (§ 146). The description of an ideal community in *Time and Tide* does not insist on particular names or forms (§ 158); it is a dream (§ 155), embodying only a general tendency (§ 158).

Having now given some bare summary of the three books collected in this volume, and brought their contents into connexion with one another, we may pass in conclusion to inquire what is the relation of Ruskin's economic writings to the (1) thought, and (2) practice, of the time.

The former branch of the inquiry admits only of tentative statement, for the reconstruction of the science of Political Economy is still in progress. Ruskin's was at any rate a potent voice in popularising the need of such reconstruction. "He had not merely protested,"

says Professor Ingram, "against the egoistic spirit of the prevalent doctrine, but had pointed to some of its real weaknesses as a scientific theory."[1] In order to appreciate the nature of Ruskin's services in this matter, it is necessary to carry our minds back to the condition of economic thought in this country at the time when his essays were written. The Political Economy then current, still rested almost exclusively on an abstract basis; it assumed the existence of an imaginary being, "the economic man"; abstracted, for its sole concern, the acquisitive instincts; and, by an elaborate system of deductive reasoning, evolved "the laws of political economy." Strictly speaking, these laws were only the expression of consequences which would logically follow from the fundamental assumption just stated. But in practice they were taken as laws in another sense, and were supposed to give sanction to particular policies as conducive to the well-being of States. Thus, in the course of a review of *Unto this Last*, a reviewer described how "the masters have the upper hand of the men," and "political economy," he went on to say, "adds the information that to deprive them of this advantage by legislation would diminish the power of producing wealth."[2] So, again, the reader will find it instructive to consider Ruskin's criticisms in the light of the positions assumed, and conclusions drawn, by W. R. Greg and other writers in the press with whom he crossed swords.[3] The current Political Economy, in short, was still in the abstract stage, and it was linked with a conception of State-craft known as "the Manchester School," or "the doctrine of *laisser faire*." At the time when Ruskin wrote, alike the science and the practice of State-craft founded upon it were beginning to be undermined; but the work of the historical school in Germany was as yet but little known in this country, and Ruskin's amplification of Carlyle's protest against "the dismal science" did much to stimulate the revolt.

It was commonly said—as Ruskin notes in this volume (p. 451[4])—that he sought to substitute "sentimentality for science." In one sense only is this true. He did seek to substitute human feeling for scientific abstraction. His object was to humanise the science of Political Economy; to translate its abstractions into the concrete facts of flesh and blood which stood behind them. To this end he directed all the resources of his sympathetic imagination, his powers of acute

[1] *A History of Political Economy*, by J. K. Ingram, 1888, p. 222.
[2] *Saturday Review*, August 4, 1860.
[3] See especially Appendices iv. and xi.
[4] And compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 41.

observation, and the resources of his literary art. It was with a purpose that he wrote, as we have said (p. lxxxi.), in burning indignation.

But essentially Ruskin's attack on the current Political Economy was scientific. The fundamental conceptions at the basis of his system are two, and they are both in accord with scientific facts. The first is that "the organic unity of man as a conscious, rational being, with a capacity for regarding his life as a whole and forming a plan for its conduct, imposes a corresponding unity upon the science which is to treat of human conduct."[1] The abstraction made by Mercantile Economy is, he holds, neither convenient nor correct. In this respect Ruskin was a pioneer in the work of reconstituting Political Economy on a broader and a more real basis; a pioneer in the study of Social Economics.

The second conception at the base of Ruskin's economic writings is biological. "Let us leave," says Professor Geddes, "the inmates of the academic cloister; walk out into the world, look about us, try to express loaf and diamond from the objective side in terms of actual fact, and we find that physical and physiological properties or 'values' can indeed indefinitely be assigned: the one is so much fuel, its heat-giving power measurable in calorimeter, or in actual units of work; the other a definite sensory stimulus, varying according to Fechner's law. This is precisely what our author means in such a passage as the following, which, however absurd to the orthodox, is now intelligible enough to us: 'Intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life,' etc."[2] This, as we have seen, is as Ruskin always insisted, the pith of his whole system, and "the general correspondence in principle and detail between biological principles on the one hand, and Mr. Ruskin's most 'unpractical' teaching on the other, is most remarkable."[3] "It is interesting then to note," says the same writer, "that the shout of 'sentiment *versus* science,' with which Mr. Ruskin has been for so many years turned out of court, did after all accurately enough describe the controversy; . . . the inductive logic and statistics, the physics and chemistry, the biology and medicine, the psychology and education were all essentially

[1] J. A. Hobson, p. 75.

[2] *John Ruskin, Economist*, by Patrick Geddes, F.R.S., 1884, p. 26. The passage quoted is from *Munera Pulveris*, § 13. Professor Geddes goes on to quote an "Analysis of the Principles of Economics" (in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1884) from the biological point of view, and to remark that it might almost seem to have been constructed "on the somewhat simple principle of translating Mr. Ruskin."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

on the side of Mr. Ruskin; while on the other were too often sheer blindness to the actual facts of human and social life—organism, function, and environment alike — concealed by illusory abstractions, baseless assumptions, and feeble metaphors . . . and frozen into dismal and repellent form by a theory of moral sentiments which assumed moral temperature at its absolute zero."[1]

The extent to which Ruskin's doctrines have permeated (or, at any rate, are in harmony with) the reconstruction of Political Economy may perhaps best be shown by an extract from Professor Ingram's History of the subject. He thus summarises the lines along which the reconstruction must proceed:—

"Wealth having been conceived as what satisfies desires, the definitely determinable qualities possessed by some objects of supplying physical energy, and improving the physiological constitution, are left out of account. Everything is gauged by the standard of subjective notions and desires. All desires are viewed as equally legitimate, and all that satisfies our desires as equally wealth. Value being regarded as the result of a purely mental appreciation, the social value of things in the sense of their objective utility, which is often scientifically measurable, is passed over, and ratio of exchange is exclusively considered. The truth is, that at the bottom of all economic investigation must lie the idea of the destination of wealth for the maintenance and evolution of a society. And, if we overlook this, our economics will become a play of logic or a manual for the market, rather than a contribution to social science; whilst wearing an air of completeness, they will be in truth one-sided and superficial. Economic science is something far larger than the Catallactics to which some have wished to reduce it. . . .

"Nor can we assume as universal premises, from which economic truths can be deductively derived, the convenient formulas which have been habitually employed, such as that all men desire wealth and dislike exertion. These vague propositions, which profess to anticipate and supersede social experience, and which necessarily introduce the absolute where relativity should reign, must be put aside. The laws of wealth (to reverse a phrase of Buckle's) must be inferred from the facts of wealth, not from the postulate of human selfishness. . . .

"Economics must be constantly regarded as forming only one department of the larger science of Sociology, in vital connexion with its other departments, and with the moral synthesis which is the crown of the whole intellectual system. We have already sufficiently explained the philosophical grounds for the conclusion that the economic phenomena of society cannot be isolated, except provisionally, from the rest. . . . Especially

[1] *John Ruskin, Economist*, p. 36.

must we keep in view the high moral issues to which the economic movement is subservient, and in the absence of which it could never in any great degree attract the interest or fix the attention either of eminent thinkers or of right-minded men. . . . A doctrine of duty will have to be substituted, fixing on positive grounds the nature of the social co-operation of each class and each member of the community, and the rules which must regulate its just and beneficial exercise."[1]

The reader, who has perused the preceding pages of this Introduction, will perceive that all this would serve as an abstract of the leading ideas in *Unto this Last* and *Munera Pulveris*.

Ruskin pointed, then, the way in which a system of Social Economics might be based upon a scientific foundation. Many of his detailed criticisms have also had effect in modifying economic theory. "English economists of the present day," says a recent writer, "generally recognise the importance of the theory of consumption, and that it is misleading to speak of wealth as a definite mass of material objects, like the goods in a warehouse, that can be measured without regard to the persons using them; and as a rule it is no longer affirmed that the value of most things depends on their cost of production."[2] These amendments, as we have seen, were urged in the early sixties by Ruskin. Mill's doctrine, too, that "a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour" is now withdrawn by leading economists;[3] it has never been refuted so effectively as by Ruskin, whose biological principle may here also be illustrated. "A demand for commodities is a demand for labour; it determines function, and therefore quality of organism."[4]

After many years Ruskin's services in the reconstruction of economic thought received notable recognition. Upon his recovery from serious illness in 1885 he was presented with an Address, signed by many of the foremost men of the day, and in the course of the Address his economic work was thus mentioned:—

"Those of us who have made a special study of economic and social questions[5] desire to convey to you their deep sense of the value

[1] *A History of Political Economy*, 1888, pp. 241–243.

[2] "Lessons from Ruskin," in the *Economic Journal*, March 1898, p. 28.

[3] See, for instance, Professor J. S. Nicholson's *Principles of Political Economy*, 1893, vol. i. pp. 101–103. Yet as late as 1874 Leslie Stephen cited Ruskin's repudiation of the dogma as an inexplicable perversity (see his review of "Mr. Ruskin's Recent Writings," *Fraser's Magazine*, June 1874).

[4] *John Ruskin, Economist*, p. 37.

[5] Among the professors and teachers of Political Economy who signed the address were W. J. Ashley, C. H. Barstable, H. S. Foxwell, Emile de Laveleye, J. MacCunn, A. L. Perry, J. E. Symes, and F. A. Walker.

of your work in these subjects, pre-eminently in its enforcement of the doctrines :—

"That Political Economy can furnish sound laws of national life and work only when it respects the dignity and moral destiny of man.

"That the wise use of wealth, in developing a complete human life, is of incomparably greater moment both to men and nations than its production or accumulation, and can alone give these any vital significance.

"That honourable performance of duty is more truly just than rigid enforcement of right; and that not in competition but in helpfulness, not in self-assertion but in reverence, is to be found the power of life."

When we turn from economic theory to political practice Ruskin is again seen to be a pioneer. To an inquirer who contrasts the central tendencies of political thought with those which were most powerful in the middle of the nineteenth century, four main differences will at once present themselves. (1) The thoughts and efforts of reformers are now devoted more to social than to purely political questions. (2) The doctrine of *laisser faire*, alike in politics and in economics, has lost much of its former hold. Reformers of to-day look rather to co-operation organised by the State than to the free play of competition for the improvement of the people. (3) The limits of State interference have thus been largely extended. Not freedom from external restraint, but free scope for self-development, is the ideal of modern reformers. (4) The new conception of the State at home, coupled with new conditions in the world at large, has led to ideas of "expansion" and "Imperialism," which are altogether at variance with the doctrines in this respect of the old Manchester School. Of these new tendencies, the first three have already been described in our summary of the books by Ruskin collected in this volume.[1] On the fourth point, the reader may refer to *The Crown of Wild Olive*, § 159; the *Lectures on Art*, § 29; and *A Knight's Faith*. Ruskin in these places called on the youth of England to enter "on truest foreign service, founding new seats of authority, and centres of thought, in uncultivated and unconquered lands." He spoke, in glowing words, of the "course of beneficent glory open to us"; and, "lest we forget," reminded his hearers that "the sons of sacred England" must go forth for her, "not only conquering, and to conquer, but saving, and to save."

Passing, lastly, to the specific suggestions made by Ruskin in *Unto*

[1] And for other remarks, on Ruskin's attacks upon the doctrine of *laisser faire*, see the Introduction to Vol. XVI. pp. xxiv.–xxvi.

this Last (see above, p. lxxxvii.)—suggestions which at the time excited violent reprobation or contemptuous laughter—we may note that every one of the Seven Points in his unauthorised programme has by this time either been put into operation (whole or partial), or is a subject of discussion among practical politicians. Nos. 1 and 2—elementary and technical education—need not detain us. Proposal No. 3—for Government workshops—is still only a matter of discussion. But we may notice the growing conception of the State as Model Employer, and the modern extensions of Government warranty and anti-adulteration laws as steps in the direction indicated by Ruskin. The next proposal (No. 4)—Government work for the unemployed—has at least passed from the pages of political idealists to discussion in Parliament. The occasional establishment of Municipal Relief Works, the acceptance of a certain responsibility involved in the foundation of a Labour Department and a *Labour Gazette*, and the introduction of a Government Bill in the present session (1905) for the establishment of Relief Committees with power to levy rates for Farm Colonies: these things are all in line with Ruskin's doctrines. Under No. 5 (Fixed Wages) falls the growing adoption, both by the central and by the municipal authorities, of the principle of Fair Wages or of Trade-Union wages. Reversing the order of the last two points, proposal No. 7 (Old Age Pensions, etc.) is simply Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for Old Age Pensions, *plus* various proposals for a reformed Poor Law. Men of all parties have given lip-service at least to Ruskin's doctrine that the State should recognise "Soldiers of the Ploughshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword." But the more such schemes are realised, the more will the necessity be felt for penalising the loafer. This is Ruskin's proposal No. 6. "The law of national health," he explains, "is like that of a great lake or sea, in perfect but slow circulation, letting the dregs continually fall to the lowest place, and the clear water rise" (*Munera Pulveris*, § 109).

The definite political and social suggestions involved in other parts of Ruskin's economic writings are not so easily summarised as in the case of *Unto this Last*. Some of the principal ones among them may be arranged under the general heads of Rural and Urban. In the earlier volumes of *Fors Clavigera* (1871–1874), he insisted strongly on the necessity for Fair Rents, Fixity of Tenure, and Compensation for Improvements. He gave the landlords until 1880 to set their houses in order. In that year, he predicted, the landlords of the country would be "confronted not with a Chartist meeting at Kennington,

but a magna and maxima Chartist Ecclesia at Westminster"—wherein, he said, they would "find a difference and to purpose."[1] The difference was the Land Act of 1881. The reforms he advocated began, of course, with Ireland—the *corpus vile* on which we make so many of our political experiments, good, bad, and indifferent. The principles of the Irish Land Act may never be applied in Great Britain; though, with his eye upon Crofters' Courts in Scotland and Land Commissions in Wales, a prudent man would perhaps not prophesy very confidently. But if such Government action is averted in England, will it not be because English landlords have taken to heart such exhortations as Ruskin delivered? With regard to another phase of the question, Ruskin, as we have seen, was not a land nationaliser. He was a strong advocate of private tenure. But "property," he says, "belongs to whom proper."[2] "The land to those who can use it." "By whomsoever held to be made the most of." "The right action of a State respecting its land is to secure it in various portions to those of its citizens who deserve to be trusted with it, according to their respective desires and proved capacities."[3] These typical extracts from writings of thirty and forty years ago are specially interesting in connexion with debates on Bills of recent sessions, under which it is sought to invest local bodies with compulsory powers of purchasing and hiring land, in order to dole it out "to those who can use it." No difference of opinion was professed on the principle involved. The point on which discussion turned was with regard to the amount which any one man would, could, or should want, and to the conditions under which he would be likely to make the most of it. Both parties agreed in giving access to the land to the citizens, precisely as Ruskin says, "according to their respective desires and proved capacities." We have, however, as yet hardly grasped another of Ruskin's conceptions on the Land Question—the conception of beautiful landscape as one of the most essential elements of national wealth. But all such movements as those for the preservation of commons, the protection of footpaths, the limitation of rural advertisements, and access to mountains are steps towards satisfying a new economic want which the author of *Modern Painters* has done as much as any other one man in our time to create.

Turning now from the country to the towns, we may cite a passage which Ruskin wrote in 1883 when the "bitter cry of Outcast

[1] *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 45.
[2] *Ibid.*, Letter 70.
[3] *Time and Tide*, § 151.

London" was heard in the land, and "slumming" became a recognised occupation:—

> "I beg the readers alike, and the despisers, of my former pleadings in this matter, to observe that all the recent agitation of the public mind concerning the dwellings of the poor, is merely the sudden and febrile (Heaven be thanked, though, for such fever!) recognition of the things which I have been these twenty years trying to get recognized, and reiterating description and lamentation of—even to the actual printing of my pages blood-red —to try if I could catch the eye at least, when I could not the ear or the heart."[1]

(The reference in the penultimate words is to some passages in *Sesame and Lilies* describing the dwellings of the poor, which Ruskin—who, by the way, is one of the sponsors of "sensational journalism"—had printed in red ink.) In a retrospect over the multifarious schemes and efforts for the improvement of urban conditions, which have marked the last thirty years, one of the names which stand out among those of pioneers is the honoured name of Miss Octavia Hill. The root-ideas of her work were two: first, the idea in connexion with "slum property," of personal responsibility; secondly, the idea of personal service, to the poor. These ideas have had many and fruitful ramifications—some of them suggested also by Ruskin. But, at any rate, it was Ruskin who first had the inspiration of giving Miss Hill the opportunities for her work as a social pioneer. Forty years ago he resolved to set his theories on this subject into practical motion. Some freehold property, of small tenements, he already possessed under his father's will; some other leasehold property of a similar description he subsequently bought for the purpose. The whole of these properties he entrusted to the stewardship of Miss Hill. She was to earn for him a moderate and fixed income; but, for the rest and above all, to improve the conditions of the tenants.[2] Many other practical experiments in social reform were made by Ruskin, as we shall see in a later volume—experiments in the reclamation of land, in village industries, in farming, in model tea-shops, in the purification of streams, in street-cleaning, in road-making. But probably none of his experiments will have had so permanent and so fruitful an influence towards the solution of modern problems as the demonstration which

[1] *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 93.
[2] See *Time and Tide*, § 148 (below, p. 437).

he enabled Miss Octavia Hill to give in model landlordism. Ruskin was fond of preaching what has been called the "slum crusade" in his lectures at Oxford, and the movement for University and College "Settlements" owes not a little to his exhortations. "My University friends came to me," he said, "at the end of my Inaugural Lectures, with grave faces, to remonstrate against irrelevant and Utopian topics being introduced."[1] They may have been irrelevant; they certainly were not Utopian. And since political practice and economic theory act and react upon one another, it is not surprising to find on the one hand economists declaring that "though the future Political Economy may not build from him directly, yet it will be rather with Ruskin's earth than Ricardo's straw that its bricks for building will be made;"[2] and, on the other side, a distinguished publicist recording his opinion that *Unto this Last* is "not only the most original and creative work of John Ruskin, but the most original and creative work in pure literature since *Sartor Resartus*." "It put into a form more picturesque and incisive than ever before the revolt from that cynical pedantry into which the so-called Political Economy was tending to degenerate. The brutal, ignorant, and inhuman language which was current about capital and labour, workmen, and trades-unions is heard no longer. The old plutocracy is a thing of the past. And no man has done more to expose it than the author of *Unto this Last*."[3] "The Political Economy of to-day," said the late Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, "is the political economy of John Ruskin, and not the political economy of John Bright or even of John Stuart Mill."

In closing this summary of Ruskin's social and political work, I ought perhaps to guard against a possible misconception. Neither in the case of his practical suggestions nor in that of his economic theories, need any patent rights or any exclusive credit be claimed for Ruskin. In an old and complex society, the growth of new ideas and the operation of fresh motive-forces require the combined efforts, from many different directions, of many thinkers and many workers. Before the fruit ripens upon the tree much digging and ditching is necessary: the rain must fall and the sun shine; and the procession

[1] *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 41.

[2] "Ruskin as a Political Economist," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Boston, vol. ii. p. 445.

[3] "Ruskin as a Master of Prose," *Nineteenth Century*, October 1895, p. 574, and "Unto this Last," *Nineteenth Century*, December 1895, p. 972, both by Frederic Harrison; reprinted in his *Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and other Literary Estimates*, 1898, pp. 74, 101.

of times and seasons be fulfilled. Nothing is more ridiculous than the scramble which sometimes sets in, on the part of competing claimants, for the whole credit and the sole credit of the ripe fruit of politics. No such exclusive claim will anywhere be found in Ruskin's writings. What I have tried in the foregoing pages to show is that, in many channels, his influence has contributed to shape and direct the aspirations and efforts of his generation.[1]

[1] Ruskin's economic writings have been the subject of numerous studies. Of these the most important is *John Ruskin, Social Reformer,* by J. A. Hobson, 1898, 8vo, pp. 336. A short, but very suggestive, essay on the subject by Professor Patrick Geddes, F.R.S., was No. III. in "The Round Table Series," entitled *John Ruskin, Economist* (8vo, pp. 44, Edinburgh, 1884). Among other studies the following may be mentioned (in order of publication):—

John Ruskin, his Life and Work, by William Smart, M.A. (8vo, pp. 51, Glasgow, 1880; third edition, 1883).

A Disciple of Plato: a Critical Study of John Ruskin, by William Smart, M.A., with a Note by Mr. Ruskin (pp. 48, Glasgow, 1883).

"John Ruskin and Modern England," by G. W. Boag; an article in the *Pioneer,* January 1887, pp. 1–8.

"Ruskin as a Political Economist," by F. J. Stimson; an article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (published for Harvard University, Boston, 1888), vol. ii. pp. 414–445.

Studies in Ruskin, by E. T. Cook, 1890 (second edition, 1891).

The New Political Economy: the Social Teaching of Carlyle, Ruskin, and H. George, by Henry Rose, 1891 (Ruskin, pp. 74–109).

Modern Humanists, by John M. Robertson, 1891 (Ruskin, pp. 184–211).

English Social Reformers, by H. de B. Gibbins, M.A., 1892 (Ruskin, pp. 204–223).

"Mr. Ruskin in Relation to Modern Problems," by E. T. Cook; an article in the *National Review,* February 1894 (some passages from which have been embodied in this Introduction).

"Unto this Last," by Frederic Harrison; an article in the *Nineteenth Century,* December 1895 (pp. 958–974).

"Lessons from Ruskin," by Charles S. Devas; an article in the *Economic Journal,* March 1898 (pp. 28–36).

John Ruskin, par Jacques Bardoux, Paris, 1900: "La Bible de l'Economie Politique," pp. 358–460). A useful bibliography of "La Littérature Ruskinienne" is appended to this volume, but is not free from mistakes).

"Ruskin and the New Liberalism," by E. T. Cook; an article in the *New Liberal Review,* February 1901.

"Unto this Last": a paper read before the Ruskin Society by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Wilson; printed in the *Liberty Review,* April 1903, vol. 13, pp. 161–175.

"The Economic Basis of Ruskin's Teaching," by the Very Rev. G. W. Kitchin, D.D.; an article in *Saint George,* October 1904 (vol. vii. pp. 223–243).

John Ruskin and Thoughts on Democracy, by Professor F. York Powell, 1905 (reprinted from *St. George,* vol. iii. pp. 58–67.

It now remains to give, as in the earlier Introductions, some particulars about Texts, Manuscripts, and Illustrations.

Unto this Last appeared originally, under that title, in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860. When the papers were collected into a book in 1862 Ruskin added a preface, but made only one alteration in the text; and in all subsequent editions the text remained unchanged (except in a few trifling matters recorded in the Bibliographical Note here, p. 10). The MS. of Essays III. and part of IV., formerly in Mr. Allen's possession, is now in America; it has been collated with the text for this edition. The MS., however, only goes down to the beginning of § 82, the remainder being missing; and some preceding portions are not in the author's own handwriting. An examination of the MS. fully bears out what he says (see above, p. xxv.) about the labour taken in composition. A page of it is here reproduced in *facsimile* (pp. 74–75), and this, if compared with the printed text, will serve as an illustration of the amount of verbal alterations made throughout. The *facsimile* is somewhat disfigured by the ruled lines, which are due to the paper used by Ruskin, who, when abroad, often wrote in MS. account-books, purchased there. In footnotes a few additional or alternative passages have been given to show the kind of amendment and compression to which the author's earlier drafts were subjected.

The text of *Munera Pulveris*, on the other hand, presents large and numerous alterations. The essays, originally published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1862–1863, were not corrected by the author in proof, and when he collected them into a volume in 1872, the text was much revised and in some places rearranged. Ruskin placed the notes added by him in 1872 within square brackets [ ]; but as this sign has been adopted throughout this edition to distinguish notes added by the present editors, round brackets are substituted ( ). In cases of possible ambiguity, explanatory footnotes are supplied. The text here given is that last revised by the author, but the reader is also put in possession of all that originally appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*. The more important or interesting alterations are given in footnotes below the text; the others are collected in the Bibliographical Note. Such alterations are, as will be seen, very numerous (pp. 121–128); a cursory glance will suffice to show generally how much care Ruskin spent in revising the essays; while a studious reader, who takes the trouble to look into the variations, will find many interesting literary *minutiæ* to note.

The original manuscript of *Munera Pulveris* appears to have been

dispersed. Six sheets of it are in the possession of Mr. C. H. Barber, of Manchester, by whose kindness one sheet is here given in facsimile (pp. 234–235); it contains some interesting variations. Another sheet (§ 116 of the text) is in the possession of Mr. George Allen. No other part of the MS. has been seen by the editors.

References are occasionally made in the editors' footnotes to Ruskin's copy of Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (see pp. 78, 176). This is Ruskin's working copy of the first edition of that work (1848), and contains many notes, criticisms, and markings by him. It is now in the possession of Mr. Thornton of St. Petersburg, by whom it has kindly been placed at the editors' disposal for reference.

The text of *Time and Tide* shows similarly extensive alterations, and the collation in this case is more complicated. Ruskin sent his letters to Thomas Dixon, with leave to publish them in the newspapers. They appeared more or less simultaneously in the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. Dixon or Ruskin must have had two transcripts made. No original manuscript in Ruskin's handwriting is known to the editors; but a fair copy, in that of his servant Crawley, is contained with other matter in a thick note-book. The book was in Crawley's possession, and the editors have had access to it. This MS. agrees with the text of the letters as published in the *Leeds Mercury;* the text in the *Manchester Examiner* shows some errors and differences, but as these were doubtless due to imperfect transcription, the editors do not trouble the reader with a collation of them. The first text, then, is that of the original letters as they appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* in 1867. In collecting the letters for publication as a book late in the year, Ruskin revised them largely and added several appendices; this is a second text. Again, in 1872, when re-issuing the book among his Collected Works, he revised, and in places rearranged, the text. The text given in this edition is that of 1872, the one last revised by the author; but, as in the case of *Munera Pulveris*, the reader is also put in possession of all passages which occurred in earlier forms of the letters. The more important or interesting of such passages, and of alterations, are given in footnotes or in an Appendix (p. 474); the rest are consigned to the Bibliographical Note (pp. 302–308). Here, again, the alterations are very numerous; the pages devoted to them show the author's scrupulousness in revising, and reveal occasional felicities (§§ 42, 83).

The books collected in this volume were not illustrated by the author. The *frontispiece* is a reproduction in colours of a drawing of himself made by Ruskin in 1861. It is "very sulky," he wrote in sending it to his

father from Lucerne (November 12), "but has some qualities about it better than photograph." The drawing (which is here reproduced in the size of the original) is in water-colour (touched with body-colour); it is at Brantwood.

The other illustrations here given are, with one exception, reproductions of drawings made by Ruskin during the years covered by this Introduction. There is one of the sketches which he made at Lucerne in the autumn of 1861 (Plate I.), and then a sketch at Altdorf (Plate II.). The pencil drawing of Lucerne ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 10$) is No. 117 in the Educational Series of the Ruskin Drawing School at Oxford. The drawing of Altdorf ($14 \times 20\frac{1}{2}$), is in wash and body-colour on grey paper; it was in the collection of Sir John Simon, K.C.B., and is now in the United States.

The picture of Ruskin's house at Mornex (Plate III.) is from a photograph taken for the purpose of this edition.

The view from the base of the Brezon (Plate IV.), and of the prospect from his garden at Mornex (Plate V.), are from his own drawings. The former drawing ($13\frac{1}{2} \times 20$) is in pen and wash, with body-colour, on blue paper. It is thus inscribed:—

> "View from the base of the Brezon above Bonneville, looking towards Geneva. The Jura, in the distance; Salève, on the left. —J. Ruskin."

It was given by Ruskin to Osborne Gordon, and is now in the possession of his nephew, Mr. W. Pritchard Gordon, by whom it has been kindly lent for reproduction here. The "grand old keep," in the foreground on the right, is described by Ruskin in his Note on Turner's drawing of Bonneville (Vol. XIII. p. 419), and, as he there mentions, was pulled down some years ago. This was probably the "true Savoyard château" on which he had "cast longing eyes" (see above, p. lv.). The latter drawing ($10\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$), in water-colour, is in the collection of Mrs. Cunliffe.

The water-colour drawing ($4\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$), here reproduced in colours, of a view of the Mountains of Annecy (Plate VI.) is also in the collection of Mrs. Cunliffe.

The sketch at Lauffenbourg (Plate VII.) is in water-colour on buff paper ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$). It is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery. It may be the one mentioned in the Dialogue on "Gold" (p. 492), but more probably belongs to an earlier date than 1863.

E. T. C.

I

"UNTO THIS LAST"

(WRITTEN AND FIRST PUBLISHED, 1860)

"UNTO THIS LAST":

Four Essays

ON THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY

JOHN RUSKIN.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1862.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

[*Bibliographical Note.*—The essays collected in *Unto this Last* originally appeared, under the same title, and signed "J. R.," in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860, and, a month later in each case, in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, New York :—

I. in the *Cornhill* for August (vol. ii. pp. 155–166) and in *Harper's* for September (vol. xxi. pp. 535–541).

II. in the *Cornhill* for September (vol. ii. pp. 278–286) and in *Harper's* for October (vol. xxi. pp. 685–689).

III. in the *Cornhill* for October (vol. ii. pp. 407–418) and in *Harper's* for November (vol. xxi. pp. 816–822).

IV. in the *Cornhill* for November (vol. ii. pp. 543–564) and in *Harper's* for December (vol. xxii. pp. 99–110). The publication of the papers was then stopped (see above, p. xxviii.), and two years later Ruskin collected them into a volume, which has appeared in the following editions :—

First Edition (1862).—The title-page is as shown on the preceding leaf here. Foolscap 8vo, pp. xx.+174. Quotations (here p. 13), p. v.; Preface (here pp. 17–23), pp. vii.–xviii.; Contents (here p. 15), p. xix.; Text, pp. 1–174. The imprint (at foot of the last page) is: "London: Printed by Smith, Elder & Co., 15½ Old Bailey, E.C." Each essay has its own title as headline on every page; the headline throughout the preface is similarly "Preface." Issued on June 13, 1862, in green cloth and with "ploughed" edges, lettered across the back : "Unto | this | Last | Ruskin." Price 3s. 6d.

The only intentional change in the text of the first edition, as compared with the *Cornhill*, is noted by Ruskin (see p. 17, below).

Second Edition (1877).—Neither in this nor in any subsequent edition was there any intentional change in the text of the essays (but see list of "Variæ Lectiones," below); and in all editions (except the "Special Edition") the pagination of the text remained the same (see again Ruskin's note, p. 17, below). The title-page of the Second Edition is :—

> "Unto this Last" : | Four Essays | on the First Principles of | Political Economy. | By | John Ruskin. | *Second Edition.* | George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1877. | [*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

Foolscap 8vo, pp. xxii.+174. Preface (with two additional notes : see here pp. 17, 20), pp. ix.–xxi. The headlines in this and in all later editions (except the "Special Edition") are as in the First Edition. The imprint (on the reverse of the title-page and at foot of the last page) is : "Printed by Hazell, Watson, and Viney, London and Aylesbury." Issued on August 13,

1877, in dark-coloured roan, with the edges cut and gilt, and lettered across the back: "Ruskin. | Unto | this | Last." Price 3s. 6d. 2000 copies.

Third Edition (1882).—On the title-page the number of the edition and the date were changed, and the last line was changed to "*All rights* reserved." There are no other changes. Issued in July 1882 in plain mauve cloth, with a white paper back-label, which reads: "Ruskin. | Unto | this | Last." Price 3s. 2000 copies.

Fourth Edition (1884).—The number and date were again changed on the title-page; and this edition was printed at the Chiswick Press, the imprint (at both places as before) reading: "Chiswick Press:—C. Whittingham and Co., Took's Court, Chancery Lane." A few of the earlier copies were issued in cloth, with paper label, as in the Third Edition; the other copies either in chocolate-coloured or in dark green cloth, lettered across the back: "Ruskin | Unto | this | Last." Issued in January 1884. Price 3s. 2000 copies.

Fifth Edition (1887).—The number and date were altered on the title-page, and the Contents were placed before instead of after the leaf containing the Scriptural Texts; in all other respects this edition precisely resembles the Fourth (cloth boards). Issued in September 1887. Price 3s. 1000 copies.

Sixth Edition (1888).—The number and date were altered on the title-page; and the edition was printed and electrotyped by Messrs. Hazell & Co., whose imprint appears as in the Second and Third Editions. In all other respects the Sixth precisely resembles the Fifth Edition. Issued in October 1888. Price 3s. 2000 copies.

Seventh and Eighth Editions (1890, 1892).—These editions, issued respectively in October 1890 (2000 copies) and April 1892 (2000), were again printed by Messrs. Hazell & Co., being reprints of the Sixth. In these editions the publisher's imprint was: "George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, | and | 8, Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London." Price 3s.

Ninth Edition (1893).—This edition became the model for later issues, which have been printed from the electrotype plates of it. The publisher's imprint became after 1894: "London | George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road | and Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent | [*All rights reserved*]." The Orpington address was omitted after 1900. The paragraphs were numbered. An index (compiled by Mr. A. Wedderburn) was added (pp. 175–199), and this was included in all later editions. The imprint (at the foot of the last page) was: "Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh & London." Issued in July 1893. Price 3s. 3000 copies.

Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Editions (1895, 1896, 1898).—Reprints of the Ninth, the number of the edition being changed on the title-page, as also the date. Issued respectively in April 1895 (3500 copies), October 1896 (3340), and July 1898 (3000). Price 3s.

Re-issues were subsequently called "Thousands"; that issued in October 1899 (2000 copies) having on the title-page "Thirtieth Thousand"; that issued in June 1900 (2000), "Thirty-third Thousand"; and that issued in

August 1900 (5000), "Thirty-eighth Thousand." On July 1, 1900, the price was reduced from 3s. to 2s.

The thirty-first thousand was printed from the same plates but was made up in crown octavo size, uniform with the other small editions of Ruskin's books. In this form the book was reprinted in August 1901 (43rd thousand), December 1902 (44th), and December 1903 (49th). The price of this crown 8vo issue was 3s.

"*Popular Edition*" (1900).—Of the issue of June 1900 some copies were put up in greyish-blue paper covers at 1s. 6d. net. (The issue of June 1900 was all marked "Thirty-third Thousand" on the title-page; but the 1000 covers required for the "Popular" issue were marked thereon "Thirty-second Thousand.")

Further re-issues in the ordinary form were made in June 1901, "Forty-second Thousand" (4000 copies), and in December 1902, "Forty-eighth Thousand" (4000). Some copies were bound in cloth (2s.); others in wrappers (1s. 6d.).

"*Pocket Edition*" (1904).—Of the issue last named 2000 copies were used and issued in December 1904 for the "Pocket Edition," by printing new Titles and Contents, and transferring the words "Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy" to the half-title. These 2000 copies were issued in terra-cotta cloth at 2s. 6d., uniform with other volumes in the "Pocket" edition (for which see Vol. XV. p. 6). Of the "Pocket" edition 3000 more copies were subsequently printed, thus completing the 52nd thousand of the book. The title-page reads:—

Unto this Last | By | John Ruskin | London: George Allen.

Special Edition (1902).—This is an *Édition de Luxe*, uniform in size with the Kelmscott "Nature of Gothic" (see Vol. X. p. lxix.). The title-page reads:—

Unto this Last | By John Ruskin.

Post octavo, pp. xii. +152. On the reverse of the title-page is the following note: "Four hundred copies of this edition have been printed on hand-made paper for England and America, and eleven on vellum." "Contents," p. iii., as follow:—

ESSAY		PAGE
I.	The Roots of Honour	1
II.	The Veins of Wealth	25
III.	Qui Judicatis Terram	43
IV.	Ad Valorem	63
	Appendix	103
	Index	125

Scriptural Texts, p. iv. Preface, pp. v.–xii. The first page of the Preface has an ornamental border (Borders and Initials drawn by Christopher Dean and "processed"). There are similar ornamental borders (of a different design in each case) for the first page of each essay. The initial letter is an ornamental one, printed in red; and so with the initial letters of each paragraph throughout the book. There are no headlines. The title of the book is printed in red at the top of the left-hand margin on each left-hand page;

the subject ("Preface," "The Roots of Honour," etc., "Appendix" and "Index") are similarly printed on the right-hand margins of the right-hand pages. The pages are numbered at the bottom. The Appendix consists of all the author's footnotes, numbered "A" to "X," the "p." to which they refer being added; correspondingly, in the text there are marginal notes referring to "Appendix. See Note A," and so forth. On p. 152 is the following colophon, with the device drawn by Mr. Walter Crane, and employed (since 1894) in most of Mr. Allen's books and circulars, which appears (in a reduced form) in all the volumes of this edition:—

> Here end the Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy, named UNTO THIS LAST, by JOHN RUSKIN. Printed at the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh, and Published by George Allen, London, in the year 1902.

This *Édition de Luxe* was issued on November 28, 1902. Bound in limp vellum with silk ties. On the front cover, in the right-hand corner, is Ruskin's seal, with motto (as in this edition, but smaller), in gold. Price £2, 2s. net. Venetian type. The vellum copies were issued at £10, 10s. each.

Unauthorised American Editions of *Unto this Last* have been numerous. There has been no authorised edition in America.

French Translation (1902).—The title-page of this is:—

> Unto this Last | Quatre Essais | Sur Les Premiers Principes | D'Économie Politique | par | John Ruskin | "Il n'y a de richesse que | la vie" (Unto this Last, iv. 77). | Introduction de H. J. Brunhes. Traduction de l'Abbé Em. Peltier. | Paris | Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie | Éditeurs | *83, rue de Rennes, 83* | (Dépôt à Lyon, 3, Avenue de l'Archevêché).

Crown 8vo, pp. xxxvi.+238. A portrait of Ruskin precedes the title-page. The Editor's Introduction occupies pp. iii.–xxxvi. The translator has added a few explanatory notes to the text. Issued in paper wrappers of a violet hue. Price 3 fr. 50 c.

German Translation (1902).—This is the fifth volume in a translation of Ruskin's "Ausgewählte Werke in Vollständiger Übersetzung" (see Vol. III. p. lxiii.). The title-page is:—

> John Ruskin | Diesem Letzten | Vier Abhandlungen über | die Ersten Grundsätze der | Volkswirtschaft | Aus dem Englischen von | Anna von Przychowski | Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs, Leipzig 1902.

Crown 8vo, pp. 196. An introduction by the editor (Wilhelm Schölermann) occupies pp. 5–8; an index (not translated from Mr. Wedderburn's), pp. 182–196. Issued in red cloth boards. Price 4 marks.

The greater part of *Unto this Last* is also translated in the following work:—

> Wie wir arbeiten | und wirthschaften müssen. | Eine Gedankenlese | aus den Werken | des | John Ruskin. | Aus dem Englischen übersetzt und zusammengestellt | von | Jakob Feis. | Strassburg, | J. H. Ed. Heitz | Heitz und Mendel.

Crown 8vo, pp. 240. First published 1896; now in a second edition. An Introduction by the translator occupies pp. 9–46. The greater part of *Unto this Last* follows (pp. 97–165), the rest of the book being taken up with extracts from *Fors Clavigera*, etc. Price 3 marks.

Italian Translation (1902).—The title-page of this is:—

> Giovanni Ruskin | A Quest' Ultimo | Sui Principii Fondamentali di | Economia Politica | Traduzione | di | Francesco e Giacinto Chimenti | Bari, 1902 | Stab. Tip. Filli Pausini Fu S.

Small 8vo, pp. x. + 90. A note to the translation occupies pp. v.–vii., and a short biographical note on Ruskin, pp. ix. and x. Ruskin's preface is omitted, and the text is often curtailed or summarised. Issued, stitched, in grey paper wrappers.

THE RIGHTS OF LABOUR

(Being *Extracts* from *Unto this Last*)

The title of this pamphlet of 16 pages (issued stitched and without wrappers) is: "The | Rights of Labour | according to | John Ruskin. | Arranged by | Thomas Barclay." It was not dated, but was issued in 1887 by C. Merrick, 34 Cauk Street, Leicester. Price One Penny. On p. 2 is the following:—

"EXTRACT OF A LETTER RECEIVED FROM MR. RUSKIN.

> ". . . Your pamphlet is the best abstract of all the most important pieces of my teaching that has yet been done; and I am entirely grateful to you for doing it, and glad to have your letter.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "The time is certainly drawing near for the workmen, who are conscious of their own power and probity, to draw together into action. They ought first in all Christian countries to abolish, not yet WAR—which must yet be made sometimes in just causes—but the Armaments for it, of which the real root cause is simply the gain of manufacturers of instruments of death.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Ever gratefully yours,
> "JOHN RUSKIN.

"MR. THOS. BARCLAY."

On p. 3 are introductory remarks. The remaining pages are occupied with extracts (with occasional connecting remarks) from *Unto this Last*, under the following heads: "Ruskin's Objects," "His Scheme" (Preface, § 6), "Principles First" (*ibid.*, § 7), "What Political Economy Is" (§§ 28, 61, 72), "What Wealth Is" (§§ 62, 64), "Difference between Riches and Wealth" (§§ 27, 30), "Proof" (§§ 33, 34, 36), "The Whole Question one

of Justice" (§§ 37, 38, 65), "Capital" (§ 73), "Injustice of the Present System" (§§ 38, 49, 48, 43), "Wages" (§§ 13, 14, 52 *n.*, 31 *n.*), "How to get the Most Work out of a Man" (§§ 8, 10, 9, 24), "The True Function of the Capitalist" (§§ 21, 22, 25), "The Cause of Poverty" (§§ 53, 79), "Are There too Many of Us?" (§§ 53, 78, 76 *n.*), and "Last Words" (§§ 77, 85, 83). The compiler then concludes as follows:—

"What working man is there that will not reverence these far-seeing and noble utterances of a great and good man devoted to the cause of the poor and down-trodden—showing the truth and demanding justice. At all events, reader, unless you have had a previous introduction, may we not count on having awakened an interest in you to examine still further into the teachings of JOHN RUSKIN?"

A Second Edition was issued by the same publisher; and in 1889 a Third Edition, by William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C.

Variæ Lectiones.—The following is a list of the few variations, other than those already described, between different editions:—

Mottoes.—The texts which in all the collected editions have appeared on a separate page were not given in the *Cornhill Magazine*. The papers there began with the heading "Unto this Last," to which was appended as a footnote: "'I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.'—*Matt.* xx. 14."

Heading of Essay I.—The word "Essay" did not appear in the *Cornhill Magazine*. And so with the headings of the other essays.

Essay III.—§ 48, line 45, see p. 66 *n.*

Essay IV.—§ 58, line 23, the reference to Mill has in all previous editions been incorrectly given as I. *i.* 5. § 59, line 6, the reference to Mill has in all previous editions been wrongly given as III. i. 3. § 60, author's footnote, last line, "bought" has been misprinted "brought" in some of the later editions (*e.g.*, the 33rd and 43rd thousands); the misprint does not occur in the *Édition de Luxe*. § 74, author's note, line 8, the *Cornhill* and ed. 1 read correctly "L. 550" (line 550 of the *Birds*); all later editions read "I. 550." § 84, third line from end, all editions hitherto have misprinted γέγ' for μέγ', and all editions (after the *Cornhill*) ὄνειαρ for ὄνειαρ (the line is omitted in the French and Italian translations; it is misprinted in the German).

Reviews of the papers as they appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* were very numerous. Leading articles, "middle" articles, or other notices appeared, among other places, in the *Saturday Review*, August 4, 1860 ("J. R. on Political Economy," vol. 10, pp. 136–138), and November 10, 1860 ("Mr. Ruskin again," vol. 10, pp. 582–584: for extracts from this article, see above, p. xxviii.); the *Scotsman*, August 9 (for notices of this leading article, see below, pp. 69 *n.*, 71 *n.*); the *Critic*, August 4; the *Literary Gazette*, November 3; the *Weekly Times*, August 12; the *Manchester Review*, August 11 and 18; the *Glasgow Citizen*, August 11 (this was a defence of Ruskin, signed "G. G."); the *London Review*, August 11; the *Morning Herald*, September 5; the *Dial*, September 7; *Lincolnshire Herald*, September 11; the *Star*, September 21 (a paper by Major-General T. Perronet

Thompson), and November 5; the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, October 2; the *Renfrewshire Independent*, October 20; *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1860, vol. 62, pp. 651–659 ("Political Economy in the Clouds"); the *Bradford Observer*, November 29; *Lloyd's Weekly*, at that time edited by Blanchard Jerrold, November 18 (an article in defence of Ruskin, entitled "Mr. Ruskin *versus* the *Saturday Review*").

Reviews of *Unto this Last* in book form appeared in the *Guardian*, August 27, 1862; the *Weekly Review*, August 9, 1862; the *Westminster Review*, October 1862, N.S., vol. 22, pp. 530–532, and the *Morning Star*, December 4, 1862 (a leading article, noticing also Ruskin's lecture at the Working Men's College on November 29, 1862: see below, p. 325 *n.*).]

"FRIEND, I DO THEE NO WRONG. DIDST NOT THOU AGREE WITH ME FOR A PENNY? TAKE THAT THINE IS, AND GO THY WAY. I WILL GIVE UNTO THIS LAST EVEN AS UNTO THEE."

"IF YE THINK GOOD, GIVE ME MY PRICE; AND IF NOT, FORBEAR. SO THEY WEIGHED FOR MY PRICE THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER."

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PREFACE

1. THE four following essays were published eighteen months ago in the *Cornhill Magazine*, and were reprobated in a violent manner, as far as I could hear, by most of the readers they met with.

Not a whit the less, I believe them to be the best, that is to say, the truest, rightest-worded, and most serviceable things I have ever written; and the last of them, having had especial pains spent on it, is probably the best I shall ever write.

"This," the reader may reply, "it might be, yet not therefore well written." Which, in no mock humility, admitting, I yet rest satisfied with the work, though with nothing else that I have done; and purposing shortly to follow out the subjects opened in these papers, as I may find leisure,[1] I wish the introductory statements to be within the reach of any one who may care to refer to them. So I republish the essays as they appeared. One word only is changed,[2] correcting the estimate of a weight; and no word is added.*

2. Although, however, I find nothing to modify in these

* *Note to Second Edition.—An addition is made to the note in the Fourteenth page* of the preface of this book; which, being the most precious, in its essential contents, of all that I have ever written, I reprint word for word and page for page, after that addition, and make as accessible as I can, to all.[3]

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[1] [See above, Introduction, p. xlix.]

[2] [In § 48, line 45 (of this edition: see p. 66), where "thirteen ounces" in the *Cornhill* was corrected to "seventeen ounces" in the reprint.]

[3] [In this edition "the fourteenth page" is p. 20; and the pagination throughout the book is now necessarily changed. For particulars of the Second Edition, and of others after it which made the book yet more accessible, see above, pp. 5 *seq.*]

papers, it is matter of regret to me that the most startling of all the statements in them,—that respecting the necessity of the organization of labour, with fixed wages,—should have found its way into the first essay; it being quite one of the least important, though by no means the least certain, of the positions to be defended. The real gist of these papers, their central meaning and aim, is to give, as I believe for the first time in plain English,—it has often been incidentally given in good Greek by Plato and Xenophon, and good Latin by Cicero and Horace,[1]—a logical definition of WEALTH: such definition being absolutely needed for a basis of economical science. The most reputed essay on that subject which has appeared in modern times, after opening with the statement that "writers on political economy profess to teach, or to investigate,* the nature of wealth," thus follows up the declaration of its thesis—"Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by wealth." . . . "It is no part of the design of this treatise to aim at metaphysical nicety of definition." †

* Which? for where investigation is necessary, teaching is impossible.

† *Principles of Political Economy.* By J. S. Mill. Preliminary remarks, p. 2.[2]

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[1] [For another reference to Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero as the founders of *his* science of Political Economy, see *Munera Pulveris*, § 2 (p. 148). The passages in Plato to which Ruskin refers as giving incidentally a definition of true Wealth are such as *Laws*, v. 742–743: "Very rich and very good at the same time he cannot be, not, at least, in the sense in which the many speak of riches," etc. (see also below, p. 277 *n.*); or *Republic*, iii. 416 E. (quoted in *Munera Pulveris*, § 89). For Xenophon's implied definition of wealth, see *The Economist*, ch. i. (translated in vol. i. of *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, from which passage Ruskin takes his text of "the possession of the valuable by the valiant" (see below, § 64, p. 88). See also Ruskin's Preface to *Bibliotheca*, where he says (§ 22) that Xenophon's *Economist* "contains a flawless definition of wealth, and explanation of its dependence for efficiency on the merits and faculties of its possessor." The passage in question is quoted in *Munera Pulveris*, Appendix iii. (below, p. 283), where also Ruskin gives "Horace's clear rendering of the substance" of his own economic doctrine. For a reference to Cicero, in a similar connexion, see *Munera Pulveris*, § 60 *n.* (below, p. 184); and one may refer to such passages as "Contentum suis rebus esse maximæ sunt certissimæque divitiæ" (*Parad. Stoic.* 6, 51).]

[2] [For another criticism of this passage, see *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 2; below, p. 132. Ruskin's references are to the first edition (1848) of Mill's book in two volumes.]

3. Metaphysical nicety, we assuredly do not need; but physical nicety, and logical accuracy, with respect to a physical subject, we as assuredly do.

Suppose the subject of inquiry, instead of being House-law (*Oikonomia*), had been Star-law (*Astronomia*), and that, ignoring distinction between stars fixed and wandering, as here between wealth radiant and wealth reflective, the writer had begun thus: "Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by stars. Metaphysical nicety in the definition of a star is not the object of this treatise";—the essay so opened might yet have been far more true in its final statements, and a thousand-fold more serviceable to the navigator, than any treatise on wealth, which founds its conclusions on the popular conception of wealth, can ever become to the economist.

4. It was, therefore, the first object of these following papers to give an accurate and stable definition of wealth. Their second object was to show that the acquisition of wealth was finally possible only under certain moral conditions of society, of which quite the first was a belief in the existence, and even, for practical purposes, in the attainability of honesty.

Without venturing to pronounce—since on such a matter human judgment is by no means conclusive—what is, or is not, the noblest of God's works, we may yet admit so much of Pope's assertion[1] as that an honest man is among His best works presently visible, and, as things stand, a somewhat rare one; but not an incredible or miraculous work; still less an abnormal one. Honesty is not a disturbing force, which deranges the orbits of economy; but a consistent and commanding force, by obedience to which—and by no other obedience—those orbits can continue clear of chaos.

5. It is true, I have sometimes heard Pope condemned for the lowness, instead of the height, of his standard:—"Honesty is indeed a respectable virtue; but how much

[1] [*Essay on Man*, Epistle iv., line 247.]

higher may men attain! Shall nothing more be asked of us than that we be honest?"

For the present, good friends, nothing. It seems that in our aspirations to be more than that, we have to some extent lost sight of the propriety of being so much as that. What else we may have lost faith in, there shall be here no question; but assuredly we have lost faith in common honesty, and in the working power of it. And this faith, with the facts on which it may rest, it is quite our first business to recover and keep: not only believing, but even by experience assuring ourselves, that there are yet in the world men who can be restrained from fraud otherwise than by the fear of losing employment;* nay, that it is even accurately in proportion to the number of such men in any State, that the said State does or can prolong its existence.

To these two points, then, the following essays are mainly directed. The subject of the organization of labour is only casually touched upon; because, if we once can get a sufficient quantity of honesty in our captains, the organization

* "The effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman is not that of his corporation, but of his customers. It is the fear of losing their employment which restrains his frauds, and corrects his negligence." (*Wealth of Nations*, Book I. chap. 10.)

Note to Second Edition.—The only addition I will make to the words of this book shall be a very earnest request to any Christian reader to think within himself what an entirely damned state of soul any human creature must have got into, who could read with acceptance such a sentence as this: much more, write it; and to oppose to it, the first commercial words of Venice, discovered by me in her first church:—

"Around this temple, let the Merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his contracts guileless."[1]

If any of my present readers think that my language in this note is either intemperate, or unbecoming, I will beg them to read with attention the Eighteenth paragraph of *Sesame and Lilies;*[2] and to be assured that I never, myself, now use, in writing, any word which is not, in my deliberate judgment, the fittest for the occasion.

VENICE,
Sunday, 18th March, 1877.[3]

[1] [The Church of S. Giacomo di Rialto: see *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 37, 131, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 76 ("Venice, Sunday, 4th March, 1877").]

[2] [In this edition, Vol. XVIII. pp. 67–68.]

[3] [The last sentence—"If any . . . occasion"—was in fact added by Ruskin in a letter to Mr. Allen, dated March 26.]

of labour is easy, and will develop itself without quarrel or difficulty; but if we cannot get honesty in our captains, the organization of labour is for evermore impossible.

6. The several conditions of its possibility I purpose to examine at length in the sequel.[1] Yet, lest the reader should be alarmed by the hints thrown out during the following investigation of first principles, as if they were leading him into unexpectedly dangerous ground, I will, for his better assurance, state at once the worst of the political creed at which I wish him to arrive.

(1.) First, — that there should be training schools for youth established, at Government cost,* and under Government discipline, over the whole country;[2] that every child born in the country should, at the parent's wish, be permitted (and, in certain cases, be under penalty required) to pass through them; and that, in these schools, the child should (with other minor pieces of knowledge hereafter to be considered) imperatively be taught, with the best skill of teaching that the country could produce, the following three things:—

(*a*) The laws of health, and the exercises enjoined by them;

(*b*) Habits of gentleness and justice; and

(*c*) The calling by which he is to live.[3]

(2.) Secondly, — that, in connection with these training

* It will probably be inquired by near-sighted persons, out of what funds such schools could be supported. The expedient modes of direct provision for them I will examine hereafter; indirectly, they would be far more than self-supporting. The economy in crime alone, (quite one of the most costly articles of luxury in the modern European market,) which such schools would induce, would suffice to support them ten times over. Their economy of labour would be pure gain, and that too large to be presently calculable.

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[1] [The intended further treatise, already mentioned (in § 1 above, p. 17)—an intention partly fulfilled in *Munera Pulveris*.]

[2] [For Ruskin's earlier plea for a universal system of State education, see *A Joy for Ever*, §§ 128, 132 (Vol. XVI. pp. 111, 115). And compare § 79 (below, p. 106).]

[3] [On these matters compare *Time and Tide;* for (*a*), § 95; for (*b*), § 60; for (*c*), § 101 (below, pp. 397, 368, 400). With (*b*)—the ethical function of education—compare also Vol. V. p. 70; Vol. VII. p. 429; Vol. XI. p. 204; and below, pp. 232 and 329.]

schools, there should be established, also entirely under Government regulation, manufactories and workshops for the production and sale of every necessary of life, and for the exercise of every useful art. And that, interfering no whit with private enterprise, nor setting any restraints or tax on private trade, but leaving both to do their best, and beat the Government if they could,—there should, at these Government manufactories and shops, be authoritatively good and exemplary work done, and pure and true substance sold; so that a man could be sure, if he chose to pay the Government price, that he got for his money bread that was bread, ale that was ale, and work that was work.[1]

(3.) Thirdly,—that any man, or woman, or boy, or girl, out of employment, should be at once received at the nearest Government school, and set to such work as it appeared, on trial, they were fit for, at a fixed rate of wages determinable every year;—that, being found incapable of work through ignorance, they should be taught, or being found incapable of work through sickness, should be tended; but that being found objecting to work, they should be set, under compulsion of the strictest nature, to the more painful and degrading forms of necessary toil, especially to that in mines and other places of danger (such danger being, however, diminished to the utmost by careful regulation and discipline), and the due wages of such work be retained, cost of compulsion first abstracted—to be at the workman's command, so soon as he has come to sounder mind respecting the laws of employment.

(4.) Lastly,—that for the old and destitute, comfort and home should be provided; which provision, when misfortune had been by the working of such a system sifted from guilt, would be honourable instead of disgraceful to the receiver. For (I repeat this passage out of my *Political Economy of Art*, to which the reader is referred for farther detail[2]) "a

[1] [Here, again, compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 43; and for the third point here enforced, *ibid.*, § 129 (Vol. XVI. pp. 44, 112).]

[2] [The author's original reference was to the first edition, "Addenda, p. 195": see now, Vol. XVI. p. 113. See also below, p. 74.]

labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen, or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable; and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country."

To which statement, I will only add, for conclusion, respecting the discipline and pay of life and death, that, for both high and low, Livy's last words touching Valerius Publicola, "*de publico est elatus*," * ought not to be a dishonourable close of epitaph.

7. These things, then, I believe, and am about, as I find power, to explain and illustrate in their various bearings; following out also what belongs to them of collateral inquiry. Here I state them only in brief, to prevent the reader casting about in alarm for my ultimate meaning; yet requesting him, for the present, to remember, that in a science dealing with so subtle elements as those of human nature, it is only possible to answer for the final truth of principles, not for the direct success of plans: and that in the best of these last, what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable, and what can be finally accomplished, inconceivable.

DENMARK HILL,
10*th May*, 1862.

* P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post moritur; gloriâ ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumtus deesset: de publico est elatus. Luxere matronæ ut Brutum."—Lib. ii. c. xvi.[1]

[1] [See the passage from Ruskin's letter given in the Introduction, p. xlvii., and the note there added.]

"UNTO THIS LAST"

ESSAY I

THE ROOTS OF HONOUR

1. AMONG the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious—certainly the least creditable—is the modern *soi-disant* science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection.

Of course, as in the instances of alchemy, astrology, witchcraft, and other such popular creeds, political economy has a plausible idea at the root of it. "The social affections," says the economist, "are accidental and disturbing elements in human nature; but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements. Let us eliminate the inconstants, and, considering the human being merely as a covetous machine, examine by what laws of labour, purchase, and sale, the greatest accumulative result in wealth is obtainable. Those laws once determined, it will be for each individual afterwards to introduce as much of the disturbing affectionate element as he chooses, and to determine for himself the result on the new conditions supposed."

2. This would be a perfectly logical and successful method of analysis, if the accidentals afterwards to be introduced were of the same nature as the powers first examined. Supposing a body in motion to be influenced by constant and inconstant forces, it is usually the simplest way of examining its course to trace it first under the persistent conditions,

and afterwards introduce the causes of variation. But the disturbing elements in the social problem are not of the same nature as the constant ones: they alter the essence of the creature under examination the moment they are added; they operate, not mathematically, but chemically, introducing conditions which render all our previous knowledge unavailable. We made learned experiments upon pure nitrogen, and have convinced ourselves that it is a very manageable gas: but, behold! the thing which we have practically to deal with is its chloride; and this, the moment we touch it on our established principles, sends us and our apparatus through the ceiling.

3. Observe, I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusion of the science if its terms are accepted.[1] I am simply uninterested in them, as I should be in those of a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that supposition, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up into pellets, flatten them into cakes, or stretch them into cables; and that when these results were effected, the re-insertion of the skeleton would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitution. The reasoning might be admirable, the conclusions true, and the science deficient only in applicability. Modern political economy stands on a precisely similar basis. Assuming, not that the human being has no skeleton, but that it is all skeleton, it founds an ossifiant theory of progress on this negation of a soul; and having shown the utmost that may be made of bones, and constructed a number of interesting geometrical figures with death's-head and humeri, successfully proves the inconvenience of the reappearance of a soul among these corpuscular structures. I do not deny the truth of this theory: I simply deny its applicability to the present phase of the world.

4. This inapplicability has been curiously manifested during the embarrassment caused by the late strikes of our

[1] [Subsequently, however, Ruskin carried his attack to this further stage: see his letter cited above, in the Introduction, p. lxxxiii.]

workmen.[1] Here occurs one of the simplest cases, in a pertinent and positive form, of the first vital problem which political economy has to deal with (the relation between employer and employed); and, at a severe crisis, when lives in multitudes and wealth in masses are at stake, the political economists are helpless—practically mute: no demonstrable solution of the difficulty can be given by them, such as may convince or calm the opposing parties. Obstinately the masters take one view of the matter; obstinately the operatives another; and no political science can set them at one.

5. It would be strange if it could, it being not by "science" of any kind that men were ever intended to be set at one. Disputant after disputant vainly strives to show that the interests of the masters are, or are not, antagonistic to those of the men: none of the pleaders ever seeming to remember that it does not absolutely or always follow that the persons must be antagonistic because their interests are. If there is only a crust of bread in the house, and mother and children are starving, their interests are not the same. If the mother eats it, the children want it; if the children eat it, the mother must go hungry to her work. Yet it does not necessarily follow that there will be "antagonism" between them, that they will fight for the crust, and that the mother, being strongest, will get it, and eat it. Neither, in any other case, whatever the relations of the persons may be, can it be assumed for certain that, because their interests are diverse, they must necessarily regard each other with hostility, and use violence or cunning to obtain the advantage.

6. Even if this were so, and it were as just as it is convenient to consider men as actuated by no other moral influences than those which affect rats or swine, the logical conditions of the question are still indeterminable. It can never be shown generally either that the interests of master

[1] [The reference is more particularly to the builders' strike in the autumn of 1859: see (in a later volume of this edition) Ruskin's letter of September 4, 1859, to E. S. Dallas.]

and labourer are alike, or that they are opposed; for, according to circumstances, they may be either. It is, indeed, always the interest of both that the work should be rightly done, and a just price obtained for it; but, in the division of profits, the gain of the one may or may not be the loss of the other. It is not the master's interest to pay wages so low as to leave the men sickly and depressed, nor the workman's interest to be paid high wages if the smallness of the master's profit hinders him from enlarging his business, or conducting it in a safe and liberal way. A stoker ought not to desire high pay if the company is too poor to keep the engine-wheels in repair.

7. And the varieties of circumstance which influence these reciprocal interests are so endless, that all endeavour to deduce rules of action from balance of expediency is in vain. And it is meant to be in vain. For no human actions ever were intended by the Maker of men to be guided by balances of expediency,[1] but by balances of justice. He has therefore rendered all endeavours to determine expediency futile for evermore. No man ever knew, or can know, what will be the ultimate result to himself, or to others, of any given line of conduct. But every man may know, and most of us do know, what is a just and unjust act. And all of us may know also, that the consequences of justice will be ultimately the best possible, both to others and ourselves, though we can neither say what *is* best, or how it is likely to come to pass.

I have said balances of justice, meaning, in the term justice, to include affection,—such affection as one man *owes* to another. All right relations between master and operative, and all their best interests, ultimately depend on these.

8. We shall find the best and simplest illustration of the relations of master and operative in the position of domestic servants.[2]

[1] [Compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. pp. 20, 23.]

[2] [The relation of masters and servants is a subject to which Ruskin often recurred in letters to the newspapers, as well illustrating his principles of political economy. See, more especially, the letters to the *Daily Telegraph* of September 5

We will suppose that the master of a household desires only to get as much work out of his servants as he can, at the rate of wages he gives. He never allows them to be idle; feeds them as poorly and lodges them as ill as they will endure, and in all things pushes his requirements to the exact point beyond which he cannot go without forcing the servant to leave him. In doing this, there is no violation on his part of what is commonly called "justice." He agrees with the domestic for his whole time and service, and takes them;—the limits of hardship in treatment being fixed by the practice of other masters in his neighbourhood; that is to say, by the current rate of wages for domestic labour. If the servant can get a better place, he is free to take one, and the master can only tell what is the real market value of his labour, by requiring as much as he will give.

This is the politico-economical view of the case, according to the doctors of that science; who assert that by this procedure the greatest average of work will be obtained from the servant, and therefore the greatest benefit to the community, and through the community, by reversion, to the servant himself.

That, however, is not so. It would be so if the servant were an engine of which the motive power was steam, magnetism, gravitation, or any other agent of calculable force. But he being, on the contrary, an engine whose motive power is a Soul, the force of this very peculiar agent, as an unknown quantity, enters into all the political economist's equations, without his knowledge, and falsifies every one of their results. The largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay, or under pressure, or by help of any kind of fuel which may be supplied by the chaldron. It will be done only when the motive force, that is to say, the will or spirit of the creature, is brought to

and 18, 1865 (below, pp. 518 *seq.*). He cited his own experience in support of his contentions in a letter to the same journal of September 7; with which compare what he says of Sir Walter Scott's servants (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter 32).]

its greatest strength by its own proper fuel: namely, by the affections.

9. It may indeed happen, and does happen often, that if the master is a man of sense and energy, a large quantity of material work may be done under mechanical pressure, enforced by strong will and guided by wise method; also it may happen, and does happen often, that if the master is indolent and weak (however good-natured), a very small quantity of work, and that bad, may be produced by the servant's undirected strength, and contemptuous gratitude. But the universal law of the matter is that, assuming any given quantity of energy and sense in master and servant, the greatest material result obtainable by them will be, not through antagonism to each other, but through affection for each other; and that, if the master, instead of endeavouring to get as much work as possible from the servant, seeks rather to render his appointed and necessary work beneficial to him, and to forward his interests in all just and wholesome ways, the real amount of work ultimately done, or of good rendered, by the person so cared for, will indeed be the greatest possible.

Observe, I say, "of good rendered," for a servant's work is not necessarily or always the best thing he can give his master. But good of all kinds, whether in material service, in protective watchfulness of his master's interest and credit, or in joyful readiness to seize unexpected and irregular occasions of help.

Nor is this one whit less generally true because indulgence will be frequently abused, and kindness met with ingratitude. For the servant who, gently treated, is ungrateful, treated ungently, will be revengeful; and the man who is dishonest to a liberal master will be injurious to an unjust one.

10. In any case, and with any person, this unselfish treatment will produce the most effective return. Observe, I am here considering the affections wholly as a motive power; not at all as things in themselves desirable or noble, or in any other way abstractedly good. I look at them simply

as an anomalous force, rendering every one of the ordinary political economist's calculations nugatory; while, even if he desired to introduce this new element into his estimates, he has no power of dealing with it; for the affections only become a true motive power when they ignore every other motive and condition of political economy. Treat the servant kindly, with the idea of turning his gratitude to account, and you will get, as you deserve, no gratitude, nor any value for your kindness; but treat him kindly without any economical purpose, and all economical purposes will be answered; in this, as in all other matters, whosoever will save his life shall lose it, whoso loses it shall find it.[1] *

11. The next clearest and simplest example of relation

* The difference between the two modes of treatment, and between their effective material results, may be seen very accurately by a comparison of the relations of Esther and Charlie in *Bleak House* with those of Miss Brass and the Marchioness in *Master Humphrey's Clock.*

The essential value and truth of Dickens's writings[2] have been unwisely lost sight of by many thoughtful persons, merely because he presents his truth with some colour of caricature. Unwisely, because Dickens's caricature, though often gross, is never mistaken. Allowing for his manner of telling them, the things he tells us are always true. I wish that he could think it right to limit his brilliant exaggeration to works written only for public amusement; and when he takes up a subject of high national importance, such as that which he handled in *Hard Times,* that he would use severer and more accurate analysis. The usefulness of that work (to my mind, in several respects the greatest he has written) is with many persons seriously diminished because Mr. Bounderby is a dramatic monster, instead of a characteristic example of a worldly master; and Stephen Blackpool a dramatic perfection, instead of a characteristic example of an honest workman. But let us not lose the use of Dickens's wit and insight, because he chooses to speak in a circle of stage fire. He is entirely right in his main drift and purpose in every book he has written; and all of them, but especially *Hard Times,* should be studied with close and earnest care by persons interested in social questions. They will find much that is partial, and, because partial, apparently unjust; but if they examine all the evidence on the other side, which Dickens seems to overlook, it will appear, after all their trouble, that his view was the finally right one, grossly and sharply told.

[1] [Matthew x. 39.]

[2] [For a general note on Ruskin's references to Dickens, see Vol. XI. p. 173. The "subject of high national importance" taken up in *Hard Times* (published in 1854 and dedicated to Carlyle), was an attack on "those who see figures and averages and nothing else—the representatives of the wickedest and most enormous vice of this time" (see the letter of Dickens quoted in Charles Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*).]

between master and operative is that which exists between the commander of a regiment and his men.

Supposing the officer only desires to apply the rules of discipline so as, with least trouble to himself, to make the regiment most effective, he will not be able, by any rules or administration of rules, on this selfish principle, to develop the full strength of his subordinates. If a man of sense and firmness, he may, as in the former instance, produce a better result than would be obtained by the irregular kindness of a weak officer; but let the sense and firmness be the same in both cases, and assuredly the officer who has the most direct personal relations with his men, the most care for their interests, and the most value for their lives, will develop their effective strength, through their affection for his own person, and trust in his character, to a degree wholly unattainable by other means. This law applies still more stringently as the numbers concerned are larger: a charge may often be successful, though the men dislike their officers; a battle has rarely been won, unless they loved their general.

12. Passing from these simple examples to the more complicated relations existing between a manufacturer and his workmen, we are met first by certain curious difficulties, resulting, apparently, from a harder and colder state of moral elements. It is easy to imagine an enthusiastic affection existing among soldiers for the colonel. Not so easy to imagine an enthusiastic affection among cotton-spinners for the proprietor of the mill. A body of men associated for purposes of robbery (as a Highland clan in ancient times) shall be animated by perfect affection, and every member of it be ready to lay down his life for the life of his chief. But a band of men associated for purposes of legal production and accumulation is usually animated, it appears, by no such emotions, and none of them are in any wise willing to give his life for the life of his chief. Not only are we met by this apparent anomaly, in moral matters, but by others connected with it, in administration of system.

For a servant or a soldier is engaged at a definite rate of wages, for a definite period; but a workman at a rate of wages variable according to the demand for labour, and with the risk of being at any time thrown out of his situation by chances of trade. Now, as, under these contingencies, no action of the affections can take place, but only an explosive action of *dis*affections, two points offer themselves for consideration in the matter.

The first—How far the rate of wages may be so regulated as not to vary with the demand for labour.

The second—How far it is possible that bodies of workmen may be engaged and maintained at such fixed rate of wages (whatever the state of trade may be), without enlarging or diminishing their number, so as to give them permanent interest in the establishment with which they are connected, like that of the domestic servants in an old family, or an *esprit de corps*, like that of the soldiers in a crack regiment.

13. The first question is, I say, how far it may be possible to fix the rate of wages, irrespectively of the demand for labour.

Perhaps one of the most curious facts in the history of human error is the denial by the common political economist of the possibility of thus regulating wages; while, for all the important, and much of the unimportant, labour, on the earth, wages are already so regulated.

We do not sell our prime-ministership by Dutch auction; nor, on the decease of a bishop, whatever may be the general advantages of simony, do we (yet) offer his diocese to the clergyman who will take the episcopacy at the lowest contract. We (with exquisite sagacity of political economy!) do indeed sell commissions; but not openly, generalships: sick, we do not inquire for a physician who takes less than a guinea; litigious, we never think of reducing six-and-eightpence to four-and-sixpence; caught in a shower, we do not canvass the cabmen, to find one who values his driving at less than sixpence a mile.

It is true that in all these cases there is, and in every conceivable case there must be, ultimate reference to the presumed difficulty of the work, or number of candidates for the office. If it were thought that the labour necessary to make a good physician would be gone through by a sufficient number of students with the prospect of only half-guinea fees, public consent would soon withdraw the unnecessary half-guinea. In this ultimate sense, the price of labour is indeed always regulated by the demand for it; but, so far as the practical and immediate administration of the matter is regarded, the best labour always has been, and is, as *all* labour ought to be, paid by an invariable standard.

14. "What!" the reader perhaps answers amazedly: "pay good and bad workmen alike?"

Certainly. The difference between one prelate's sermons and his successor's—or between one physician's opinion and another's,—is far greater, as respects the qualities of mind involved, and far more important in result to you personally, than the difference between good and bad laying of bricks (though that is greater than most people suppose). Yet you pay with equal fee, contentedly, the good and bad workmen upon your soul, and the good and bad workmen upon your body; much more may you pay, contentedly, with equal fees, the good and bad workmen upon your house.

"Nay, but I choose my physician, and (?) my clergyman, thus indicating my sense of the quality of their work." By all means, also, choose your bricklayer; that is the proper reward of the good workman, to be "chosen." The natural and right system respecting all labour is, that it should be paid at a fixed rate, but the good workman employed, and the bad workman unemployed.[1] The false, unnatural, and destructive system is when the bad workman is allowed to offer his work at half-price, and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum.

[1] [See the author's references to this passage, above (Preface, § 2), p. 18, and below, § 31 *n.*, p. 47.]

15. This equality of wages, then, being the first object towards which we have to discover the directest available road, the second is, as above stated, that of maintaining constant numbers of workmen in employment, whatever may be the accidental demand for the article they produce.

I believe the sudden and extensive inequalities of demand, which necessarily arise in the mercantile operations of an active nation, constitute the only essential difficulty which has to be overcome in a just organization of labour.

The subject opens into too many branches to admit of being investigated in a paper of this kind; but the following general facts bearing on it may be noted.

The wages which enable any workman to live are necessarily higher, if his work is liable to intermission, than if it is assured and continuous; and however severe the struggle for work may become, the general law will always hold, that men must get more daily pay if, on the average, they can only calculate on work three days a week than they would require if they were sure of work six days a week. Supposing that a man cannot live on less than a shilling a day, his seven shillings he must get, either for three days' violent work, or six days' deliberate work. The tendency of all modern mercantile operations is to throw both wages and trade into the form of a lottery, and to make the workman's pay depend on intermittent exertion, and the principal's profit on dexterously used chance.

16. In what partial degree, I repeat, this may be necessary in consequence of the activities of modern trade, I do not here investigate; contenting myself with the fact that in its fatallest aspects it is assuredly unnecessary, and results merely from love of gambling on the part of the masters, and from ignorance and sensuality in the men. The masters cannot bear to let any opportunity of gain escape them, and frantically rush at every gap and breach in the walls of Fortune, raging to be rich, and affronting, with impatient covetousness, every risk of ruin, while the

men prefer three days of violent labour, and three days of drunkenness, to six days of moderate work and wise rest. There is no way in which a principal, who really desires to help his workmen, may do it more effectually than by checking these disorderly habits both in himself and them; keeping his own business operations on a scale which will enable him to pursue them securely, not yielding to temptations of precarious gain; and at the same time, leading his workmen into regular habits of labour and life, either by inducing them rather to take low wages, in the form of a fixed salary, than high wages, subject to the chance of their being thrown out of work; or, if this be impossible, by discouraging the system of violent exertion for nominally high day wages, and leading the men to take lower pay for more regular labour.

In effecting any radical changes of this kind, doubtless there would be great inconvenience and loss incurred by all the originators of the movement. That which can be done with perfect convenience and without loss, is not always the thing that most needs to be done, or which we are most imperatively required to do.

17. I have already alluded to the difference hitherto existing between regiments of men associated for purposes of violence, and for purposes of manufacture; in that the former appear capable of self-sacrifice — the latter, not; which singular fact is the real reason of the general lowness of estimate in which the profession of commerce is held, as compared with that of arms. Philosophically, it does not, at first sight, appear reasonable (many writers have endeavoured to prove it unreasonable) that a peaceable and rational person, whose trade is buying and selling, should be held in less honour than an unpeaceable and often irrational person, whose trade is slaying. Nevertheless, the consent of mankind has always, in spite of the philosophers, given precedence to the soldier.

And this is right.

For the soldier's trade, verily and essentially, is not

slaying, but being slain.[1] This, without well knowing its own meaning, the world honours it for. A bravo's trade is slaying; but the world has never respected bravos more than merchants: the reason it honours the soldier is, because he holds his life at the service of the State. Reckless he may be—fond of pleasure or of adventure—all kinds of bye-motives and mean impulses may have determined the choice of his profession, and may affect (to all appearance exclusively) his daily conduct in it; but our estimate of him is based on this ultimate fact—of which we are well assured—that put him in a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of the world behind him, and only death and his duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front; and he knows that his choice may be put to him at any moment—and has beforehand taken his part—virtually takes such part continually—does, in reality, die daily.[2]

18. Not less is the respect we pay to the lawyer and physician, founded ultimately on their self-sacrifice. Whatever the learning or acuteness of a great lawyer, our chief respect for him depends on our belief that, set in a judge's seat, he will strive to judge justly, come of it what may. Could we suppose that he would take bribes, and use his acuteness and legal knowledge to give plausibility to iniquitous decisions, no degree of intellect would win for him our respect. Nothing will win it, short of our tacit conviction, that in all important acts of his life justice is first with him; his own interest, second.

In the case of a physician, the ground of the honour we render him is clearer still. Whatever his science, we would shrink from him in horror if we found him regard his patients merely as subjects to experiment upon; much more, if we found that, receiving bribes from persons interested in their deaths, he was using his best skill to give poison in the mask of medicine.

[1] [On this point, compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 148 (p. 271); *Time and Tide*, § 134 (p. 427); and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 122.]

[2] [1 Corinthians xv. 31.]

Finally, the principle holds with utmost clearness as it respects clergymen. No goodness of disposition will excuse want of science in a physician, or of shrewdness in an advocate; but a clergyman, even though his power of intellect be small, is respected on the presumed ground of his unselfishness and serviceableness.

19. Now, there can be no question but that the tact, foresight, decision, and other mental powers, required for the successful management of a large mercantile concern, if not such as could be compared with those of a great lawyer, general, or divine, would at least match the general conditions of mind required in the subordinate officers of a ship, or of a regiment, or in the curate of a country parish. If, therefore, all the efficient members of the so-called liberal professions are still, somehow, in public estimate of honour, preferred before the head of a commercial firm, the reason must lie deeper than in the measurement of their several powers of mind.

And the essential reason for such preference will be found to lie in the fact that the merchant is presumed to act always selfishly. His work may be very necessary to the community; but the motive of it is understood to be wholly personal. The merchant's first object in all his dealings must be (the public believe) to get as much for himself, and leave as little to his neighbour (or customer) as possible. Enforcing this upon him, by political statute, as the necessary principle of his action; recommending it to him on all occasions, and themselves reciprocally adopting it, proclaiming vociferously, for law of the universe, that a buyer's function is to cheapen, and a seller's to cheat,—the public, nevertheless, involuntarily condemn the man of commerce for his compliance with their own statement, and stamp him for ever as belonging to an inferior grade of human personality.

20. This they will find, eventually, they must give up doing. They must not cease to condemn selfishness; but they will have to discover a kind of commerce which is not

exclusively selfish. Or, rather, they will have to discover that there never was, or can be, any other kind of commerce; that this which they have called commerce was not commerce at all, but cozening; and that a true merchant differs as much from a merchant according to laws of modern political economy, as the hero of the *Excursion* from Autolycus.[1] They will find that commerce is an occupation which gentlemen will every day see more need to engage in, rather than in the businesses of talking to men, or slaying them; that, in true commerce, as in true preaching, or true fighting, it is necessary to admit the idea of occasional voluntary loss;—that sixpences have to be lost, as well as lives, under a sense of duty; that the market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit; and trade its heroisms as well as war.

May have—in the final issue, must have—and only has not had yet, because men of heroic temper have always been misguided in their youth into other fields; not recognizing what is in our days, perhaps, the most important of all fields; so that, while many a zealous person loses his life in trying to teach the form of a gospel, very few will lose a hundred pounds in showing the practice of one.

21. The fact is, that people never have had clearly explained to them the true functions of a merchant with respect to other people. I should like the reader to be very clear about this.

Five great intellectual professions, relating to daily necessities of life, have hitherto existed—three exist necessarily, in every civilized nation:

The Soldier's profession is to *defend* it.

The Pastor's to *teach* it.

The Physician's to *keep it in health.*

The Lawyer's to *enforce justice* in it.

The Merchant's to *provide* for it.

[1] [For references to the thief of Greek legend, see *Queen of the Air*, § 28; and to Shakespeare's "Snapper-up of unconsidered trifles," *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 8 and 58.]

And the duty of all these men is, on due occasion, to *die* for it.[1]

"On due occasion," namely:—

The Soldier, rather than leave his post in battle.

The Physician, rather than leave his post in plague.

The Pastor, rather than teach Falsehood.

The Lawyer, rather than countenance Injustice.

The Merchant—what is *his* "due occasion" of death?

22. It is the main question for the merchant, as for all of us. For, truly, the man who does not know when to die, does not know how to live.

Observe, the merchant's function (or manufacturer's, for in the broad sense in which it is here used the word must be understood to include both) is to provide for the nation. It is no more his function to get profit for himself out of that provision than it is a clergyman's function to get his stipend. This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life, if he be a true clergyman, any more than his fee (or honorarium) is the object of life to a true physician. Neither is his fee the object of life to a true merchant. All three, if true men, have a work to be done irrespective of fee—to be done even at any cost, or for quite the contrary of fee; the pastor's function being to teach, the physician's to heal, and the merchant's, as I have said, to provide.[2] That is to say, he has to understand to their very root the qualities of the thing he deals in, and the means of obtaining or producing it; and he has to apply all his sagacity and energy to the producing or obtaining it in perfect state, and distributing it at the cheapest possible price where it is most needed.

And because the production or obtaining of any commodity involves necessarily the agency of many lives and hands, the merchant becomes in the course of his business

[1] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 86, where this passage is referred to.]

[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 84, where Ruskin refers to this statement of the three necessary professions, and explains more fully the function of the pastor. See also *Munera Pulveris*, § 145 (below, p. 269); *Two Paths*, § 135 (Vol. XVI. p. 370); and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 32.]

the master and governor of large masses of men in a more direct, though less confessed way, than a military officer or pastor; so that on him falls, in great part, the responsibility for the kind of life they lead: and it becomes his duty, not only to be always considering how to produce what he sells, in the purest and cheapest forms, but how to make the various employments involved in the production, or transference of it, most beneficial to the men employed.

23. And as into these two functions, requiring for their right exercise the highest intelligence, as well as patience, kindness, and tact, the merchant is bound to put all his energy, so for their just discharge he is bound, as soldier or physician is bound, to give up, if need be, his life, in such way as it may be demanded of him. Two main points he has in his providing function to maintain: first, his engagements (faithfulness to engagements being the real root of all possibilities, in commerce); and, secondly, the perfectness and purity of the thing provided; so that, rather than fail in any engagement, or consent to any deterioration, adulteration,[1] or unjust and exorbitant price of that which he provides, he is bound to meet fearlessly any form of distress, poverty, or labour, which may, through maintenance of these points, come upon him.

24. Again: in his office as governor of the men employed by him, the merchant or manufacturer is invested with a distinctly paternal authority and responsibility. In most cases, a youth entering a commercial establishment is withdrawn altogether from home influence; his master must become his father, else he has, for practical and constant help, no father at hand: in all cases the master's authority, together with the general tone and atmosphere of his business, and the character of the men with whom the youth is compelled in the course of it to associate, have more immediate and pressing weight than the home influence, and will usually neutralize it either for good or evil; so that the only means which the master has of doing justice

[1] [See below, p. 383 *n.*]

to the men employed by him is to ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with such subordinate as he would with his own son, if compelled by circumstances to take such a position.

Supposing the captain of a frigate saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of a common sailor: as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of the men under him. So, also, supposing the master of a manufactory saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of an ordinary workman; as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of his men. This is the only effective, true, or practical RULE which can be given on this point of political economy.

And as the captain of a ship is bound to be the last man to leave his ship in case of wreck, and to share his last crust with the sailors in case of famine, so the manufacturer, in any commercial crisis or distress, is bound to take the suffering of it with his men, and even to take more of it for himself than he allows his men to feel; as a father would in a famine, shipwreck, or battle, sacrifice himself for his son.

25. All which sounds very strange: the only real strangeness in the matter being, nevertheless, that it should so sound. For all this is true, and that not partially nor theoretically, but everlastingly and practically: all other doctrine than this respecting matters political being false in premises, absurd in deduction, and impossible in practice, consistently with any progressive state of national life; all the life which we now possess as a nation showing itself in the resolute denial and scorn, by a few strong minds and faithful hearts, of the economic principles taught to our multitudes, which principles, so far as accepted, lead straight to national destruction. Respecting the modes and forms of destruction to which they lead, and, on the other hand, respecting the farther practical working of true polity, I hope to reason farther in a following paper.

ESSAY II

THE VEINS OF WEALTH

26. The answer which would be made by any ordinary political economist to the statements contained in the preceding paper, is in few words as follows:—

"It is indeed true that certain advantages of a general nature may be obtained by the development of social affections. But political economists never professed, nor profess, to take advantages of a general nature into consideration. Our science is simply the science of getting rich. So far from being a fallacious or visionary one, it is found by experience to be practically effective. Persons who follow its precepts do actually become rich, and persons who disobey them become poor. Every capitalist of Europe has acquired his fortune by following the known laws of our science, and increases his capital daily by an adherence to them. It is vain to bring forward tricks of logic, against the force of accomplished facts. Every man of business knows by experience how money is made, and how it is lost."

Pardon me. Men of business do indeed know how they themselves made their money, or how, on occasion, they lost it. Playing a long-practised game, they are familiar with the chances of its cards, and can rightly explain their losses and gains. But they neither know who keeps the bank of the gambling-house, nor what other games may be played with the same cards, nor what other losses and gains, far away among the dark streets, are essentially, though invisibly, dependent on theirs in the lighted rooms. They have learned a few, and only a few, of the laws of mercantile economy; but not one of those of political economy.

27. Primarily, which is very notable and curious, I observe

that men of business rarely know the meaning of the word "rich." At least, if they know, they do not in their reasonings allow for the fact, that it is a relative word, implying its opposite "poor" as positively as the word "north" implies its opposite "south." Men nearly always speak and write as if riches were absolute, and it were possible, by following certain scientific precepts, for everybody to be rich. Whereas riches are a power like that of electricity, acting only through inequalities or negations of itself. The force of the guinea you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbour's pocket. If he did not want it, it would be of no use to you; the degree of power it possesses depends accurately upon the need or desire he has for it,—and the art of making yourself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbour poor.

I would not contend in this matter (and rarely in any matter) for the acceptance of terms. But I wish the reader clearly and deeply to understand the difference between the two economies, to which the terms "Political" and "Mercantile" might not unadvisedly be attached.

28. Political economy (the economy of a State, or of citizens) consists simply in the production, preservation, and distribution,[1] at fittest time and place, of useful or pleasurable things. The farmer who cuts his hay at the right time; the shipwright who drives his bolts well home in sound wood; the builder who lays good bricks in well-tempered mortar; the housewife who takes care of her furniture in the parlour, and guards against all waste in her kitchen; and the singer who rightly disciplines, and never overstrains her voice, are all political economists in the true and final sense: adding continually to the riches and well-being of the nation to which they belong.

But mercantile economy, the economy of "merces" or of

[1] [Compare *The Political Economy of Art*, where Ruskin divides his subject under the heads "Discovery," "Application," "Accumulation," and "Distribution" (Vol. XVI. p. 29).]

"pay," signifies the accumulation, in the hands of individuals, of legal or moral claim upon, or power over, the labour of others; every such claim implying precisely as much poverty or debt on one side, as it implies riches or right on the other.

It does not, therefore, necessarily involve an addition to the actual property, or well-being of the State in which it exists. But since this commercial wealth, or power over labour, is nearly always convertible at once into real property, while real property is not always convertible at once into power over labour, the idea of riches among active men in civilized nations generally refers to commercial wealth; and in estimating their possessions, they rather calculate the value of their horses and fields by the number of guineas they could get for them, than the value of their guineas by the number of horses and fields they could buy with them.

29. There is, however, another reason for this habit of mind: namely, that an accumulation of real property is of little use to its owner, unless, together with it, he has commercial power over labour. Thus, suppose any person to be put in possession of a large estate of fruitful land, with rich beds of gold in its gravel; countless herds of cattle in its pastures; houses, and gardens, and storehouses full of useful stores: but suppose, after all, that he could get no servants? In order that he may be able to have servants, some one in his neighbourhood must be poor, and in want of his gold—or his corn. Assume that no one is in want of either, and that no servants are to be had. He must, therefore, bake his own bread, make his own clothes, plough his own ground, and shepherd his own flocks. His gold will be as useful to him as any other yellow pebbles on his estate. His stores must rot, for he cannot consume them. He can eat no more than another man could eat, and wear no more than another man could wear. He must lead a life of severe and common labour to procure even ordinary comforts; he will be ultimately unable to keep either houses in repair, or fields in cultivation; and forced to

content himself with a poor man's portion of cottage and garden, in the midst of a desert of waste land, trampled by wild cattle, and encumbered by ruins of palaces, which he will hardly mock at himself by calling "his own."

30. The most covetous of mankind would, with small exultation, I presume, accept riches of this kind on these terms. What is really desired, under the name of riches, is, essentially, power over men; in its simplest sense, the power of obtaining for our own advantage the labour of servant, tradesman, and artist; in wider sense, authority of directing large masses of the nation to various ends (good, trivial, or hurtful, according to the mind of the rich person). And this power of wealth of course is greater or less in direct proportion to the poverty of the men over whom it is exercised, and in inverse proportion to the number of persons who are as rich as ourselves, and who are ready to give the same price for an article of which the supply is limited. If the musician is poor, he will sing for small pay, as long as there is only one person who can pay him; but if there be two or three, he will sing for the one who offers him most. And thus the power of the riches of the patron (always imperfect and doubtful, as we shall see presently[1] even when most authoritative) depends first on the poverty of the artist, and then on the limitation of the number of equally wealthy persons, who also want seats at the concert. So that, as above stated, the art of becoming "rich," in the common sense, is not absolutely nor finally the art of accumulating much money for ourselves, but also of contriving that our neighbours shall have less. In accurate terms, it is "the art of establishing the maximum inequality in our own favour."

31. Now, the establishment of such inequality cannot be shown in the abstract to be either advantageous or disadvantageous to the body of the nation. The rash and absurd assumption that such inequalities are necessarily

[1] [Below, § 39, p. 54.]

advantageous, lies at the root of most of the popular fallacies on the subject of political economy. For the eternal and inevitable law in this matter is, that the beneficialness of the inequality depends, first, on the methods by which it was accomplished; and, secondly, on the purposes to which it is applied. Inequalities of wealth, unjustly established, have assuredly injured the nation in which they exist during their establishment; and, unjustly directed, injure it yet more during their existence. But inequalities of wealth, justly established, benefit the nation in the course of their establishment; and, nobly used, aid it yet more by their existence. That is to say, among every active and well-governed people, the various strength of individuals, tested by full exertion and specially applied to various need, issues in unequal, but harmonious results, receiving reward or authority according to its class and service;* while, in the inactive or ill-governed nation, the gradations of decay and

* I have been naturally asked several times with respect to the sentence in the first of these papers, "the bad workmen unemployed,"[1] "But what are you to do with your bad unemployed workmen?" Well, it seems to me the question might have occurred to you before. Your housemaid's place is vacant—you give twenty pounds a year—two girls come for it, one neatly dressed, the other dirtily; one with good recommendations, the other with none. You do not, under these circumstances, usually ask the dirty one if she will come for fifteen pounds, or twelve; and, on her consenting, take her instead of the well-recommended one. Still less do you try to beat both down by making them bid against each other, till you can hire both, one at twelve pounds a year, and the other at eight. You simply take the one fittest for the place, and send away the other, not perhaps concerning yourself quite as much as you should with the question which you now impatiently put to me, "What is to become of her?" For, all that I advise you to do, is to deal with workmen as with servants; and verily the question is of weight: "Your bad workman, idler, and rogue—what are you to do with him?"

We will consider of this presently:[2] remember that the administration of a complete system of national commerce and industry cannot be explained in full detail within the space of twelve pages. Meantime, consider whether, there being confessedly some difficulty in dealing with rogues and idlers, it may not be advisable to produce as few of them as possible. If you examine

[1] [Above, § 14, p. 34.]
[2] [See below, § 79, pp. 106 *seq.*]

the victories of treason work out also their own rugged system of subjection and success; and substitute, for the melodious inequalities of concurrent power, the iniquitous dominances and depressions of guilt and misfortune.

32. Thus the circulation of wealth in a nation resembles that of the blood in the natural body. There is one quickness of the current which comes of cheerful emotion or wholesome exercise; and another which comes of shame or of fever. There is a flush of the body which is full of warmth and life; and another which will pass into putrefaction.

The analogy will hold down even to minute particulars. For as diseased local determination of the blood involves depression of the general health of the system, all morbid local action of riches will be found ultimately to involve a weakening of the resources of the body politic.

The mode in which this is produced may be at once understood by examining one or two instances of the development of wealth in the simplest possible circumstances.

33. Suppose two sailors cast away on an uninhabited coast, and obliged to maintain themselves there by their own labour for a series of years.

If they both kept their health, and worked steadily and in amity with each other, they might build themselves a convenient house, and in time come to possess a certain quantity of cultivated land, together with various stores laid up for future use. All these things would be real riches or property; and, supposing the men both to have worked equally hard, they would each have right to equal share or use of it. Their political economy would consist merely in careful preservation and just division of these possessions. Perhaps, however, after some time one or other might be

into the history of rogues, you will find they are as truly manufactured articles as anything else, and it is just because our present system of political economy gives so large a stimulus to that manufacture that you may know it to be a false one. We had better seek for a system which will develop honest men, than for one which will deal cunningly with vagabonds. Let us reform our schools, and we shall find little reform needed in our prisons.

dissatisfied with the results of their common farming; and they might in consequence agree to divide the land they had brought under the spade into equal shares, so that each might thenceforward work in his own field, and live by it. Suppose that after this arrangement had been made, one of them were to fall ill, and be unable to work on his land at a critical time—say of sowing or harvest.

He would naturally ask the other to sow or reap for him.

Then his companion might say, with perfect justice, "I will do this additional work for you; but if I do it, you must promise to do as much for me at another time. I will count how many hours I spend on your ground, and you shall give me a written promise to work for the same number of hours on mine, whenever I need your help, and you are able to give it."

34. Suppose the disabled man's sickness to continue, and that under various circumstances, for several years, requiring the help of the other, he on each occasion gave a written pledge to work, as soon as he was able, at his companion's orders, for the same number of hours which the other had given up to him. What will the positions of the two men be when the invalid is able to resume work?

Considered as a "Polis," or state, they will be poorer than they would have been otherwise: poorer by the withdrawal of what the sick man's labour would have produced in the interval. His friend may perhaps have toiled with an energy quickened by the enlarged need, but in the end his own land and property must have suffered by the withdrawal of so much of his time and thought from them: and the united property of the two men will be certainly less than it would have been if both had remained in health and activity.

But the relations in which they stand to each other are also widely altered. The sick man has not only pledged his labour for some years, but will probably have exhausted his own share of the accumulated stores, and will be in

consequence for some time dependent on the other for food, which he can only "pay" or reward him for by yet more deeply pledging his own labour.

Supposing the written promises to be held entirely valid (among civilized nations their validity is secured by legal measures *), the person who had hitherto worked for both might now, if he chose, rest altogether, and pass his time in idleness, not only forcing his companion to redeem all the engagements he had already entered into, but exacting from him pledges for further labour, to an arbitrary amount, for what food he had to advance to him.

35. There might not, from first to last, be the least illegality (in the ordinary sense of the word) in the arrangement; but if a stranger arrived on the coast at this advanced epoch of their political economy, he would find one man commercially Rich; the other commercially Poor. He would see, perhaps, with no small surprise, one passing his days in idleness; the other labouring for both, and living sparely, in the hope of recovering his independence at some distant period.

This is, of course, an example of one only out of many ways in which inequality of possession may be established between different persons, giving rise to the Mercantile forms of Riches and Poverty. In the instance before us, one of

* The disputes which exist respecting the real nature of money arise more from the disputants examining its functions on different sides, than from any real dissent in their opinions. All money, properly so called, is an acknowledgment of debt; but as such, it may either be considered to represent the labour and property of the creditor, or the idleness and penury of the debtor. The intricacy of the question has been much increased by the (hitherto necessary) use of marketable commodities, such as gold, silver, salt, shells, etc., to give intrinsic value or security to currency; but the final and best definition of money is that it is a documentary promise ratified and guaranteed by the nation to give or find a certain quantity of labour on demand.[1] A man's labour for a day is a better standard of value than a measure of any produce, because no produce ever maintains a consistent rate of productibility.

[1] [On this subject, see the fuller discussion in *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 68 *seq.*; below, pp. 194 *seq.*]

the men might from the first have deliberately chosen to be idle, and to put his life in pawn for present ease; or he might have mismanaged his land, and been compelled to have recourse to his neighbour for food and help, pledging his future labour for it. But what I want the reader to note especially is the fact, common to a large number of typical cases of this kind, that the establishment of the mercantile wealth which consists in a claim upon labour, signifies a political diminution of the real wealth which consists in substantial possessions.

36. Take another example, more consistent with the ordinary course of affairs of trade. Suppose that three men, instead of two, formed the little isolated republic, and found themselves obliged to separate, in order to farm different pieces of land at some distance from each other along the coast: each estate furnishing a distinct kind of produce, and each more or less in need of the material raised on the other. Suppose that the third man, in order to save the time of all three, undertakes simply to superintend the transference of commodities from one farm to the other; on condition of receiving some sufficiently remunerative share of every parcel of goods conveyed, or of some other parcel received in exchange for it.

If this carrier or messenger always brings to each estate, from the other, what is chiefly wanted, at the right time, the operations of the two farmers will go on prosperously, and the largest possible result in produce, or wealth, will be attained by the little community. But suppose no intercourse between the landowners is possible, except through the travelling agent; and that, after a time, this agent, watching the course of each man's agriculture, keeps back the articles with which he has been entrusted until there comes a period of extreme necessity for them, on one side or other, and then exacts in exchange for them all that the distressed farmer can spare of other kinds of produce: it is easy to see that by ingeniously watching his opportunities, he might possess himself regularly of the greater

part of the superfluous produce of the two estates, and at last, in some year of severest trial or scarcity, purchase both for himself and maintain the former proprietors thenceforward as his labourers or servants.

37. This would be a case of commercial wealth acquired on the exactest principles of modern political economy. But more distinctly even than in the former instance, it is manifest in this that the wealth of the State, or of the three men considered as a society, is collectively less than it would have been had the merchant been content with juster profit. The operations of the two agriculturists have been cramped to the utmost; and the continual limitations of the supply of things they wanted at critical times, together with the failure of courage consequent on the prolongation of a struggle for mere existence, without any sense of permanent gain, must have seriously diminished the effective results of their labour; and the stores finally accumulated in the merchant's hands will not in any wise be of equivalent value to those which, had his dealings been honest, would have filled at once the granaries of the farmers and his own.

The whole question, therefore, respecting not only the advantage, but even the quantity, of national wealth, resolves itself finally into one of abstract justice. It is impossible to conclude, of any given mass of acquired wealth, merely by the fact of its existence, whether it signifies good or evil to the nation in the midst of which it exists. Its real value depends on the moral sign attached to it, just as sternly as that of a mathematical quantity depends on the algebraical sign attached to it. Any given accumulation of commercial wealth may be indicative, on the one hand, of faithful industries, progressive energies, and productive ingenuities: or, on the other, it may be indicative of mortal luxury, merciless tyranny, ruinous chicane. Some treasures are heavy with human tears, as an ill-stored harvest with untimely rain; and some gold is brighter in sunshine than it is in substance.

38. And these are not, observe, merely moral or pathetic attributes of riches, which the seeker of riches may, if he chooses, despise; they are, literally and sternly, material attributes of riches, depreciating or exalting, incalculably, the monetary signification of the sum in question. One mass of money is the outcome of action which has created,—another, of action which has annihilated,—ten times as much in the gathering of it; such and such strong hands have been paralyzed, as if they had been numbed by nightshade: so many strong men's courage broken, so many productive operations hindered; this and the other false direction given to labour, and lying image of prosperity set up, on Dura plains[1] dug into seven-times-heated furnaces. That which seems to be wealth may in verity be only the gilded index of far-reaching ruin; a wrecker's handful of coin gleaned from the beach to which he has beguiled an argosy; a camp-follower's bundle of rags unwrapped from the breasts of goodly soldiers dead; the purchase-pieces of potter's fields, wherein shall be buried together the citizen and the stranger.[2]

And therefore, the idea that directions can be given for the gaining of wealth, irrespectively of the consideration of its moral sources, or that any general and technical law of purchase and gain can be set down for national practice, is perhaps the most insolently futile of all that ever beguiled men through their vices. So far as I know, there is not in history record of anything so disgraceful to the human intellect as the modern idea that the commercial text, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," represents, or under any circumstances could represent, an available principle of national economy. Buy in the cheapest market?—yes; but what made your market cheap? Charcoal may be cheap among your roof timbers after a fire, and bricks may be cheap in your streets after an earthquake; but fire

[1] [Daniel iii. 1, of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image: "he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.]
[2] [Matthew xxvii. 6, 7.]

and earthquake may not therefore be national benefits. Sell in the dearest?—yes, truly; but what made your market dear? You sold your bread well to-day: was it to a dying man who gave his last coin for it, and will never need bread more; or to a rich man who to-morrow will buy your farm over your head; or to a soldier on his way to pillage the bank in which you have put your fortune?

None of these things you can know. One thing only you can know: namely, whether this dealing of yours is a just and faithful one, which is all you need concern yourself about respecting it; sure thus to have done your own part in bringing about ultimately in the world a state of things which will not issue in pillage or in death. And thus every question concerning these things merges itself ultimately in the great question of justice, which, the ground being thus far cleared for it, I will enter upon in the next paper, leaving only, in this, three final points for the reader's consideration.

39. It has been shown that the chief value and virtue of money consists in its having power over human beings; that, without this power, large material possessions are useless, and to any person possessing such power, comparatively unnecessary. But power over human beings is attainable by other means than by money. As I said a few pages back,[1] the money power is always imperfect and doubtful; there are many things which cannot be reached with it, others which cannot be retained by it. Many joys may be given to men which cannot be bought for gold, and many fidelities found in them which cannot be rewarded with it.

Trite enough,—the reader thinks. Yes: but it is not so trite,—I wish it were,—that in this moral power, quite inscrutable and immeasurable though it be, there is a monetary value just as real as that represented by more ponderous currencies. A man's hand may be full of invisible

[1] [§ 30, p. 46.]

gold, and the wave of it, or the grasp, shall do more than another's with a shower of bullion. This invisible gold, also, does not necessarily diminish in spending. Political economists will do well some day to take heed of it, though they cannot take measure.

But farther. Since the essence of wealth consists in its authority over men, if the apparent or nominal wealth fail in this power, it fails in essence; in fact, ceases to be wealth at all. It does not appear lately in England, that our authority over men is absolute. The servants show some disposition to rush riotously upstairs, under an impression that their wages are not regularly paid.[1] We should augur ill of any gentleman's property to whom this happened every other day in his drawing-room.

So, also, the power of our wealth seems limited as respects the comfort of the servants, no less than their quietude. The persons in the kitchen appear to be ill-dressed, squalid, half-starved. One cannot help imagining that the riches of the establishment must be of a very theoretical and documentary character.

40. Finally. Since the essence of wealth consists in power over men, will it not follow that the nobler and the more in number the persons are over whom it has power, the greater the wealth? Perhaps it may even appear, after some consideration, that the persons themselves *are* the wealth—that these pieces of gold with which we are in the habit of guiding them, are, in fact, nothing more than a kind of Byzantine harness or trappings, very glittering and beautiful in barbaric sight, wherewith we bridle the creatures; but that if these same living creatures could be guided without the fretting and jingling of the Byzants[2] in their mouths and ears, they might themselves be more valuable than their bridles. In fact, it may be discovered that the true veins of wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in

[1] [See above, p. 27.]

[2] [Byzants, or bezants, the gold coins struck at Byzantium, were common in England till superseded by the noble, a coin of Edward III. (see Scott's *Ivanhoe* (vii.): "Here, Isaac, lend me a handful of byzants").]

Flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures. Our modern wealth, I think, has rather a tendency the other way;—most political economists appearing to consider multitudes of human creatures not conducive to wealth, or at best conducive to it only by remaining in a dim-eyed and narrow-chested state of being.

41. Nevertheless, it is open, I repeat, to serious question, which I leave to the reader's pondering,[1] whether, among national manufactures, that of Souls of a good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one? Nay, in some far-away and yet undreamt-of hour, I can even imagine that England may cast all thoughts of possessive wealth back to the barbaric nations among whom they first arose; and that, while the sands of the Indus and adamant of Golconda may yet stiffen the housings of the charger,[2] and flash from the turban of the slave, she, as a Christian mother, may at last attain to the virtues and the treasures of a Heathen one, and be able to lead forth her Sons, saying,—

"These are MY Jewels."[3]

[1] [See below, § 77, p. 104, where the question is resumed.]

[2] [Compare the Preface to the second edition of *Modern Painters*, vol. i. § 14 (Vol. III. p. 21 and *n.*).]

[3] [For this story of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, see Valerius Maximus, 4, 4: "Cornelia, Gracchorum mater, cum Campana matrona, apud illam hospita, ornamenta sua pulcherrima illius sæculi ostenderet, traxit eam sermone, donec a scola redirent liberi, et 'hæc' inquit 'ornamenta sunt mea.'" For another reference to the story, see *Ethics of the Dust*, § 117. See on this passage generally *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 90, where Ruskin says that the principles stated "more or less eloquently" in the close of this chapter were "scientifically and in sifted term explained and enforced in *Munera Pulveris*."]

ESSAY III

QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM[1]

42. SOME centuries before the Christian era, a Jew merchant, largely engaged in business on the Gold Coast, and reported to have made one of the largest fortunes of his time (held also in repute for much practical sagacity), left among his ledgers some general maxims concerning wealth, which have been preserved, strangely enough, even to our own days. They were held in considerable respect by the most active traders of the Middle Ages, especially by the Venetians, who even went so far in their admiration as to place a statue of the old Jew on the angle of one of their principal public buildings.[2] Of late years these writings have fallen into disrepute, being opposed in every particular to the spirit of modern commerce. Nevertheless I shall reproduce a passage or two from them here, partly because they may interest the reader by their novelty; and chiefly because they will show him that it is possible for a very practical and acquisitive tradesman to hold, through a not unsuccessful career, that principle of distinction between well-gotten and ill-gotten wealth, which, partially insisted on in my last paper, it must be our work more completely to examine in this.

43. He says, for instance, in one place: "The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death";[3] adding in another, with the same

[1] [For this title, see below, § 46.]

[2] [For the sculpture of Solomon on the "Judgment Angle" of the Ducal Palace, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. pp. 332, 359, 363).]

[3] [The Bible references in §§ 43, 44 are to Proverbs xxi. 6; x. 2; Psalms xlv. 13; Proverbs xxii. 16; xxii. 22 ("Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress

meaning (he has a curious way of doubling his sayings): "Treasures of wickedness profit nothing: but justice delivers from death." Both these passages are notable for their assertions of death as the only real issue and sum of attainment by any unjust scheme of wealth. If we read, instead of "lying tongue," "lying label, title, pretence, or advertisement," we shall more clearly perceive the bearing of the words on modern business. The seeking of death is a grand expression of the true course of men's toil in such business. We usually speak as if death pursued us, and we fled from him; but that is only so in rare instances. Ordinarily he masks himself—makes himself beautiful—all-glorious; not like the King's daughter, all-glorious within, but outwardly: his clothing of wrought gold. We pursue him frantically all our days, he flying or hiding from us. Our crowning success at three-score and ten is utterly and perfectly to seize, and hold him in his eternal integrity—robes, ashes, and sting.

Again: the merchant says, "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want." And again, more strongly: "Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

This "robbing the poor because he is poor," is especially the mercantile form of theft, consisting in taking advantage of a man's necessities in order to obtain his labour or property at a reduced price. The ordinary highwayman's opposite form of robbery—of the rich, because he is rich—does not appear to occur so often to the old merchant's mind; probably because, being less profitable and more dangerous than the robbery of the poor, it is rarely practised by persons of discretion.

44. But the two most remarkable passages in their deep general significance are the following:—

"The rich and the poor have met. God is their maker."

the afflicted in the gate"); xxii. 23; xxii. 2; xxix. 13; Wisdom of Solomon (Apocrypha), v. 6 ("the sun of righteousness rose not upon us"); Malachi iv. 2 ("sol justitiæ" in the Vulgate); Acts iii. 14 ("the holy one and the just").]

"The rich and the poor have met. God is their light."[1]

They "have met": more literally, have stood in each other's way (*obviaverunt*). That is to say, as long as the world lasts, the action and counteraction of wealth and poverty, the meeting, face to face, of rich and poor, is just as appointed and necessary a law of that world as the flow of stream to sea, or the interchange of power among the electric clouds:—"God is their maker." But, also, this action may be either gentle and just, or convulsive and destructive: it may be by rage of devouring flood, or by lapse of serviceable wave;—in blackness of thunderstroke, or continual force of vital fire, soft, and shapeable into love-syllables from far away. And which of these it shall be, depends on both rich and poor knowing that God is their light; that in the mystery of human life, there is no other light than this by which they can see each other's faces, and live;—light, which is called in another of the books among which the merchant's maxims have been preserved, the "sun of justice,"* of which it is promised that it shall rise at last with "healing" (health-giving or helping, making whole or

* More accurately, Sun of Justness; but, instead of the harsh word "Justness," the old English "Righteousness" being commonly employed, has, by getting confused with "godliness," or attracting about it various vague and broken meanings, prevented most persons from receiving the force of the passage in which it occurs. The word "righteousness" properly refers to the justice of rule, or right, as distinguished from "equity," which refers to the justice of balance. More broadly, Righteousness is King's justice; and Equity Judge's justice; the King guiding or ruling all, the Judge dividing or discerning between opposites (therefore, the double question, "Man, who made me a ruler—δικαστὴς—or a divider—μεριστὴς—over you?"[2]) Thus, with respect to the Justice of Choice (selection, the feebler and passive justice), we have from lego,—lex, legal, loi, and loyal; and with respect to the Justice of Rule (direction, the stronger and active justice), we have from rego,—rex, regal, roi, and royal.[3]

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[1] [In the second of these texts Ruskin translates the Vulgate instead of giving the version in the English Bible. The verses in the Vulgate (Proverbs xxii. 2; xxix. 13) are "Dives et pauper obviaverunt sibi: utriusque operator est Dominus." "Pauper et creditor obviaverunt sibi: utriusque illuminator est Dominus."]

[2] [Luke xii. 14.]

[3] [For these etymologies, compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 113 (below, p. 239), and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 109.]

setting at one) in its wings. For truly this healing is only possible by means of justice; no love, no faith, no hope will do it; men will be unwisely fond—vainly faithful,—unless primarily they are just; and the mistake of the best men through generation after generation, has been that great one of thinking to help the poor by almsgiving, and by preaching of patience or of hope, and by every other means, emollient or consolatory, except the one thing which God orders for them, justice. But this justice, with its accompanying holiness or helpfulness, being even by the best man denied in its trial time, is by the mass of men hated wherever it appears: so that, when the choice was one day fairly put to them, they denied the Helpful One[1] and the Just;* and desired a murderer, sedition-raiser, and robber, to be granted to them;—the murderer instead of the Lord of Life, the sedition-raiser instead of the Prince of Peace, and the robber instead of the Just Judge of all the world.

45. I have just spoken of the flowing of streams to the sea as a partial image of the action of wealth. In one respect it is not a partial, but a perfect image. The popular economist thinks himself wise in having discovered that wealth, or the forms of property in general, must go where they are required; that where demand is, supply must follow. He farther declares that this course of demand and supply cannot be forbidden by human laws. Precisely in the same sense, and with the same certainty, the waters of the world go where they are required. Where the land falls, the water flows. The course neither of clouds nor rivers can be forbidden by human will. But the disposition and administration of them can be altered by human forethought. Whether the stream shall be a curse or a blessing, depends upon man's labour, and administering intelligence. For

* In another place written with the same meaning, "Just, and having salvation."[2]

[1] [For the use here of the word "Helpful" for "Holy," see *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 206); and *Munera Pulveris*, § 101 *n.* (below, p. 225).]

[2] [Zechariah ix. 9.]

centuries after centuries, great districts of the world, rich in soil, and favoured in climate, have lain desert under the rage of their own rivers; nor only desert, but plague-struck.[1] The stream which, rightly directed, would have flowed in soft irrigation from field to field—would have purified the air, given food to man and beast, and carried their burdens for them on its bosom—now overwhelms the plain and poisons the wind; its breath pestilence, and its work famine. In like manner this wealth "goes where it is required." No human laws can withstand its flow. They can only guide it: but this, the leading trench and limiting mound can do so thoroughly, that it shall become water of life—the riches of the hand of wisdom;* or, on the contrary, by leaving it to its own lawless flow, they may make it, what it has been too often, the last and deadliest of national plagues: water of Marah[2]—the water which feeds the roots of all evil.

The necessity of these laws of distribution or restraint is curiously overlooked in the ordinary political economist's definition of his own "science." He calls it, shortly, the "science of getting rich." But there are many sciences, as well as many arts, of getting rich. Poisoning people of large estates, was one employed largely in the Middle Ages; adulteration of food of people of small estates, is one employed largely now. The ancient and honourable Highland method of black mail; the more modern and less honourable system of obtaining goods on credit,[3] and the other

* "Length of days in her right hand; in her left, riches and honour."[4]

[1] [The subject of inundations, especially in Italy, was presently to occupy much of Ruskin's thought: see in a later volume his lecture on "Verona and its Rivers" (1870); the letters to the *Daily Telegraph* on Roman Inundations (1871), below, pp. 547–552; *Munera Pulveris*, § 147 (below, p. 270); *Sesame and Lilies*, § 129; and *Deucalion*, ii. ch. ii. § 16.]

[2] [Exodus xv. 23.]

[3] [On the "curse" of credit, see *Time and Tide*, § 75 and Appendix 6 (below, pp. 382, 472); and compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 26. See also Ruskin's circular of 1871 with regard to the sale of his books (given in the Bibliographical Note to *Sesame and Lilies*, Vol. XVIII.).]

[4] [Proverbs iii. 16. Compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 120, where the same verse is quoted (Vol. XVI. p. 103).]

variously improved methods of appropriation — which, in major and minor scales of industry, down to the most artistic pocket-picking, we owe to recent genius,—all come under the general head of sciences, or arts, of getting rich.

46. So that it is clear the popular economist, in calling his science the science par excellence of getting rich, must attach some peculiar ideas of limitation to its character. I hope I do not misrepresent him, by assuming that he means *his* science to be the science of "getting rich by legal or just means." In this definition, is the word "just," or "legal," finally to stand? For it is possible among certain nations, or under certain rulers, or by help of certain advocates, that proceedings may be legal which are by no means just. If, therefore, we leave at last only the word "just" in that place of our definition, the insertion of this solitary and small word will make a notable difference in the grammar of our science. For then it will follow that in order to grow rich scientifically, we must grow rich justly; and, therefore, know what is just; so that our economy will no longer depend merely on prudence, but on jurisprudence — and that of divine, not human law. Which prudence is indeed of no mean order, holding itself, as it were, high in the air of heaven, and gazing for ever on the light of the sun of justice; hence the souls which have excelled in it are represented by Dante as stars forming in heaven for ever the figure of the eye of an eagle;[1] they having been in life the discerners of light from darkness; or to the whole human race, as the light of the body, which is the eye;[2] while those souls which form the wings of the bird (giving power and dominion to justice, "healing in its wings") trace also in light the inscription in heaven: "DILIGITE JUSTITIAM QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM." "Ye who judge the earth, give" (not, observe, merely love, but) "diligent love to justice": the love which seeks diligently,

[1] [The references here are to *Paradiso*, xviii.; the words which the souls trace in heaven are from the Wisdom of Solomon, i. 1.]

[2] [Matthew vi. 22.]

that is to say, choosingly, and by preference to all things else. Which judging or doing judgment in the earth is, according to their capacity and position, required not of judges only, nor of rulers only, but of all men:* a truth sorrowfully lost sight of even by those who are ready enough to apply to themselves passages in which Christian men are spoken of as called to be "saints" (*i.e.*, to helpful or healing functions); and "chosen to be kings"[1] (*i.e.*, to knowing or directing functions); the true meaning of these titles having been long lost through the pretences of unhelpful and unable persons to saintly and kingly character; also through the once popular idea that both the sanctity and royalty are to consist in wearing long robes and high crowns, instead of in mercy and judgment; whereas all true sanctity is saving power, as all true royalty is ruling power; and injustice is part and parcel of the denial of such power, which "makes men as the creeping things, as the fishes of the sea, that have no ruler over them." †

47. Absolute justice is indeed no more attainable than absolute truth; but the righteous man is distinguished from the unrighteous by his desire and hope of justice, as the true man from the false by his desire and hope of truth. And though absolute justice be unattainable, as much justice

* I hear that several of our lawyers have been greatly amused by the statement in the first of these papers that a lawyer's function was to do justice.[2] I did not intend it for a jest; nevertheless it will be seen that in the above passage neither the determination nor doing of justice are contemplated as functions wholly peculiar to the lawyer. Possibly, the more our standing armies, whether of soldiers, pastors, or legislators (the generic term "pastor" including all teachers, and the generic term "lawyer" including makers as well as interpreters of law), can be superseded by the force of national heroism, wisdom, and honesty, the better it may be for the nation.

† It being the privilege of the fishes, as it is of rats and wolves, to live by the laws of demand and supply; but the distinction of humanity, to live by those of right.

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[1] [The Bible references here and in the following lines are to Romans i. 7; Revelation i. 6 ("made us kings"); Psalms ci. 1; and Habakkuk i. 14.]

[2] [See above, p. 39. For a later reference to this passage, "significant of all my future work," see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 75.]

as we need for all practical use is attainable by all those who make it their aim.

We have to examine, then, in the subject before us, what are the laws of justice respecting payment of labour —no small part, these, of the foundations of all jurisprudence.

I reduced, in my last paper, the idea of money payment to its simplest or radical terms.[1] In those terms its nature, and the conditions of justice respecting it, can be best ascertained.

Money payment, as there stated, consists radically in a promise to some person working for us, that for the time and labour he spends in our service to-day we will give or procure equivalent time and labour in his service at any future time when he may demand it.*

If we promise to give him less labour than he has given us, we under-pay him. If we promise to give him more labour than he has given us, we over-pay him. In practice, according to the laws of demand and supply, when two men are ready to do the work, and only one man wants to have it done, the two men underbid each other for it; and the one who gets it to do, is under-paid. But when two men want the work done, and there is only one man ready to do it, the two men who want it done overbid each other, and the workman is over-paid.

48. I will examine these two points of injustice in succession; but first I wish the reader to clearly understand

* It might appear at first that the market price of labour expressed such an exchange: but this is a fallacy, for the market price is the momentary price of the kind of labour required, but the just price is its equivalent of the productive labour of mankind. This difference will be analyzed in its place.[2] It must be noted also that I speak here only of the exchangeable value of labour, not of that of commodities. The exchangeable value of a commodity is that of the labour required to produce it, multiplied into the force of the demand for it. If the value of the labour $= x$ and the force of demand $= y$, the exchangeable value of the commodity is xy, in which if either $x = 0$, or $y = 0$, $xy = 0$.

[1] [See above, § 34 *n.*, p. 50.]
[2] [Touched upon in § 70, but not fully analyzed.]

the central principle, lying between the two, of right or just payment.

When we ask a service of any man, he may either give it us freely, or demand payment for it. Respecting free gift of service, there is no question at present, that being a matter of affection—not of traffic. But if he demand payment for it, and we wish to treat him with absolute equity, it is evident that this equity can only consist in giving time for time, strength for strength, and skill for skill. If a man works an hour for us, and we only promise to work half an hour for him in return, we obtain an unjust advantage. If, on the contrary, we promise to work an hour and a half for him in return, he has an unjust advantage. The justice consists in absolute exchange; or, if there be any respect to the stations of the parties, it will not be in favour of the employer: there is certainly no equitable reason in a man's being poor, that if he give me a pound of bread to-day, I should return him less than a pound of bread to-morrow; or any equitable reason in a man's being uneducated, that if he uses a certain quantity of skill and knowledge in my service, I should use a less quantity of skill and knowledge in his. Perhaps, ultimately, it may appear desirable, or, to say the least, gracious, that I should give in return somewhat more than I received. But at present, we are concerned on the law of justice only, which is that of perfect and accurate exchange;—one circumstance only interfering with the simplicity of this radical idea of just payment—that inasmuch as labour (rightly directed) is fruitful just as seed is, the fruit (or "interest," as it is called) of the labour first given, or "advanced," ought to be taken into account, and balanced by an additional quantity of labour in the subsequent repayment. Supposing the repayment to take place at the end of the year, or of any other given time, this calculation could be approximately made, but as money (that is to say, cash) payment involves no reference to time (it being optional with the person paid to spend what he receives at once or after

any number of years), we can only assume, generally, that some slight advantage must in equity be allowed to the person who advances the labour, so that the typical form of bargain will be: If you give me an hour to-day, I will give you an hour and five minutes on demand. If you give me a pound of bread to-day, I will give you seventeen[1] ounces on demand, and so on. All that is necessary for the reader to note is, that the amount returned is at least in equity not to be *less* than the amount given.

The abstract idea, then, of just or due wages, as respects the labourer, is that they will consist in a sum of money which will at any time procure for him at least as much labour as he has given, rather more than less. And this equity or justice of payment is, observe, wholly independent of any reference to the number of men who are willing to do the work. I want a horseshoe for my horse. Twenty smiths, or twenty thousand smiths, may be ready to forge it; their number does not in one atom's weight affect the question of the equitable payment of the one who *does* forge it. It costs him a quarter of an hour of his life, and so much skill and strength of arm, to make that horseshoe for me. Then at some future time I am bound in equity to give a quarter of an hour, and some minutes more, of my life (or of some other person's at my disposal), and also as much strength of arm and skill, and a little more, in making or doing what the smith may have need of.

49. Such being the abstract theory of just remunerative payment, its application is practically modified by the fact that the order for labour, given in payment, is general, while the labour received is special. The current coin or document is practically an order on the nation for so much work of any kind; and this universal applicability to immediate need renders it so much more valuable than special labour can be, that an order for a less quantity of this general toil will always be accepted as a just equivalent for a greater quantity of special toil. Any given craftsman will

[1] [In the *Cornhill Magazine*, "thirteen."]

always be willing to give an hour of his own work in order to receive command over half an hour, or even much less, of national work. This source of uncertainty, together with the difficulty of determining the monetary value of skill,* render the ascertainment (even approximate) of the proper wages of any given labour in terms of a currency, matter of considerable complexity. But they do not affect the principle of exchange. The worth of the work may not be easily

* Under the term "skill" I mean to include the united force of experience, intellect, and passion, in their operation on manual labour: and under the term "passion" to include the entire range and agency of the moral feelings; from the simple patience and gentleness of mind which will give continuity and fineness to the touch, or enable one person to work without fatigue, and with good effect, twice as long as another, up to the qualities of character which render science possible—(the retardation of science by envy is one of the most tremendous losses in the economy of the present century[1])—and to the incommunicable emotion and imagination which are the first and mightiest sources of all value in art.

It is highly singular that political economists should not yet have perceived, if not the moral, at least the passionate element, to be an inextricable quantity in every calculation. I cannot conceive, for instance, how it was possible that Mr. Mill should have followed the true clue so far as to write,—"No limit can be set to the importance—even in a purely productive and material point of view—of mere thought," without seeing that it was logically necessary to add also, "and of mere feeling." And this the more, because in his first definition of labour he includes in the idea of it "all feelings of a disagreeable kind connected with the employment of one's thoughts in a particular occupation."[2] True; but why not also, "feelings of an agreeable kind"? It can hardly be supposed that the feelings which retard labour are more essentially a part of the labour than those which accelerate it. The first are paid for as pain, the second as power. The workman is merely indemnified for the first; but the second both produce a part of the exchangeable value of the work, and materially increase its actual quantity.

"Fritz is with us. *He* is worth fifty thousand men." Truly, a large addition to the material force;—consisting, however, be it observed, not more in operations carried on in Fritz's head, than in operations carried on in his armies' heart. "No limit can be set to the importance of *mere* thought." Perhaps not! Nay, suppose some day it should turn out that "mere" thought was in itself a recommendable object of production, and that all Material production was only a step towards this more precious Immaterial one?

[1] [A constant theme with Ruskin; compare *Two Paths*, § 139 (Vol. XVI. p. 374).]

[2] [Mill's "first definition of labour" is in the *Principles of Political Economy*, book i. ch. i. § 1. Ruskin in his copy of the book had written in the margin the criticism here made upon the passage. The later quotation is from book i. ch. ii. § 8.]

known; but it *has* a worth, just as fixed and real as the specific gravity of a substance, though such specific gravity may not be easily ascertainable when the substance is united with many others. Nor is there so much difficulty or chance in determining it, as in determining the ordinary maxima and minima of vulgar political economy. There are few bargains in which the buyer can ascertain with anything like precision that the seller would have taken no less;—or the seller acquire more than a comfortable faith that the purchaser would have given no more. This impossibility of precise knowledge prevents neither from striving to attain the desired point of greatest vexation and injury to the other, nor from accepting it for a scientific principle that he is to buy for the least and sell for the most possible, though what the real least or most may be he cannot tell. In like manner, a just person lays it down for a scientific principle that he is to pay a just price, and, without being able precisely to ascertain the limits of such a price, will nevertheless strive to attain the closest possible approximation to them. A practically serviceable approximation he *can* obtain. It is easier to determine scientifically what a man ought to have for his work, than what his necessities will compel him to take for it. His necessities can only be ascertained by empirical, but his due by analytical, investigation. In the one case, you try your answer to the sum like a puzzled schoolboy—till you find one that fits; in the other, you bring out your result within certain limits, by process of calculation.

50. Supposing, then, the just wages of any quantity of given labour to have been ascertained, let us examine the first results of just and unjust payment, when in favour of the purchaser or employer: *i.e.*, when two men are ready to do the work, and only one wants to have it done.

The unjust purchaser forces the two to bid against each other till he has reduced their demand to its lowest terms. Let us assume that the lowest bidder offers to do the work at half its just price.

The purchaser employs him, and does not employ the other. The first or *apparent* result is, therefore, that one of the two men is left out of employ, or to starvation, just as definitely as by the just procedure of giving fair price to the best workman. The various writers who endeavoured to invalidate the positions of my first paper[1] never saw this, and assumed that the unjust hirer employed *both*. He employs both no more than the just hirer. The only difference (in the outset) is that the just man pays sufficiently, the unjust man insufficiently, for the labour of the single person employed.

I say, "in the outset"; for this first or apparent difference is not the actual difference. By the unjust procedure, half the proper price of the work is left in the hands of the employer. This enables him to hire another man at the same unjust rate, on some other kind of work; and the final result is that he has two men working for him at half-price, and two are out of employ.

51. By the just procedure, the whole price of the first piece of work goes into the hands of the man who does it. No surplus being left in the employer's hands, *he* cannot hire another man for another piece of labour. But by precisely so much as his power is diminished, the hired workman's power is increased: that is to say, by the additional half of the price he has received; which additional half *he* has the power of using to employ another man in *his* service. I will suppose, for the moment, the least favourable, though quite probable, case—that, though justly treated himself, he yet will act unjustly to his subordinate; and hire at half-price if he can. The final result will then be, that one man works for the employer, at just price; one for the workman, at half-price; and two, as in the first case, are still out of employ. These two, as I said before, are out of employ in *both* cases. The difference between the just and unjust procedure does not lie

[1] [The assumption is made, for instance, by the writer of a long leading article in the *Scotsman* of August 9, 1860.]

in the number of men hired, but in the price paid to them, and the *persons by whom* it is paid. The essential difference, that which I want the reader to see clearly, is, that in the unjust case, two men work for one, the first hirer. In the just case, one man works for the first hirer, one for the person hired, and so on, down or up through the various grades of service; the influence being carried forward by justice, and arrested by injustice. The universal and constant action of justice in this matter is therefore to diminish the power of wealth, in the hands of one individual, over masses of men, and to distribute it through a chain of men. The actual power exerted by the wealth is the same in both cases; but by injustice it is put all into one man's hands, so that he directs at once and with equal force the labour of a circle of men about him; by the just procedure, he is permitted to touch the nearest only, through whom, with diminished force, modified by new minds, the energy of the wealth passes on to others, and so till it exhausts itself.

52. The immediate operation of justice in this respect is therefore to diminish the power of wealth, first, in acquisition of luxury, and secondly, in exercise of moral influence. The employer cannot concentrate so multitudinous labour on his own interests, nor can he subdue so multitudinous mind to his own will. But the secondary operation of justice is not less important. The insufficient payment of the group of men working for one, places each under a maximum of difficulty in rising above his position. The tendency of the system is to check advancement. But the sufficient or just payment, distributed through a descending series of offices or grades of labour,* gives each subordinated person fair

* I am sorry to lose time by answering, however curtly, the equivocations of the writers who sought to obscure the instances given of regulated labour in the first of these papers,[1] by confusing kinds, ranks, and quantities of labour with its qualities. I never said that a colonel should have the same pay as a private, nor a bishop the same pay as a curate. Neither

[1] [A sample of this kind of criticism also may be found in the *Scotsman* of August 9, 1860, where the writer asks if Mr. Ruskin supposes that a curate's wages are, or ought to be, the same as a bishop's, etc., etc.]

and sufficient means of rising in the social scale, if he chooses to use them; and thus not only diminishes the immediate power of wealth, but removes the worst disabilities of poverty.

53. It is on this vital problem that the entire destiny of the labourer is ultimately dependent. Many minor interests may sometimes appear to interfere with it, but all branch from it. For instance, considerable agitation is often caused in the minds of the lower classes when they discover the share which they nominally, and to all appearance, actually, pay out of their wages in taxation (I believe thirty-five or forty per cent.[1]). This sounds very grievous; but in reality the labourer does not pay it, but his employer. If the workman had not to pay it, his wages would be less by just that sum; competition would still reduce them to the lowest

did I say that more work ought to be paid as less work (so that the curate of a parish of two thousand souls should have no more than the curate of a parish of five hundred). But I said that, so far as you employ it at all, bad work should be paid no less than good work; as a bad clergyman yet takes his tithes, a bad physician takes his fee, and a bad lawyer his costs. And this, as will be farther shown in the conclusion, I said, and say, partly because the best work never was, nor ever will be, done for money at all;[2] but chiefly because, the moment people know they have to pay the bad and good alike, they will try to discern the one from the other, and not use the bad. A sagacious writer in the *Scotsman*[3] asks me if I should like any common scribbler to be paid by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. as their good authors are. I should, if they employed him—but would seriously recommend them, for the scribbler's sake as well as their own, *not* to employ him. The quantity of its money which the country at present invests in scribbling is not, in the outcome of it, economically spent; and even the highly ingenious person to whom this question occurred, might perhaps have been more beneficially employed than in printing it.

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[1] [The calculation refers, it should be noted, not to the share of their wages which they pay in taxation, but to the share of the total taxation which is derived from their wages. It has been calculated that an average working-class income is at the present time taxed 6·9 per cent.; an income of £200, 4·6; an income of £500, 7·0 (see the figures in *Liberalism*, by Herbert Samuel, 1902, p. 190). The proportion of indirect taxation (mostly paid by the working classes) to direct was at least 40 per cent.]

[2] [See below, p. 515 *n.*, where references are given to other statements of this doctrine.]

[3] [In the leading article on August 9, 1860: "Would Mr. Ruskin himself think it fair were Messrs. Smith & Elder to pay no more per page to him, a man of genius and reputation, than to the rawest scribbler that ever spoilt foolscap?"]

rate at which life was possible. Similarly the lower orders agitated for the repeal of the corn laws,* thinking they would be better off if bread were cheaper; never perceiving that as soon as bread was permanently cheaper, wages would permanently fall in precisely that proportion. The corn laws were rightly repealed; not, however, because they directly oppressed the poor, but because they indirectly oppressed them in causing a large quantity of their labour to be consumed unproductively. So also unnecessary taxation

* I have to acknowledge an interesting communication on the subject of free trade from Paisley (for a short letter from "A Well-wisher" at ——, my thanks are yet more due). But the Scottish writer will, I fear, be disagreeably surprised to hear, that I am, and always have been, an utterly fearless and unscrupulous free-trader. Seven years ago, speaking of the various signs of infancy in the European mind (*Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., p. 168 [1]), I wrote: "The first principles of commerce were acknowledged by the English parliament only a few months ago, in its free-trade measures, and are still so little understood by the million, that *no nation dares to abolish its custom-houses.*"

It will be observed that I do not admit even the idea of reciprocity. Let other nations, if they like, keep their ports shut; every wise nation will throw its own open. It is not the opening them, but a sudden, inconsiderate, and blunderingly experimental manner of opening them, which does harm. If you have been protecting a manufacture for a long series of years, you must not take the protection off in a moment, so as to throw every one of its operatives at once out of employ, any more than you must take all its wrappings off a feeble child at once in cold weather, though the cumber of them may have been radically injuring its health. Little by little, you must restore it to freedom and to air.

Most people's minds are in curious confusion on the subject of free-trade, because they suppose it to imply enlarged competition. On the contrary, free-trade puts an end to all competition. "Protection" (among various other mischievous functions) endeavours to enable one country to compete with another in the production of an article at a disadvantage. When trade is entirely free, no country can be competed with in the articles for the production of which it is naturally calculated; nor can it compete with any other, in the production of articles for which it is not naturally calculated. Tuscany, for instance, cannot compete with England in steel, nor England with Tuscany in oil. They must exchange their steel and oil. Which exchange should be as frank and free as honesty and the sea-winds can make it. Competition, indeed, arises at first, and sharply, in order to prove which is strongest in any given manufacture possible to both; this point once ascertained, competition is at an end.

[1] [In this edition, Vol. XI. p. 198; and compare Vol. XII. pp. 596–597.]

oppresses them, through destruction of capital; but the destiny of the poor depends primarily always on this one question of dueness of wages. Their distress (irrespectively of that caused by sloth, minor error, or crime) arises on the grand scale from the two reacting forces of competition and oppression. There is not yet, nor will yet for ages be, any real over-population in the world; but a local over-population, or, more accurately, a degree of population locally unmanageable under existing circumstances for want of forethought and sufficient machinery, necessarily shows itself by pressure of competition; and the taking advantage of this competition by the purchaser to obtain their labour unjustly cheap, consummates at once their suffering and his own; for in this (as I believe in every other kind of slavery) the oppressor suffers at last more than the oppressed, and those magnificent lines of Pope, even in all their force, fall short of the truth:—

> "Yet, to be just to these poor men of pelf,
> Each does but HATE HIS NEIGHBOUR AS HIMSELF:
> Damned to the mines, an equal fate betides
> The slave that digs it, and the slave that hides."[1]

54. The collateral and reversionary operations of justice in this matter I shall examine hereafter[2] (it being needful first to define the nature of value); proceeding then to consider within what practical terms a juster system may be established; and ultimately the vexed question of the destinies of the unemployed workmen.* Lest, however, the

* I should be glad if the reader would first clear the ground for himself so far as to determine whether the difficulty lies in getting the work or getting the pay for it. Does he consider occupation itself to be an expensive luxury, difficult of attainment, of which too little is to be found in the world? or is it rather that, while in the enjoyment even of the most athletic delight,

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[1] [*Moral Essays:* Epistle iii., "To Allen, Lord Bathurst, on the Use of Riches." Lines 107–110. Ruskin quotes from the same epistle below, § 65 (p. 89), and in *Munera Pulveris*, § 77 (p. 200).]

[2] [A reference to the intended continuation of the papers. The MS. reads: "I shall examine in following papers (having already exceeded the due limits of this), proceeding afterwards to consider the various means by which a system may be established, and then the vexed question . . ."]

reader should be alarmed at some of the issues to which our investigations seem to be tending, as if in their bearing against the power of wealth they had something in common with those of socialism,[1] I wish him to know, in accurate terms, one or two of the main points which I have in view.

Whether socialism has made more progress among the army and navy (where payment is made on my principles), or among the manufacturing operatives (who are paid on my opponents' principles), I leave it to those opponents to ascertain and declare. Whatever their conclusion may be, I think it necessary to answer for myself only this: that if there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality.[2] My continual aim has been to show the eternal superiority of some men to others, sometimes even of one man to all others; and to show also the advisability of appointing such persons or person to guide, to lead, or on occasion even to compel and subdue, their inferiors according to their own better knowledge and wiser will. My principles of Political Economy were all involved

men must nevertheless be maintained, and this maintenance is not always forthcoming? We must be clear on this head before going farther, as most people are loosely in the habit of talking of the difficulty of "finding employment." Is it employment that we want to find, or support during employment? Is it idleness we wish to put an end to, or hunger? We have to take up both questions in succession, only not both at the same time. No doubt that work *is* a luxury, and a very great one. It is, indeed, at once a luxury and a necessity; no man can retain either health of mind or body without it. So profoundly do I feel this, that, as will be seen in the sequel,[3] one of the principal objects I would recommend to benevolent and practical persons, is to induce rich people to seek for a larger quantity of this luxury than they at present possess. Nevertheless, it appears by experience that even this healthiest of pleasures may be indulged in to excess, and that human beings are just as liable to surfeit of labour as to surfeit of meat; so that, as on the one hand, it may be charitable to provide, for some people, lighter dinner, and more work,—for others, it may be equally expedient to provide lighter work, and more dinner.

[1] [Compare § 79 *n.*; below, p. 107.]

[2] [See, for instance, Vol. VIII. p. 167, and Vol. XI. p. 262.]

[3] [A reference to the intended, but unwritten, continuation of the papers; see, however, the lecture on Work in the *Crown of Wild Olive* (Vol. XVIII.), and compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 149 (below, p. 272).]

-or on occasion even compel and subdue, their
inferiors, according to their ^own better knowledge &
~~pattern~~ wiser will. My principles of Political
Economy were all involved ~~stated~~ in a single ~~sentence~~ phrase
phrase spoken three years ago at ~~at~~ Manchester — "Soldiers of the Ploughshare
as well as Soldiers of the Sword" and
they were all summed in a single ~~one~~ sentence
in the last volume of Modern Painters — ~~can~~
"Government and cooperation are in all
things the Laws of Life, Anarchy & competition the Laws of Death."
And ~~one~~ with the respect to the mode in which
~~But so far as~~ these general principles affects
the secure possession of Property, so far am I from
invalidating ~~that~~ such security, that the whole
gist of these papers will be found ultimately
to aim at ~~require~~ an extension in its range; ~~and~~
and whereas ^It has long been known and declared that
the poor have no right to ~~steal~~ ~~the~~ the Property of the Rich ~~money~~
from the Rich ~~But~~ I wish it also to be
known & declared ~~understood~~ that the Rich have no right
to the Property of ~~steal from~~ the Poor.
But that ~~so far as~~ the ~~final application of these~~ results ~~for~~
working of the system which
I have undertaken to develop

A Page of the MS. of "Unto this Last" (§ 54)

pp. 74–75

in a single phrase spoken three years ago at Manchester: "Soldiers of the Ploughshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword":[1] and they were all summed in a single sentence in the last volume of *Modern Painters*—"Government and co-operation are in all things the Laws of Life; Anarchy and competition the Laws of Death."[2]

And with respect to the mode in which these general principles affect the secure possession of property, so far am I from invalidating such security, that the whole gist of these papers will be found ultimately to aim at an extension in its range; and whereas it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I wish it also to be known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor.

55. But that the working of the system which I have undertaken to develop would in many ways shorten the apparent and direct, though not the unseen and collateral, power, both of wealth, as the Lady of Pleasure, and of capital as the Lord of Toil, I do not deny: on the contrary, I affirm it in all joyfulness; knowing that the attraction of riches is already too strong, as their authority is already too weighty, for the reason of mankind. I said in my last paper[3] that nothing in history had ever been so disgraceful to human intellect as the acceptance among us of the common doctrines of political economy as a science. I have many grounds for saying this, but one of the chief may be given in few words. I know no previous instance in history of a nation's establishing a systematic disobedience to the first principles of its professed religion. The writings which we (verbally) esteem as divine, not only denounce the love of money as the source of all evil,[4] and as an

[1] [*A Joy for Ever*, § 15 (Vol. XVI. p. 26); and see above (Preface, § 6), p. 22.

[2] [Part viii. ch. i. § 6 (Vol. VII. p. 207).]

[3] [Really in the first paper: see § 1; above, p. 25.]

[4] [1 Timothy vi. 10; Matthew vi. 24. For other references by Ruskin, in a similar sense, to the modern attitude towards the Bible, see *Two Paths*, § 178 *n.* (Vol. XVI. p. 397); Vol. VI. p. 458; *Time and Tide*, § 34 (below, p. 348); and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 35.]

idolatry abhorred of the Deity, but declare mammon service to be the accurate and irreconcileable opposite of God's service: and, whenever they speak of riches absolute, and poverty absolute, declare woe to the rich, and blessing to the poor. Whereupon we forthwith investigate a science of becoming rich, as the shortest road to national prosperity.

> "Tai Cristian dannerà l'Etiòpe,
> Quando si partiranno i due collegi,
> L'UNO IN ETERNO RICCO, E L'ALTRO INÒPE." [1]

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[1] [*Paradiso,* xix. 109. In Cary's translation :—

> "Christians like these the Æthiop shall condemn,
> When that the two assemblages shall part,
> One rich eternally, the other poor."

Dante's reference in the first line is to Matthew xii. 41: "The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and condemn it."]

ESSAY IV

AD VALOREM

56. In the last paper we saw[1] that just payment of labour consisted in a sum of money which would approximately obtain equivalent labour at a future time: we have now to examine the means of obtaining such equivalence. Which question involves the definition of Value, Wealth, Price, and Produce.

None of these terms are yet defined so as to be understood by the public.[2] But the last, Produce, which one might have thought the clearest of all, is, in use, the most ambiguous; and the examination of the kind of ambiguity attendant on its present employment will best open the way to our work.

In his chapter on Capital,* Mr. J. S. Mill instances, as a capitalist, a hardware manufacturer, who, having intended to spend a certain portion of the proceeds of his business in buying plate and jewels, changes his mind, and "pays it as wages to additional workpeople." The effect is stated by

* Book I. chap. iv. s. 1. To save space, my future references to Mr. Mill's work will be by numerals only, as in this instance, I. iv. 1. Ed. in 2 vols. 8vo, Parker, 1848.

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[1] [See § 47, p. 64.]

[2] [The MS. continues :—

"Most persons confuse the value of a thing with its price (which is as though they should estimate the healing powers of a medicine by the charge of the apothecary); confuse the wealth (or the possessions which constitute the well-being of an individual) with riches (or the possessions which constitute power over others); and, finally, confuse production, or profit, which is an increase of the possessions of the world, with Acquisition or Gain, which is an increase of the possessions of one person by the diminution of those of another. This last word, production, indeed, which one might . . ."]

Mr. Mill to be, that "more food is appropriated to the consumption of productive labourers."[1]

57. Now I do not ask, though, had I written this paragraph, it would surely have been asked of me, What is to become of the silversmiths? If they are truly unproductive persons, we will acquiesce in their extinction. And though in another part of the same passage, the hardware merchant is supposed also to dispense with a number of servants, whose "food is thus set free for productive purposes," I do not inquire what will be the effect, painful or otherwise, upon the servants, of this emancipation of their food. But I very seriously inquire why ironware is produce, and silverware is not?[2] That the merchant consumes the one, and sells the other, certainly does not constitute the difference, unless it can be shown (which, indeed, I perceive it to be becoming daily more and more the aim of tradesmen to show) that commodities are made to be sold, and not to be consumed. The merchant is an agent of conveyance to the consumer in one case, and is himself the consumer in the other:* but the labourers are in either case equally productive, since they have produced goods to the same value, if the hardware and the plate are both goods.

* If Mr. Mill had wished to show the difference in result between consumption and sale, he should have represented the hardware merchant as consuming his own goods instead of selling them; similarly, the silver merchant as consuming his own goods instead of selling them. Had he done this, he would have made his position clearer, though less tenable; and perhaps this was the position he really intended to take, tacitly involving his theory, elsewhere stated, and shown in the sequel of this paper to be false,[3] that demand for commodities is not demand for labour. But by the most diligent scrutiny of the paragraph now under examination, I cannot determine whether it is a fallacy pure and simple, or the half of one fallacy supported by the whole of a greater one; so that I treat it here on the kinder assumption that it is one fallacy only.

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[1] [See below, § 76, p. 102 and *n.*]

[2] [In his copy of Mill, against the passage about "buying plate and jewels," Ruskin wrote in the margin: "It is a very curious fact to see that no art is supposed to be involved in producing plate, in the mind of so enlightened an economist as Mr. Mill."]

[3] [See again, below, § 76, p. 102.]

And what distinction separates them? It is indeed possible that in the "comparative estimate of the moralist," with which Mr. Mill says political economy has nothing to do (III. i. 2), a steel fork might appear a more substantial production than a silver one: we may grant also that knives, no less than forks, are good produce; and scythes and ploughshares serviceable articles. But, how of bayonets? Supposing the hardware merchant to effect large sales of *these*, by help of the "setting free" of the food of his servants and his silversmith,—is he still employing productive labourers, or, in Mr. Mill's words, labourers who increase "the stock of permanent means of enjoyment" (I. iii. 4)? Or if, instead of bayonets, he supply bombs, will not the absolute and final "enjoyment" of even these energetically productive articles (each of which costs ten pounds *) be dependent on a proper choice of time and place for their *enfantement;* choice, that is to say, depending on those philosophical considerations with which political economy has nothing to do? †

58. I should have regretted the need of pointing out inconsistency in any portion of Mr. Mill's work, had not the value of his work proceeded from its inconsistencies. He deserves honour among economists by inadvertently disclaiming the principles which he states, and tacitly introducing the moral considerations with which he declares his science has no connection. Many of his chapters are, therefore, true and valuable; and the only conclusions of his which I have to dispute are those which follow from his premises.

* I take Mr. Helps' estimate in his essay on War.[1]

† Also, when the wrought silver vases of Spain were dashed to fragments by our custom-house officers because bullion might be imported free of duty, but not brains, was the axe that broke them productive?—the artist who wrought them unproductive? Or again. If the woodman's axe is productive, is the executioner's? as also, if the hemp of a cable be productive, does not the productiveness of hemp in a halter depend on its moral more than on its material application?

[1] [In *Friends in Council*, New Series, 1859.]

Thus, the idea which lies at the root of the passage we have just been examining, namely, that labour applied to produce luxuries will not support so many persons as labour applied to produce useful articles, is entirely true; but the instance given fails—and in four directions of failure at once—because Mr. Mill has not defined the real meaning of usefulness. The definition which he has given—"capacity to satisfy a desire, or serve a purpose" (III. i. 2)—applies equally to the iron and silver; while the true definition—which he has not given, but which nevertheless underlies the false verbal definition in his mind, and comes out once or twice by accident (as in the words "any support to life or strength" in I. iii. 5)—applies to some articles of iron, but not to others, and to some articles of silver, but not to others. It applies to ploughs, but not to bayonets; and to forks, but not to filigree.*

59. The eliciting of the true definitions will give us the reply to our first question, "What is value?" respecting which, however, we must first hear the popular statements.

"The word 'value,' when used without adjunct, always means, in political economy, value in exchange" (Mill, III. i. 2). So that, if two ships cannot exchange their rudders, their rudders are, in politico-economic language, of no value to either.

But "the subject of political economy is wealth."—(Preliminary remarks, page 1.)

And wealth "consists of all useful and agreeable objects which possess exchangeable value."—(Preliminary remarks, page 10.)

It appears, then, according to Mr. Mill, that usefulness and agreeableness underlie the exchange value, and must be ascertained to exist in the thing, before we can esteem it an object of wealth.

Now, the economical usefulness of a thing depends not

* Filigree; that is to say, generally, ornament dependent on complexity, not on art.

merely on its own nature, but on the number of people who can and will use it. A horse is useless, and therefore unsaleable, if no one can ride,—a sword, if no one can strike, and meat, if no one can eat. Thus every material utility depends on its relative human capacity.

Similarly: The agreeableness of a thing depends not merely on its own likeableness, but on the number of people who can be got to like it. The relative agreeableness, and therefore saleableness, of "a pot of the smallest ale," and of "Adonis painted by a running brook," depends virtually on the opinion of Demos, in the shape of Christopher Sly.[1] That is to say, the agreeableness of a thing depends on its relatively human disposition.* Therefore, political economy, being a science of wealth, must be a science respecting human capacities and dispositions. But moral considerations have nothing to do with political economy (III. i. 2). Therefore, moral considerations have nothing to do with human capacities and dispositions.

60. I do not wholly like the look of this conclusion from Mr. Mill's statements:—let us try Mr. Ricardo's.[2]

* These statements sound crude in their brevity; but will be found of the utmost importance when they are developed. Thus, in the above instance, economists have never perceived that disposition to buy is a wholly *moral* element in demand: that is to say, when you give a man half a crown, it depends on his disposition whether he is rich or poor with it—whether he will buy disease, ruin, and hatred, or buy health, advancement, and domestic love. And thus the agreeableness or exchange value of every offered commodity depends on production, not merely of the commodity, but of buyers of it; therefore on the education of buyers, and on all the moral elements by which their disposition to buy this, or that, is formed. I will illustrate and expand into final consequences every one of these definitions in its place: at present they can only be given with extremest brevity; for in order to put the subject at once in a connected form before the reader, I have thrown into one, the opening definitions of four chapters: namely, of that on Value ("Ad Valorem"); on Price ("Thirty Pieces"); on Production ("Demeter"); and on Economy ("The Law of the House").[3]

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[1] [*Taming of the Shrew:* Induction, sc. ii.]

[2] [*Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.*]

[3] [Again a reference to the intended continuation of the book. Compare §§ 77, 84 *n.*]

"Utility is not the measure of exchangeable value, though it is absolutely essential to it."—(Chap. I. sect. i.) Essential in what degree, Mr. Ricardo? There may be greater and less degrees of utility.[1] Meat, for instance, may be so good as to be fit for any one to eat, or so bad as to be fit for no one to eat. What is the exact degree of goodness which is "essential" to its exchangeable value, but not "the measure" of it? How good must the meat be, in order to possess any exchangeable value? and how bad must it be—(I wish this were a settled question in London markets)—in order to possess none?

There appears to be some hitch, I think, in the working even of Mr. Ricardo's principles; but let him take his own example. "Suppose that in the early stages of society the bows and arrows of the hunter were of equal value with the implements of the fisherman. Under such circumstances the value of the deer, the produce of the hunter's day's labour, would be *exactly*" (italics mine) "equal to the value of the fish, the product of the fisherman's day's labour. The comparative value of the fish and game would be *entirely* regulated by the quantity of labour realized in each." (Ricardo, chap. iii. On Value.)

Indeed! Therefore, if the fisherman catches one sprat, and the huntsman one deer, one sprat will be equal in value to one deer; but if the fisherman catches no sprat and the huntsman two deer, no sprat will be equal in value to two deer?

Nay; but—Mr. Ricardo's supporters may say—he means, on an average;—if the average product of a day's work of fisher and hunter be one fish and one deer, the one fish will always be equal in value to the one deer.

[1] [In his first draft Ruskin took a different illustration, thus:—

"You may have a bad pen, which yet may serve; or a good one, which will serve better; and a blunt penknife, which will mend it; or a sharp one, which will mend it quicker. Now, what is the exact degree of utility which is essential to exchangeable value, but not the measure of it? How sharp must the knife be, in order to possess any exchangeable value? and how blunt must it be, in order to possess none? There appears to be some hitch . . ."]

Might I inquire the species of fish? Whale? or white-bait?*

It would be waste of time to pursue these fallacies farther; we will seek for a true definition.

61. Much store has been set for centuries upon the use of our English classical education. It were to be wished that our well-educated merchants recalled to mind always this much of their Latin schooling,—that the nominative

* Perhaps it may be said, in farther support of Mr. Ricardo, that he meant, "when the utility is constant or given, the price varies as the quantity of labour." If he meant this, he should have said it; but, had he meant it, he could have hardly missed the necessary result, that utility would be one measure of price (which he expressly denies it to be); and that, to prove saleableness, he had to prove a given quantity of utility, as well as a given quantity of labour; to wit, in his own instance, that the deer and fish would each feed the same number of men, for the same number of days, with equal pleasure to their palates. The fact is, he did not know what he meant himself. The general idea which he had derived from commercial experience, without being able to analyze it, was that when the demand is constant, the price varies as the quantity of labour required for production; or, using the formula I gave in last paper[1]—when y is constant, xy varies as x. But demand never is nor can be ultimately constant, if x varies distinctly;

[1] [See above, § 47 *n.*, p. 64. In the MS. this note is different and longer, thus :—

"Without entering into any of the subtle conditions of price, I will expand and apply in a single instance the formula I gave in my last paper (if x=the quantity of labour required for production and y=force of demand, the price=xy). I will take the instance, chosen by Mr. de Quincey in his Templar's letters, of Hat Making, carrying it, however, a little further.

"Case I. Let the population of England be supposed constant, and suppose that they positively require a certain number of hats every year, but that beavers are in plenty one year and easily caught, the next year rare. The price of hats will vary as the quantity of labour required to catch the beavers. y is invariable; xy varies as x (Ricardo's rule).

"Case II. The demand for hats is complicated with a demand for pheasants' feathers in them, which demand, depending on the imaginations of young ladies and their lovers, is liable to inconstancy, and the encouragement to poaching co-relatively inconstant. x and y are both variable; xy doubly variable—greatest at the west end of the town.

"Case III. The demand for pheasants' feathers expiring, English manufacturers invest a fixed amount of capital in hat making. But a sudden improvement taking place in the taste of the world, the Turks and Chinese resolve to wear nothing but English-made hats. The monarchs of Europe are in consequence reduced to wear hats only on state occasions, and keep their hat-boxes in their treasuries. x is invariable; xy varies as y.

"Case IV. Taste retrograding more rapidly than it had advanced, the world resolves to go bareheaded. The hatters' stocks in trade are employed for scarecrows. $y=0$; $xy=0$.

"Case V. The world having caught cold, and wanting something on its head again, impoverished by its former enthusiasm for hats, and wanting

of *valorem* (a word already sufficiently familiar to them) is *valor;* a word which, therefore, ought to be familiar to them. *Valor*, from *valere*, to be well or strong (ὑγιαίνω);—strong, *in* life (if a man), or valiant; strong, *for* life (if a thing), or valuable. To be "valuable," therefore, is to "avail towards life." A truly valuable or availing thing is that which leads to life with its whole strength. In proportion as it does not lead to life, or as its strength is broken, it is less valuable; in proportion as it leads away from life, it is unvaluable or malignant.

for, as price rises, consumers fall away; and as soon as there is a monopoly (and all scarcity is a form of monopoly, so that every commodity is affected occasionally by some colour of monopoly), y becomes the most influential condition of the price. Thus the price of a painting depends less on its merit than on the interest taken in it by the public; the price of singing less on the labour of the singer than the number of persons who desire to hear him; and the price of gold less on the scarcity which affects it in common with cerium or iridium, than on the sunlight colour and unalterable purity by which it attracts the admiration and answers the trust of mankind.

It must be kept in mind, however, that I use the word "demand" in a somewhat different sense from economists usually. They mean by it "the quantity of a thing sold." I mean by it "the force of the buyer's capable intention to buy." In good English, a person's "demand" signifies, not what he gets, but what he asks for.

Economists also do not notice that objects are not valued by absolute bulk or weight, but by such bulk and weight as is necessary to bring them into use. They say, for instance, that water bears no price in the market. It is true that a cupful does not, but a lake does; just as a handful of dust does not, but an acre does. And were it possible to make even the possession of a cupful or handful permanent (*i.e.*, to find a place for them), the earth and sea would be bought up by handfuls and cupfuls.

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something less expensive, weaves garlands of leaves, which cost nothing. $x=0$; $xy=0$.

"Case VI. Some imaginative person having demonstrated that the garlands would look better with diamonds in them, of the size of the Koh-i-Noor, the world immediately demands a supply of such; but, none being forthcoming, goes without. x=infinity, xy=infinity, and nobody can pay it. Although, however, this formula roughly expresses the radical phenomena of prices, in pursuing the practical results into detail, xy^n must be used instead of xy, powers of y varying with different articles, but the factor y^n being always much more influential on the price than x. Thus Iridium is as rare as gold, and x is nearly constant for it and for gold; but because the gold is beautiful, if the price of Iridium be xy, that of gold will be xy^5 or xy^6, or some such largely increased sum. Economists also do not notice . . ."

For the reference to De Quincey, see "Dialogue the First" in his *Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy* (vol. iv. pp. 194 *seq.* in his "Works," 1863).]

The value of a thing, therefore, is independent of opinion, and of quantity. Think what you will of it, gain how much you may of it, the value of the thing itself is neither greater nor less. For ever it avails, or avails not; no estimate can raise, no disdain repress, the power which it holds from the Maker of things and of men.[1]

The real science of political economy, which has yet to be distinguished from the bastard science, as medicine from witchcraft, and astronomy from astrology, is that which teaches nations to desire and labour for the things that lead to life: and which teaches them to scorn and destroy the things that lead to destruction. And if, in a state of infancy, they supposed indifferent things, such as excrescences of shell-fish, and pieces of blue and red stone, to be valuable, and spent large measures of the labour which ought to be employed for the extension and ennobling of life, in diving or digging for them, and cutting them into various shapes,—or if, in the same state of infancy, they imagine precious and beneficent things, such as air, light, and cleanliness, to be valueless,—or if, finally, they imagine the conditions of their own existence, by which alone they can truly possess or use anything, such, for instance, as peace, trust, and love, to be prudently exchangeable, when the markets offer, for gold, iron, or excrescences of shells — the great and only science of Political Economy teaches them, in all these cases, what is vanity, and what substance; and how the service of Death, the Lord of Waste, and of eternal emptiness, differs from the service of Wisdom, the Lady of Saving, and of eternal fulness; she who has said, "I will cause those that love me to inherit SUBSTANCE; and I will FILL their treasures."[2]

The "Lady of Saving," in a profounder sense than that of the savings bank, though that is a good one: Madonna della Salute,[3]—Lady of Health,—which, though commonly

[1] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 32–34; below, pp. 164 *seq.*]

[2] [Proverbs viii. 21.]

[3] [On the name of the church, so called at Venice, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 443).]

spoken of as if separate from wealth, is indeed a part of wealth. This word, "wealth," it will be remembered, is the next we have to define.

62. "To be wealthy," says Mr. Mill, "is to have a large stock of useful articles."[1]

I accept this definition. Only let us perfectly understand it. My opponents often lament my not giving them enough logic: I fear I must at present use a little more than they will like; but this business of Political Economy is no light one, and we must allow no loose terms in it.

We have, therefore, to ascertain in the above definition, first, what is the meaning of "having," or the nature of Possession. Then what is the meaning of "useful," or the nature of Utility.

And first of possession. At the crossing of the transepts of Milan Cathedral has lain, for three hundred years, the embalmed body of St. Carlo Borromeo. It holds a golden crosier, and has a cross of emeralds on its breast. Admitting the crosier and emeralds to be useful articles, is the body to be considered as "having" them? Do they, in the politico-economical sense of property, belong to it? If not, and if we may, therefore, conclude generally that a dead body cannot possess property, what degree and period of animation in the body will render possession possible?

As thus: lately in a wreck of a Californian ship, one of the passengers fastened a belt about him with two hundred pounds of gold in it, with which he was found afterwards at the bottom. Now, as he was sinking—had he the gold? or had the gold him?*

And if, instead of sinking him in the sea by its weight, the gold had struck him on the forehead, and thereby caused

* Compare GEORGE HERBERT, *The Church Porch*, Stanza 28.[2]

[1] [*Principles of Political Economy*, p. 8 of the Preliminary Remarks (ed. 1848).]

[2] ["Wealth is the conjurer's devil,
Whom when he thinks he hath, the devil hath him.
Gold thou mayst safely touch; but if it stick
Unto thy hands, it woundeth to the quick."]

incurable disease—suppose palsy or insanity,—would the gold in that case have been more a "possession" than in the first? Without pressing the inquiry up through instances of gradually increasing vital power over the gold (which I will, however, give, if they are asked for), I presume the reader will see that possession, or "having," is not an absolute, but a gradated, power; and consists not only in the quantity or nature of the thing possessed, but also (and in a greater degree) in its suitableness to the person possessing it and in his vital power to use it.

And our definition of Wealth, expanded, becomes: "The possession of useful articles, *which we can use*." This is a very serious change. For wealth, instead of depending merely on a "have," is thus seen to depend on a "can." Gladiator's death, on a "habet"; but soldier's victory, and State's salvation, on a "quo plurimum posset." (Liv. VII. 6.[1]) And what we reasoned of only as accumulation of material, is seen to demand also accumulation of capacity.

63. So much for our verb. Next for our adjective. What is the meaning of "useful"?

The inquiry is closely connected with the last. For what is capable of use in the hands of some persons, is capable, in the hands of others, of the opposite of use, called commonly "from-use," or "ab-use." And it depends on the person, much more than on the article, whether its usefulness or ab-usefulness will be the quality developed in it. Thus, wine, which the Greeks, in their Bacchus, made rightly the type of all passion, and which, when used, "cheereth god and man"[2] (that is to say, strengthens both the divine life, or reasoning power, and the earthy, or carnal power, of man); yet, when abused, becomes "Dionusos,"

[1] [The reference is to the devotion of M. Curtius, who leapt into the chasm which had appeared in the Roman Forum, and which no human power had availed to fill up. The gods required the sacrifice of the best: "quo plurimum populus Romanus posset, id enim illi loco dicandum vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent."]

[2] [Judges ix. 13. On the use and abuse of wine, compare *Time and Tide*, § 63 (below, p. 371).]

hurtful especially to the divine part of man, or reason.[1] And again, the body itself, being equally liable to use and to abuse, and, when rightly disciplined, serviceable to the State, both for war and labour;—but when not disciplined, or abused, valueless to the State, and capable only of continuing the private or single existence of the individual (and that but feebly)—the Greeks called such a body an "idiotic" or "private" body, from their word signifying a person employed in no way directly useful to the State; whence finally, our "idiot," meaning a person entirely occupied with his own concerns.[2]

Hence, it follows that if a thing is to be useful, it must be not only of an availing nature, but in availing hands. Or, in accurate terms, usefulness is value in the hands of the valiant; so that this science of wealth being, as we have just seen, when regarded as the science of Accumulation, accumulative of capacity as well as of material,—when regarded as the Science of Distribution, is distribution not absolute, but discriminate; not of every thing to every man, but of the right thing to the right man. A difficult science, dependent on more than arithmetic.

64. Wealth, therefore, is "THE POSSESSION OF THE VALUABLE BY THE VALIANT";[3] and in considering it as a power existing in a nation, the two elements, the value of the thing, and the valour of its possessor, must be estimated

[1] [The actual meaning of the word Dionysus is, however, matter of uncertainty. "Zeus of Nysa" (a supposed place) was the favourite derivation among the ancients. Of modern guesses "son of Zeus" seems as good as any: see Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 664 *n.* Ruskin's derivation is not clear.]

[2] [The derivation of the word, through its secondary sense in Greek of "layman" (as opposed to "professional"), is thus traced by Trench: "The 'idiot,' or ἰδιώτης, was originally the *private* man, as contradistinguished from one clothed with office, and taking his share in the management of public affairs. In this its primary use it is occasionally employed in English; as when Jeremy Taylor says, 'Humility is a duty in great ones, as well as in idiots.' It came then to signify a rude, ignorant, unskilled, intellectually unexercised person, a boor; this derived or secondary sense bearing witness to a conviction woven deep into the Greek mind of the indispensableness of public life, even to the right development of the intellect, a conviction which could scarcely have uttered itself with greater clearness than it does in this secondary use of 'idiot'" (*On the Study of Words*, p. 85, ed. 1867).]

[3] [Compare Xenophon's *Economist*, as cited below, p. 288.]

together.[1] Whence it appears that many of the persons commonly considered wealthy, are in reality no more wealthy than the locks of their own strong boxes are, they being inherently and eternally incapable of wealth; and operating for the nation, in an economical point of view, either as pools of dead water, and eddies in a stream (which, so long as the stream flows, are useless, or serve only to drown people, but may become of importance in a state of stagnation should the stream dry); or else, as dams in a river, of which the ultimate service depends not on the dam, but the miller; or else, as mere accidental stays and impediments, acting not as wealth, but (for we ought to have a correspondent term) as "illth," causing various devastation and trouble around them in all directions; or lastly, act not at all, but are merely animated conditions of delay, (no use being possible of anything they have until they are dead,) in which last condition they are nevertheless often useful *as* delays, and "impedimenta," if a nation is apt to move too fast.

65. This being so, the difficulty of the true science of Political Economy lies not merely in the need of developing manly character to deal with material value, but in the fact, that while the manly character and material value only form wealth by their conjunction, they have nevertheless a mutually destructive operation on each other. For the manly character is apt to ignore, or even cast away, the material value:—whence that of Pope:—

> "Sure, of qualities demanding praise,
> More go to ruin fortunes, than to raise."[2]

And on the other hand, the material value is apt to undermine the manly character; so that it must be our work, in

[1] [The MS. here appends the following footnote (with which compare p. 83 *n.*, above):—

> "Here also, as in the case of price of commodities, the true Algebraical value of wealth is a compound quantity; if the value of the possessions $=x$ and wisdom of possession $=y$, the wealth is xy and it $=0$, if either x or $y=0$."]

[2] [*Moral Essays:* Epistle iii., lines 201, 202. Ruskin quotes from memory; the first line in Pope is "Yet sure, of qualities deserving praise." See above, § 53.]

the issue, to examine what evidence there is of the effect of wealth on the minds of its possessors; also, what kind of person it is who usually sets himself to obtain wealth, and succeeds in doing so; and whether the world owes more gratitude to rich or to poor men, either for their moral influence upon it, or for chief goods, discoveries, and practical advancements. I may, however, anticipate future conclusions, so far as to state that in a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise,* the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person.

66. Thus far, then, of wealth. Next, we have to ascertain the nature of PRICE; that is to say, of exchange value, and its expression by currencies.

Note first, of exchange, there can be no *profit* in it. It is only in labour there can be profit — that is to say, a "making in advance," or "making in favour of" (from proficio). In exchange, there is only advantage, *i.e.*, a bringing of vantage or power to the exchanging persons. Thus, one man, by sowing and reaping, turns one measure of corn into two measures. That is Profit. Another, by digging and forging, turns one spade into two spades. That is Profit. But the man who has two measures of corn wants sometimes to dig; and the man who has two spades wants sometimes

* "ὁ Ζεὺς δήπου πένεται."—Arist. *Plut.* 582.[1] It would but weaken the grand words to lean on the preceding ones:—"ὅτι τοῦ Πλούτου παρέχω βελτίονας ἄνδρας, καὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν."

[1] [The "preceding" lines are 558 and 559. From a later line (586) Ruskin took the motto for the title-page of *The Crown of Wild Olive.*]

to eat:—They exchange the gained grain for the gained tool; and both are the better for the exchange; but though there is much advantage in the transaction, there is no profit. Nothing is constructed or produced. Only that which had been before constructed is given to the person by whom it can be used. If labour is necessary to effect the exchange, that labour is in reality involved in the production, and, like all other labour, bears profit. Whatever number of men are concerned in the manufacture, or in the conveyance, have share in the profit; but neither the manufacture nor the conveyance are the exchange, and in the exchange itself there is no profit.

There may, however, be acquisition, which is a very different thing. If, in the exchange, one man is able to give what cost him little labour for what has cost the other much, he "acquires" a certain quantity of the produce of the other's labour. And precisely what he acquires, the other loses. In mercantile language, the person who thus acquires is commonly said to have "made a profit"; and I believe that many of our merchants are seriously under the impression that it is possible for everybody, somehow, to make a profit in this manner. Whereas, by the unfortunate constitution of the world we live in, the laws both of matter and motion have quite rigorously forbidden universal acquisition of this kind. Profit, or material gain, is attainable only by construction or by discovery; not by exchange. Whenever material gain follows exchange, for every *plus* there is a precisely equal *minus*.

Unhappily for the progress of the science of Political Economy, the plus quantities, or—if I may be allowed to coin an awkward plural—the pluses, make a very positive and venerable appearance in the world, so that every one is eager to learn the science which produces results so magnificent; whereas the minuses have, on the other hand, a tendency to retire into back streets, and other places of shade,—or even to get themselves wholly and finally put out of sight in graves: which renders the algebra of this

science peculiar, and difficultly legible; a large number of its negative signs being written by the account-keeper in a kind of red ink, which starvation thins, and makes strangely pale, or even quite invisible ink, for the present.

67. The Science of Exchange, or, as I hear it has been proposed to call it, of "Catallactics,"[1] considered as one of gain, is, therefore, simply nugatory; but considered as one of acquisition, it is a very curious science, differing in its data and basis from every other science known. Thus:—If I can exchange a needle with a savage for a diamond, my power of doing so depends either on the savage's ignorance of social arrangements in Europe, or on his want of power to take advantage of them, by selling the diamond to any one else for more needles. If, farther, I make the bargain as completely advantageous to myself as possible, by giving to the savage a needle with no eye in it (reaching, thus a sufficiently satisfactory type of the perfect operation of catallactic science), the advantage to me in the entire transaction depends wholly upon the ignorance, powerlessness, or heedlessness of the person dealt with. Do away with these, and catallactic advantage becomes impossible. So far, therefore, as the science of exchange relates to the advantage of one of the exchanging persons only, it is founded on the ignorance or incapacity of the opposite person. Where these vanish, it also vanishes. It is therefore a science founded on nescience, and an art founded on artlessness. But all other sciences and arts, except this, have for their object the doing away with their opposite nescience and artlessness. *This* science, alone of sciences, must, by all available means, promulgate and prolong its opposite nescience; otherwise the science itself is impossible. It is, therefore, peculiarly and alone the science of darkness; probably a bastard science —not by any means a *divina scientia*, but one begotten of another father, that father who, advising his children

[1] [The term was first used by Whately in his *Lectures on Political Economy* (1831): "The name I should have preferred as the most descriptive, and on the whole least objectionable, is that of Catallactics, or the 'Science of Exchange.'"]

to turn stones into bread, is himself employed in turning bread into stones, and who, if you ask a fish of him (fish not being producible on his estate), can but give you a serpent.[1]

68. The general law, then, respecting just or economical exchange, is simply this:—There must be advantage on both sides (or if only advantage on one, at least no disadvantage on the other) to the persons exchanging; and just payment for his time, intelligence, and labour, to any intermediate person effecting the transaction (commonly called a merchant); and whatever advantage there is on either side, and whatever pay is given to the intermediate person, should be thoroughly known to all concerned. All attempt at concealment implies some practice of the opposite, or undivine science, founded on nescience. Whence another saying of the Jew merchant's—"As a nail between the stone joints, so doth sin stick fast between buying and selling."[2] Which peculiar riveting of stone and timber, in men's dealings with each other, is again set forth in the house which was to be destroyed—timber and stones together—when Zechariah's roll (more probably "curved sword"[3]) flew over it: "the curse that goeth forth over all the earth upon every one that stealeth and holdeth himself guiltless,"[4] instantly followed by the vision of the Great Measure;—the measure "of the injustice of them in all the earth" (*αὕτη ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ*), with the weight of lead for its lid, and the woman, the spirit of wickedness, within it;—that is to say, Wickedness hidden by dulness, and formalized, outwardly, into ponderously established cruelty. "It shall be set upon its own base in the land of Babel." *

* Zech. v. 11. See note on the passage, at p. 148 [here p. 100].

[1] [Matthew vii. 10.]

[2] [Ecclesiasticus xxvii. 2.]

[3] ["Flying roll" in the Authorised Version; "volumen volans" in the Vulgate; but "flying sickle" (*δρέπανον πετόμενον*) in the Septuagint. Ruskin here uses the Septuagint, as instead of "injustice" (*ἀδικία*), our version has "resemblance"; so in verse 11, where the Septuagint has "Babylon," our version has "Shinar."]

[4] [Zechariah v. 3 *ff.*]

69. I have hitherto carefully restricted myself, in speaking of exchange, to the use of the term "advantage"; but that term includes two ideas: the advantage, namely, of getting what we *need*, and that of getting what we *wish for*. Three-fourths of the demands existing in the world are romantic; founded on visions, idealisms, hopes, and affections; and the regulation of the purse is, in its essence, regulation of the imagination and the heart. Hence, the right discussion of the nature of price is a very high metaphysical and psychical problem; sometimes to be solved only in a passionate manner, as by David in his counting the price of the water of the well by the gate of Bethlehem;[1] but its first conditions are the following:—The price of anything is the quantity of labour given by the person desiring it, in order to obtain possession of it. This price depends on four variable quantities. *A*. The quantity of wish the purchaser has for the thing; opposed to α, the quantity of wish the seller has to keep it. *B*. The quantity of labour the purchaser can afford, to obtain the thing; opposed to β, the quantity of labour the seller can afford, to keep it. These quantities are operative only in excess: *i.e.*, the quantity of wish (*A*) means the quantity of wish for this thing, above wish for other things; and the quantity of work (*B*) means the quantity which can be spared to get this thing from the quantity needed to get other things.

Phenomena of price, therefore, are intensely complex, curious, and interesting—too complex, however, to be examined yet; every one of them, when traced far enough, showing itself at last as a part of the bargain of the Poor of the Flock (or "flock of slaughter"[2]), "If ye think good, give ME my price, and if not, forbear"—Zech. xi. 12; but as the price of everything is to be calculated finally in labour, it is necessary to define the nature of that standard.

70. Labour is the contest of the life of man with an

[1] [2 Samuel xxiii. 15, 16.]
[2] [Zechariah xi. 7.]

opposite;—the term "life" including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force.[1]

Labour is of a higher or lower order, as it includes more or fewer of the elements of life: and labour of good quality, in any kind, includes always as much intellect and feeling as will fully and harmoniously regulate the physical force.

In speaking of the value and price of labour, it is necessary always to understand labour of a given rank and quality, as we should speak of gold or silver of a given standard. Bad (that is, heartless, inexperienced, or senseless) labour cannot be valued; it is like gold of uncertain alloy, or flawed iron.*

The quality and kind of labour being given, its value, like that of all other valuable things, is invariable. But the quantity of it which must be given for other things is variable: and in estimating this variation, the price of other things must always be counted by the quantity of labour; not the price of labour by the quantity of other things.

71. Thus, if we want to plant an apple sapling in rocky ground, it may take two hours' work; in soft ground, perhaps only half an hour. Grant the soil equally good for the tree in each case. Then the value of the sapling planted by two hours' work is nowise greater than that of the sapling planted in half an hour. One will bear no more fruit than the other. Also, one half-hour of work is as valuable

* Labour which is entirely good of its kind, that is to say, effective, or efficient, the Greeks called "weighable," or ἄξιος, translated usually "worthy," and because thus substantial and true, they called its price τιμή, the "honourable estimate" of it (honorarium): this word being founded on their conception of true labour as a divine thing, to be honoured with the kind of honour given to the gods; whereas the price of false labour, or of that which led away from life, was to be, not honour, but vengeance; for which they reserved another word,[2] attributing the exaction of such price to a peculiar goddess, called Tisiphone, the "requiter (or quittance-taker) of death"; a person versed in the highest branches of arithmetic, and punctual in her habits; with whom accounts current have been opened also in modern days.

[1] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 59 (below, pp. 182–183).]

[2] [Namely, τίσις. For other references to Tisiphone, as the goddess of retribution, see below, § 73 (p. 99), and *Munera Pulveris*, § 130 (p. 255).]

as another half-hour; nevertheless, the one sapling has cost four such pieces of work, the other only one. Now, the proper statement of this fact is, not that the labour on the hard ground is cheaper than on the soft; but that the tree is dearer. The exchange value may, or may not, afterwards depend on this fact. If other people have plenty of soft ground to plant in, they will take no cognizance of our two hours' labour in the price they will offer for the plant on the rock. And if, through want of sufficient botanical science, we have planted an upas-tree instead of an apple, the exchange value will be a negative quantity; still less proportionate to the labour expended.

What is commonly called cheapness of labour, signifies, therefore, in reality, that many obstacles have to be overcome by it; so that much labour is required to produce a small result. But this should never be spoken of as cheapness of labour, but as dearness of the object wrought for. It would be just as rational to say that walking was cheap, because we had ten miles to walk home to our dinner, as that labour was cheap, because we had to work ten hours to earn it.

72. The last word which we have to define is "Production."

I have hitherto spoken of all labour as profitable; because it is impossible to consider under one head the quality or value of labour, and its aim. But labour of the best quality may be various in aim. It may be either constructive ("gathering," from con and struo), as agriculture; nugatory, as jewel-cutting; or destructive ("scattering," from de and struo), as war. It is not, however, always easy to prove labour, apparently nugatory, to be actually so;* generally, the formula holds good: "he that gathereth not, scattereth";[1]

* The most accurately nugatory labour is, perhaps, that of which not enough is given to answer a purpose effectually, and which, therefore, has all to be done over again. Also, labour which fails of effect through

[1] [Matthew xii. 30.]

thus, the jeweller's art is probably very harmful in its ministering to a clumsy and inelegant pride.[1] So that, finally, I believe nearly all labour may be shortly divided into positive and negative labour: positive, that which produces life; negative, that which produces death; the most directly negative labour being murder, and the most directly positive, the bearing and rearing of children: so that in the precise degree in which murder is hateful, on the negative side of idleness, in that exact degree child-rearing is admirable, on the positive side of idleness. For which reason, and because of the honour that there is in rearing* children, while the wife is said to be as the vine (for cheering), the children are as the olive branch,[2] for praise: nor for praise only, but for peace (because large families can only be reared in times of peace): though since, in their spreading and voyaging in various directions, they distribute strength, they are, to the

non-co-operation. The curé of a little village near Bellinzona, to whom I had expressed wonder that the peasants allowed the Ticino to flood their fields, told me that they would not join to build an effectual embankment high up the valley, because everybody said "that would help his neighbours as much as himself." So every proprietor built a bit of low embankment about his own field; and the Ticino, as soon as it had a mind, swept away and swallowed all up together.[3]

* Observe, I say, "rearing," not "begetting." The praise is in the seventh season, not in σπορητός, nor in φυταλία, but in ὀπώρα.[4] It is strange that men always praise enthusiastically any person who, by a momentary exertion, saves a life; but praise very hesitatingly a person who, by exertion and self-denial prolonged through years, creates one. We give the crown "ob civem servatum";—why not "ob civem natum"? Born, I mean, to the full, in soul as well as body. England has oak enough, I think, for both chaplets.

[1] [Compare *Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. p. 265); *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, § 51 (Vol. XII. p. 73); *Time and Tide*, §§ 131, 171 (below, pp. 425, 457); *Ethics of the Dust*, § 10; *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 147; *Aratra Pentelici*, § 17. For jewel cutting, when directed to an artistic end, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 198).]

[2] [Psalms cxxviii. 3.]

[3] [Ruskin recorded this incident in a letter to his father on July 10, 1858, from Isola Bella, whither he had gone after a long stay at Bellinzona: see Introduction to Vol. VII. p. xxxvi. He refers to it again in his letters on Roman Inundations (below, p. 551).]

[4] [Ruskin refers to the series of seven seasons as distinguished by Galen, but changes the order—ἔαρ (the spring), θέρος (the summer), ὀπώρα (the dog-days, the season of ripe fruit), φθινόπωρον (the autumn), σπορητός (the seed time), χειμών (the winter), φυταλία (the planting time).]

home strength, as arrows in the hand of the giant[1]—striking here and there far away.

Labour being thus various in its result, the prosperity of any nation is in exact proportion to the quantity of labour which it spends in obtaining and employing means of life. Observe,—I say, obtaining and employing; that is to say, not merely wisely producing, but wisely distributing and consuming. Economists usually speak as if there were no good in consumption absolute.* So far from this being so, consumption absolute is the end, crown, and perfection of production; and wise consumption is a far more difficult art than wise production. Twenty people can gain money for one who can use it; and the vital question, for individual and for nation, is, never "how much do they make?" but "to what purpose do they spend?"

73. The reader may, perhaps, have been surprised at the slight reference I have hitherto made to "capital," and its functions. It is here the place to define them.

Capital signifies "head, or source, or root material"—it is material by which some derivative or secondary good is produced. It is only capital proper (caput vivum, not caput mortuum[2]) when it is thus producing something different from itself. It is a root, which does not enter into vital function till it produces something else than a root: namely, fruit. That fruit will in time again produce roots; and so all living capital issues in reproduction of capital; but capital which produces nothing but capital is only root producing root; bulb issuing in bulb, never in tulip; seed issuing in seed, never in bread. The Political Economy of Europe has hitherto devoted itself wholly to the multiplication, or (less even) the aggregation, of bulbs. It never saw, nor conceived, such a thing as a tulip. Nay, boiled bulbs they

* When Mr. Mill speaks of productive consumption, he only means consumption which results in increase of capital or material wealth. See I. iii. 4, and I. iii. 5.

[1] [Psalms cxxvii. 4.]

[2] ["Caput mortuum," the term used by the old chemists to designate the residuum of chemicals when all their volatile matter had escaped.]

might have been—glass bulbs—Prince Rupert's drops,[1] consummated in powder (well, if it were glass-powder and not gunpowder), for any end or meaning the economists had in defining the laws of aggregation. We will try and get a clearer notion of them.

The best and simplest general type of capital is a well-made ploughshare. Now, if that ploughshare did nothing but beget other ploughshares, in a polypous manner,—however the great cluster of polypous plough might glitter in the sun, it would have lost its function of capital. It becomes true capital only by another kind of splendour,—when it is seen "splendescere sulco,"[2] to grow bright in the furrow; rather with diminution of its substance, than addition, by the noble friction. And the true home question, to every capitalist and to every nation, is not, "how many ploughs have you?" but, "where are your furrows?" not—"how quickly will this capital reproduce itself?"—but, "what will it do during reproduction?" What substance will it furnish, good for life? what work construct, protective of life? if none, its own reproduction is useless—if worse than none,—(for capital may destroy life as well as support it), its own reproduction is worse than useless; it is merely an advance from Tisiphone, on mortgage—not a profit by any means.

74. Not a profit, as the ancients truly saw, and showed in the type of Ixion;[3]—for capital is the head, or fountain

[1] [For this expression, see Vol. IV. p. 240 *n*.]

[2] [Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 46: "Vere novo . . . incipiat . . . sulco attritus splendescere vomer."]

[3] [Ruskin here moralises the legend of Ixion, who had promised his father-in-law, Deioneus, a valuable present, but had not given it. Deioneus in consequence stole the horses of Ixion, who thereupon—"the first among the heroes to shed blood of kindred craftily" (Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 32)—invited his father-in-law to a banquet, and threw him into a secret pit, filled with fire. Ixion was unable to obtain expiation from gods or men, till at last Zeus received him in pity and purified him. Pindar, in the same ode, tells the story of Ixion's infatuation, and of his eternal punishment on the wheel. "Ixion," says the poet, "writhing on his winged wheel, proclaims this message unto men, To him who does thee service make fair recompense." From this passage, and from later lines in the same ode—where the poet teaches the worthlessness of riches if not joined with the happy gift of wisdom—Ruskin seems to have taken a clue for his own interpretation of the story.]

head, of wealth—the "well-head" of wealth, as the clouds are the well-heads of rain: but when clouds are without water,[1] and only beget clouds, they issue in wrath at last, instead of rain, and in lightning instead of harvest; whence Ixion is said first to have invited his guests to a banquet, and then made them fall into a pit filled with fire; which is the type of the temptation of riches issuing in imprisoned torment,—torment in a pit, (as also Demas' silver mine,[2]) after which, to show the rage of riches passing from lust of pleasure to lust of power, yet power not truly understood, Ixion is said to have desired Juno, and instead, embracing a cloud (or phantasm),[3] to have begotten the Centaurs; the power of mere wealth being, in itself, as the embrace of a shadow,—comfortless, (so also "Ephraim feedeth on wind and followeth after the east wind";[4] or "that which is not"—Prov. xxiii. 5; and again Dante's Geryon,[5] the type of avaricious fraud, as he flies, gathers the *air* up with retractile claws,—"l'aer a se raccolse," *) but in its offspring, a mingling of the brutal with the human nature: human in sagacity—using both intellect and arrow; but brutal in its body and hoof, for consuming, and trampling

* So also in the vision of the women bearing the ephah, before quoted,[6] "the wind was in their wings," not wings "of a stork," as in our version; but "*milvi*," of a kite, in the Vulgate, or perhaps more accurately still in the Septuagint, "hoopoe," a bird connected typically with the power of riches by many traditions, of which that of its petition for a crest of gold is perhaps the most interesting. The "Birds" of Aristophanes, in which

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[1] [See Jude 12; Ruskin quotes the words in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 458), and in *Sesame and Lilies*, § 23 (Vol. XVIII. p. 74).]

[2] [In the *Pilgrim's Progress* (part i.): "a little Hill called *Lucre*, and in that Hill a *Silver-Mine*, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain. . . . A little way off the road, over against the *Silver-Mine*, stood *Demas* (gentleman-like) to call to Passengers to come and see," etc.]

[3] [Compare *Queen of the Air*, § 29: "the disappointed fury of Ixion (taking shadow for power)."]

[4] [Hosea xii. 1.]

[5] [*Inferno*, xvii. 105. The passage is quoted *in extenso* and further commented upon in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. pp. 399, 400.]

[6] [From Zechariah v. 3 *seq.*: see above, § 68, p. 93.]

down. For which sin Ixion is at last bound upon a wheel —fiery and toothed, and rolling perpetually in the air;— the type of human labour when selfish and fruitless (kept far into the Middle Ages in their wheel of fortune[1]); the wheel which has in it no breath or spirit, but is whirled by chance only; whereas of all true work the Ezekiel vision is true, that the Spirit of the living creature is in the wheels, and where the angels go, the wheels go by them;[2] but move no otherwise.

75. This being the real nature of capital, it follows that there are two kinds of true production, always going on in an active State: one of seed, and one of food; or production for the Ground, and for the Mouth; both of which are by covetous persons thought to be production only for the granary; whereas the function of the granary is but intermediate and conservative, fulfilled in distribution; else it ends in nothing but mildew, and nourishment of rats and worms. And since production for the Ground is only useful with future hope of harvest, all *essential* production is for the Mouth; and is finally measured by the mouth; hence, as I said above,[3] consumption is the crown of production; and the wealth of a nation is only to be estimated by what it consumes.

The want of any clear sight of this fact is the capital error, issuing in rich interest and revenue of error among

its part is principal, are full of them; note especially the "fortification of the air with baked bricks, like Babylon," L. 550; and, again, compare the Plutus of Dante, who (to show the influence of riches in destroying the reason) is the only one of the powers of the Inferno who cannot speak intelligibly; and also the cowardliest; he is not merely quelled or restrained, but literally "collapses" at a word; the sudden and helpless operation of mercantile panic being all told in the brief metaphor, "as the sails, swollen with the wind, fall, when the mast breaks."[4]

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[1] [See below, *Munera Pulveris*, § 100 *n.* (p. 223).]
[2] [Ezekiel i. 15 and following verses.]
[3] [See § 72, p. 98.]
[4] [*Inferno*, vii. 13, 14, and preceding lines. The passage is further quoted and explained in *Munera Pulveris*, § 58 *n.* (see below, p. 182).]

the political economists. Their minds are continually set on money-gain, not on mouth-gain; and they fall into every sort of net and snare, dazzled by the coin-glitter as birds by the fowler's glass; or rather (for there is not much else like birds in them) they are like children trying to jump on the heads of their own shadows; the money-gain being only the shadow of the true gain, which is humanity.

76. The final object of political economy, therefore, is to get good method of consumption, and great quantity of consumption: in other words, to use everything, and to use it nobly; whether it be substance, service, or service perfecting substance. The most curious error in Mr. Mill's entire work, (provided for him originally by Ricardo,[1]) is his endeavour to distinguish between direct and indirect service, and consequent assertion that a demand for commodities is not demand for labour (I. v. 9, *et seq.*). He distinguishes between labourers employed to lay out pleasure grounds, and to manufacture velvet; declaring that it makes material difference to the labouring classes in which of these two ways a capitalist spends his money; because the employment of the gardeners is a demand for labour, but the purchase of velvet is not.* Error colossal, as well as strange. It will, indeed, make a difference to the labourer whether we bid him swing

* The value of raw material, which has, indeed, to be deducted from the price of the labour, is not contemplated in the passages referred to, Mr. Mill having fallen into the mistake solely by pursuing the collateral results of the payment of wages to middlemen. He says—"The consumer does not, with his own funds, pay the weaver for his day's work." Pardon me: the consumer of the velvet pays the weaver with his own funds as much as he pays the gardener. He pays, probably, an intermediate ship-owner, velvet merchant, and shopman; pays carriage money, shop rent, damage money, time money, and care money; all these are above and beside the velvet price, (just as the wages of a head gardener would be above the grass price); but the velvet is as much produced by the consumer's capital, though he does not pay for it till six months after production, as the grass is produced by his

[1] [Mill in the passage referred to mentions Ricardo as one of the few economists who have kept the principle steadily in view. This proposition that "a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour" is examined at greater length in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 2.]

his scythe in the spring winds, or drive the loom in pestilential air; but, so far as his pocket is concerned, it makes to him absolutely no difference whether we order him to make green velvet, with seed and a scythe, or red velvet, with silk and scissors. Neither does it anywise concern him whether, when the velvet is made, we consume it by walking on it, or wearing it, so long as our consumption of it is wholly selfish. But if our consumption is to be in anywise unselfish, not only our mode of consuming the articles we require interests him, but also the *kind* of article we require with a view to consumption. As thus (returning[1] for a moment to Mr. Mill's great hardware theory*): it matters, so far as the labourer's immediate profit is concerned, not an iron filing whether I employ him in growing a peach, or forging a bombshell;[2] but my probable mode of consumption of those articles matters seriously. Admit that it is to be in both cases "unselfish," and the difference, to him, is final, whether when his child is ill, I walk into his cottage and give it the peach, or drop the shell down his chimney, and blow his roof off.

The worst of it, for the peasant, is, that the capitalist's consumption of the peach is apt to be selfish, and of the shell, distributive;† but, in all cases, this is the broad and

capital, though he does not pay the man who rolled and mowed it on Monday, till Saturday afternoon. I do not know if Mr. Mill's conclusion,—"the capital cannot be dispensed with, the purchasers can" (p. 98), has yet been reduced to practice in the City on any large scale.

* Which, observe, is the precise opposite of the one under examination. The hardware theory required us to discharge our gardeners and engage manufacturers; the velvet theory requires us to discharge our manufacturers and engage gardeners.

† It is one very awful form of the operation of wealth in Europe that it is entirely capitalists' wealth which supports unjust wars.[3] Just wars do not need

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[1] [See above, § 56, p. 77.]

[2] [For a passing reference to this passage, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 51.]

[3] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 19 (below, p. 142); and *Sesame and Lilies*, § 47 (Vol. XVIII. p. 103), where Ruskin repeated this note. In referring to it again in 1885, Ruskin noted that he "should have said, in accuracy, 'capitalists' cash,' not 'wealth'": see his Introduction to R. G. Sillar's *Usury*, § 4 (1885), reprinted in a later volume of this edition. See also *Ethics of the Dust*, Note 6.]

general fact, that on due catallactic commercial principles, *somebody's* roof must go off in fulfilment of the bomb's destiny. You may grow for your neighbour, at your liking, grapes or grape-shot; he will also, catallactically, grow grapes or grape-shot for you, and you will each reap what you have sown.[1]

77. It is, therefore, the manner and issue of consumption which are the real tests of production. Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption.

I left this question to the reader's thought two months ago,[2] choosing rather that he should work it out for himself than have it sharply stated to him. But now, the ground being sufficiently broken (and the details into which the several questions, here opened, must lead us, being too complex for discussion in the pages of a periodical, so

so much money to support them; for most of the men who wage such, wage them gratis;[3] but for an unjust war, men's bodies and souls have both to be bought; and the best tools of war for them besides; which makes such war costly to the maximum; not to speak of the cost of base fear, and angry suspicion, between nations which have not grace nor honesty enough in all their multitudes to buy an hour's peace of mind with: as, at present, France and England,[4] purchasing of each other ten millions sterling worth of consternation annually, (a remarkably light crop, half thorns and half aspen leaves,—sown, reaped, and granaried by the "science" of the modern political economist, teaching covetousness instead of truth). And all unjust war being supportable, if not by pillage of the enemy, only by loans from capitalists, these loans are repaid by subsequent taxation of the people, who appear to have no will in the matter, the capitalists' will being the primary root of the war; but its real root is the covetousness of the whole nation, rendering it incapable of faith, frankness, or justice, and bringing about, therefore, in due time, his own separate loss and punishment to each person.

[1] [Galatians vi. 7.]

[2] [See above, §§ 40–41, pp. 55–56.]

[3] [The MS. adds: "and often their weapons are inexpensive—many a just battle having been won with sticks and rocks (as Morgarten and some of Hofer's)." For the battle of Morgarten, in which the Swiss peasantry rolled down an avalanche of rocks and trunks upon the enemy, see Vol. V. p. 415 *n.*; and for Hofer, Vol. II. p. 88 *n.*]

[4] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, Appendix i. (below, p. 286), *Sesame and Lilies*, § 48 (Vol. XVIII. p. 104).]

that I must pursue them elsewhere[1]), I desire, in closing the series of introductory papers, to leave this one great fact clearly stated. THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration.[2] That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

A strange political economy; the only one, nevertheless, that ever was or can be: all political economy founded on self-interest* being but the fulfilment of that which once brought schism into the Policy of angels, and ruin into the Economy of Heaven.[3]

78. "The greatest number of human beings noble and happy." But is the nobleness consistent with the number? Yes, not only consistent with it, but essential to it. The maximum of life can only be reached by the maximum of virtue. In this respect the law of human population differs wholly from that of animal life. The multiplication of animals is checked only by want of food, and by the hostility of races; the population of the gnat is restrained by the hunger of the swallow, and that of the swallow by the scarcity of gnats. Man, considered as an animal, is indeed limited by the same laws: hunger, or plague, or war, are the necessary and only restraints upon his increase,—effectual restraints hitherto,—his principal study having been how most swiftly to destroy himself, or ravage his dwelling-places,

* "In all reasoning about prices, the proviso must be understood, 'supposing all parties to take care of their own interest.'"—Mill, III. i. 5.

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[1] [A reference to the compulsory closing of the present series of papers: see above, p. xxviii.]

[2] [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., where Ruskin quotes Wordsworth's line, "We live by admiration, hope, and love" (Vol. IV. p. 29 *n.*), and see the other passages noted at Vol. XVI. p. 154.]

[3] ["And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not. . . ! For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell . . ." (2 Peter ii. 3, 4).]

and his highest skill directed to give range to the famine, seed to the plague, and sway to the sword. But, considered as other than an animal, his increase is not limited by these laws. It is limited only by the limits of his courage and his love. Both of these *have* their bounds; and ought to have; his race has its bounds also; but these have not yet been reached, nor will be reached for ages.

79. In all the ranges of human thought I know none so melancholy as the speculations of political economists on the population question. It is proposed to better the condition of the labourer by giving him higher wages. "Nay," says the economist,—"if you raise his wages, he will either people down to the same point of misery at which you found him, or drink your wages away." He will. I know it. Who gave him this will? Suppose it were your own son of whom you spoke, declaring to me that you dared not take him into your firm, nor even give him his just labourer's wages, because if you did he would die of drunkenness, and leave half a score of children to the parish. "Who gave your son these dispositions?"—I should enquire. Has he them by inheritance or by education? By one or other they *must* come; and as in him, so also in the poor. Either these poor are of a race essentially different from ours, and unredeemable (which, however often implied, I have heard none yet openly say), or else by such care as we have ourselves received, we may make them continent and sober as ourselves—wise and dispassionate as we are—models arduous of imitation. "But," it is answered, "they cannot receive education." Why not? That is precisely the point at issue. Charitable persons suppose the worst fault of the rich is to refuse the people meat; and the people cry for their meat, kept back by fraud, to the Lord of Multitudes.* Alas! it

* James v. 4. Observe, in these statements I am not taking up, nor countenancing one whit, the common socialist idea of division of property:[1] division of property is its destruction; and with it the destruction of all

[1] [Compare § 54; above, p. 74. See also *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 21; below, p. 144.]

is not meat of which the refusal is cruelest, or to which the claim is validest. The life is more than the meat.[1] The rich not only refuse food to the poor; they refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refuse salvation. Ye sheep without shepherd,[2] it is not the pasture that has been shut from you, but the Presence. Meat! perhaps your right to that may be pleadable; but other rights have to be pleaded first. Claim your crumbs from the table if you will; but claim them as children, not as dogs; claim your right to be fed, but claim more loudly your right to be holy, perfect, and pure.

Strange words to be used of working people! "What! holy; without any long robes or anointing oils; these rough-jacketed, rough-worded persons; set to nameless, dishonoured service? Perfect! — these, with dim eyes and cramped limbs, and slowly wakening minds? Pure!—these, with sensual desire and grovelling thought; foul of body and coarse of soul?" It may be so; nevertheless, such as

hope, all industry, and all justice: it is simply chaos—a chaos towards which the believers in modern political economy are fast tending, and from which I am striving to save them. The rich man does not keep back meat from the poor by retaining his riches; but by basely using them. Riches are a form of strength; and a strong man does not injure others by keeping his strength, but by using it injuriously. The socialist, seeing a strong man oppress a weak one, cries out—"Break the strong man's arms;" but I say, "Teach him to use them to better purpose." The fortitude and intelligence which acquire riches are intended, by the Giver of both, not to scatter, nor to give away, but to employ those riches in the service of mankind; in other words, in the redemption of the erring and aid of the weak—that is to say, there is first to be the work to gain money; then the Sabbath of use for it—the Sabbath, whose law is, not to lose life, but to save.[3] It is continually the fault or the folly of the poor that they are poor, as it is usually a child's fault if it falls into a pond, and a cripple's weakness that slips at a crossing; nevertheless, most passers-by would pull the child out, or help up the cripple. Put it at the worst, that all the poor of the world are but disobedient children, or careless cripples, and that all rich people are wise and strong, and you will see at once that neither is the socialist right in desiring to make everybody poor, powerless, and foolish as he is himself, nor the rich man right in leaving the children in the mire.

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[1] [Matthew vi. 25.]
[2] [Numbers xxvii. 17; Matthew ix. 36.]
[3] [See Luke xiii. 14 *seq.*]

they are, they are the holiest, perfectest, purest persons the earth can at present show. They may be what you have said; but if so, they yet are holier than we who have left them thus.

But what can be done for them? Who can clothe—who teach—who restrain their multitudes? What end can there be for them at last, but to consume one another?

I hope for another end, though not, indeed, from any of the three remedies for over-population commonly suggested by economists.

80. These three are, in brief—Colonization; Bringing in of waste lands; or Discouragement of Marriage.[1]

The first and second of these expedients merely evade or delay the question. It will, indeed, be long before the world has been all colonized, and its deserts all brought under cultivation. But the radical question is, not how much habitable land is in the world, but how many human beings ought to be maintained on a given space of habitable land.

Observe, I say, *ought* to be, not how many *can* be. Ricardo, with his usual inaccuracy, defines what he calls the "natural rate of wages" as "that which will maintain the labourer."[2] Maintain him! yes; but how?—the question was instantly thus asked of me by a working girl, to whom I read the passage. I will amplify her question for her. "Maintain him, how?" As, first, to what length of life?

[1] [For Ruskin's references to Colonisation, see the letter on Railway Economy given below, p. 534; also a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of January 15, 1870 (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 185, and in a later volume of this edition), where he calls on English gentlemen to become "Captains of Emigration"; with which passage, compare his exhortation in *Lectures on Art*, § 29. On the bringing of waste lands under cultivation, see *Notes on the General Principles of Employment*, etc., below, p. 545. On the regulation of marriage, *Time and Tide*, § 124; below, p. 420.]

[2] [*Principles of Political Economy*, ch. v. ("On Wages"): "The natural price of labour is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution." Ricardo adds, "The power of the labourer to support himself, and the family which may be necessary to keep up the number of labourers, does not depend on the quantity of money which he may receive for wages, but on the quantity of food, necessaries, and conveniences become essential to him from habit, which that money will purchase."]

Out of a given number of fed persons, how many are to be old—how many young? that is to say, will you arrange their maintenance so as to kill them early—say at thirty or thirty-five on the average, including deaths of weakly or ill-fed children?—or so as to enable them to live out a natural life? You will feed a greater number, in the first case,* by rapidity of succession; probably a happier number in the second: which does Mr. Ricardo mean to be their natural state, and to which state belongs the natural rate of wages?

Again: A piece of land which will only support ten idle, ignorant, and improvident persons, will support thirty or forty intelligent and industrious ones. Which of these is their natural state, and to which of them belongs the natural rate of wages?

Again: If a piece of land support forty persons in industrious ignorance; and if, tired of this ignorance, they set apart ten of their number to study the properties of cones, and the sizes of stars; the labour of these ten being withdrawn from the ground, must either tend to the increase of food in some transitional manner, or the persons set apart for sidereal and conic purposes must starve, or some one else starve instead of them. What is, therefore, the natural rate of wages of the scientific persons, and how does this rate relate to, or measure, their reverted or transitional productiveness?

Again: If the ground maintains, at first, forty labourers in a peaceable and pious state of mind, but they become in a few years so quarrelsome and impious that they have to set apart five, to meditate upon and settle their disputes;—ten, armed to the teeth with costly instruments, to enforce the decisions; and five to remind everybody in an eloquent manner of the existence of a God;—what will be the result upon the general power of production, and what is the

* The quantity of life is the same in both cases; but it is differently allotted.

"natural rate of wages" of the meditative, muscular, and oracular labourers?

81. Leaving these questions to be discussed, or waived, at their pleasure, by Mr. Ricardo's followers, I proceed to state the main facts bearing on that probable future of the labouring classes which has been partially glanced at by Mr. Mill. That chapter and the preceding one[1] differ from the common writing of political economists in admitting some value in the aspect of nature, and expressing regret at the probability of the destruction of natural scenery. But we may spare our anxieties on this head. Men can neither drink steam, nor eat stone. The maximum of population on a given space of land implies also the relative maximum of edible vegetable, whether for men or cattle; it implies a maximum of pure air, and of pure water. Therefore: a maximum of wood, to transmute the air, and of sloping ground, protected by herbage from the extreme heat of the sun, to feed the streams. All England may, if it so chooses, become one manufacturing town;[2] and Englishmen, sacrificing themselves to the good of general humanity, may live diminished lives in the midst of noise, of darkness, and of deadly exhalation. But the world cannot become a factory nor a mine. No amount of ingenuity will ever make iron digestible by the million, nor substitute hydrogen for wine. Neither the avarice nor the rage of men will ever feed them; and however the apple of Sodom and the grape of Gomorrah may spread their table for a time with dainties of ashes, and nectar of asps,—so long as men live by bread, the far away valleys must laugh as they are covered with the gold of God, and the shouts of His happy multitudes ring round the winepress and the well.[3]

82. Nor need our more sentimental economists fear the too wide spread of the formalities of a mechanical agriculture.

[1] [Book iv. ch. vi. ("Of the Stationary State"). Ch. vii. ("On the Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes").]

[2] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 10 (below, p. 326); *Lectures on Art*, § 123; *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 35; and Vol. VII. p. 425.]

[3] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 45 (below, p. 355).]

The presence of a wise population implies the search for felicity as well as for food; nor can any population reach its maximum but through that wisdom which "rejoices"[1] in the habitable parts of the earth. The desert has its appointed place and work; the eternal engine, whose beam is the earth's axle, whose beat is its year, and whose breath is its ocean, will still divide imperiously to their desert kingdoms bound with unfurrowable rock, and swept by unarrested sand, their powers of frost and fire: but the zones and lands between, habitable, will be loveliest in habitation. The desire of the heart is also the light of the eyes.[2] No scene is continually and untiringly loved, but one rich by joyful human labour; smooth in field; fair in garden; full in orchard; trim, sweet, and frequent in homestead; ringing with voices of vivid existence. No air is sweet that is silent;[3] it is only sweet when full of low currents of under sound—triplets of birds, and murmur and chirp of insects, and deep-toned words of men, and wayward trebles of childhood. As the art of life is learned, it will be found at last that all lovely things are also necessary;—the wild flower by the wayside, as well as the tended corn; and the wild birds and creatures of the forest, as well as the tended cattle; because man doth not live by bread only,[4] but also by the desert manna; by every wondrous word and unknowable work of God. Happy, in that he knew them not, nor did his fathers know; and that round about him reaches yet into the infinite, the amazement of his existence.

83. Note, finally, that all effectual advancement towards this true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort. Certain general measures may aid, certain revised laws guide, such advancement; but the measure and law which have first to be determined are those of

[1] [Proverbs viii. 31.]
[2] [See Proverbs xv. 30.]
[3] [Compare Ruskin's letter from Zug given in Vol. VII. p. xxxi.]
[4] [Deuteronomy viii. 3; Matthew iv. 4; and see Job xxxvii. 14.]

each man's home. We continually hear it recommended by sagacious people to complaining neighbours (usually less well placed in the world than themselves), that they should "remain content in the station in which Providence has placed them."[1] There are perhaps some circumstances of life in which Providence has no intention that people *should* be content. Nevertheless, the maxim is on the whole a good one; but it is peculiarly for home use. That your neighbour should, or should not, remain content with *his* position, is not your business; but it is very much your business to remain content with your own. What is chiefly needed in England at the present day is to show the quantity of pleasure that may be obtained by a consistent, well-administered competence, modest, confessed, and laborious.[2] We need examples of people who, leaving Heaven to decide whether they are to rise in the world, decide for themselves that they will be happy in it, and have resolved to seek—not greater wealth, but simpler pleasure; not higher fortune, but deeper felicity; making the first of possessions, self-possession; and honouring themselves in the harmless pride and calm pursuits of peace.

Of which lowly peace it is written that "justice and peace have kissed each other"; and that the fruit of justice is "sown in peace of them that make peace";[3] not "peace-makers" in the common understanding—reconcilers of quarrels; (though that function also follows on the greater one;) but peace-Creators; Givers of Calm. Which you cannot give, unless you first gain; nor is this gain one which will follow assuredly on any course of business, commonly so called. No form of gain is less probable, business being (as is shown in the language of all nations—πωλεῖν from πέλω, πρᾶρις from περάω, venire, vendre, and venal, from venio, etc.) essentially restless—and probably contentious;—having a raven-like mind to the motion to and fro, as to the carrion

[1] [For Ruskin's views on this maxim of the Church Catechism, see below, p. 320 *n.*]

[2] [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 426).]

[3] [Psalms lxxxv. 10; James iii. 18.]

food; whereas the olive-feeding and bearing birds look for rest for their feet;[1] thus it is said of Wisdom that she "hath builded her house, and hewn out her seven pillars";[2] and even when, though apt to wait long at the doorposts, she has to leave her house and go abroad, her paths are peace[3] also.

84. For us, at all events, her work must begin at the entry of the doors: all true economy is "Law of the house." Strive to make that law strict, simple, generous: waste nothing, and grudge nothing. Care in nowise to make more of money, but care to make much of it; remembering always the great, palpable, inevitable fact—the rule and root of all economy—that what one person has, another cannot have; and that every atom of substance, of whatever kind, used or consumed, is so much human life spent; which, if it issue in the saving present life, or gaining more, is well spent, but if not is either so much life prevented, or so much slain. In all buying, consider, first, what condition of existence you cause in the producers of what you buy; secondly, whether the sum you have paid is just to the producer, and in due proportion, lodged in his hands;* thirdly, to how much clear use, for food, knowledge, or joy, this that you have bought can be put; and fourthly, to whom and in what way it can be most speedily and serviceably distributed; in all dealings whatsoever insisting on entire openness and stern fulfilment; and in all doings, on perfection and loveliness of accomplishment; especially on fineness and purity

* The proper offices of middlemen, namely, overseers (or authoritative workmen), conveyancers (merchants, sailors, retail dealers, etc.), and order-takers (persons employed to receive directions from the consumer), must, of course, be examined before I can enter farther into the question of just payment of the first producer. But I have not spoken of them in these introductory papers, because the evils attendant on the abuse of such intermediate functions result not from any alleged principle of modern political economy, but from private carelessness or iniquity.

[1] [Genesis viii. 7.]

[2] [Proverbs ix. 1.]

[3] [Proverbs iii. 17—words often quoted by Ruskin; see, for instance, *A Joy for Ever*, § 120 *n.* (Vol. XVI. p. 103; and *Time and Tide*, § 60; below, p. 367).]

of all marketable commodity: watching at the same time for all ways of gaining, or teaching, powers of simple pleasure; and of showing "ὅσον ἐν ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ"[1]—the sum of enjoyment depending not on the quantity of things tasted, but on the vivacity and patience of taste.

85. And if, on due and honest thought over these things, it seems that the kind of existence to which men are now summoned by every plea of pity and claim of right, may, for some time at least, not be a luxurious one;—consider whether, even supposing it guiltless, luxury would be desired by any of us, if we saw clearly at our sides the suffering which accompanies it in the world. Luxury is indeed possible in the future—innocent and exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruelest man living could not sit at his feast, unless he sat blindfold.[2] Raise the veil boldly; face the light; and if, as yet, the light of the eye can only be through tears, and the light of the body[3] through sackcloth, go thou forth weeping, bearing precious seed, until the time come, and the kingdom, when Christ's gift of bread, and bequest of peace, shall be "Unto this last as unto thee";[4] and when, for earth's severed multitudes of the wicked and the weary, there shall be holier reconciliation than that of the narrow home, and calm economy, where the Wicked cease—not from trouble, but from troubling—and the Weary are at rest.[5]

[1] [Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 40, 41 :—

νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός,
οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.

"Fools! they know not how much the half exceeds the whole, nor how great blessing lies in mallow and asphodel"—herbs which grow wild in Greece, and were the food of the very poor (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 544).]

[2] [Compare *The Opening of the Crystal Palace*, § 18, where Ruskin thus lifts the veil upon "a London dinner-party" (Vol. XII. p. 430).]

[3] [Matthew vi. 22.]

[4] [Matthew xx. 13.]

[5] [Job iii. 17.]

II

MUNERA PULVERIS

(WRITTEN AND FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1862, 1863)

MUNERA PULVERIS

SIX ESSAYS

ON THE ELEMENTS OF

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY

JOHN RUSKIN,

HONORARY STUDENT OF CHRISTCHURCH, OXFORD.

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First Edition (1872).—The title-page is as shown on the preceding leaf here. Octavo, pp. xxvii. + 186. The volume was the Second in the "Works Series," and a general title-page (unnumbered) preceded the particular one:—

> The | Works of John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, Oxford. | Volume II. | Munera Pulveris. | [*Rose*] | London: Printed for the author | By Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place; | and sold by | Mr. G. Allen, Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent. | 1872.

Contents (here p. 129), p. iii.; Preface (here pp. 131–146), pp. v.–xxvii.; Text, pp. 1–175; Appendices, pp. 177–186. The imprint (in the centre of the leaf facing the last page) is "London: Printed by Smith, Elder and Co., Old Bailey, E.C." The headlines are "Preface" (on both left and right hand pages); then, "Munera Pulveris" (on left-hand pages) and (on right-hand pages) "Chap. I. Definitions. (Economy.)," and so on as described below on p. 129 *n.*; and "Appendices" (on left and right hand pages). This was the first book to bear Mr. Allen's name on the title-page.

Issued on January 1, 1872, in purple calf, with gilt edges and tooled after an ecclesiastical fashion; lettered across the back: "Ruskin. | Works. | Vol. | II. | Munera | Pulveris." Price 9s. 6d.; increased on January 1, 1874, to 18s. 1000 copies.

In this volume the original essays were considerably revised and rearranged; full particulars are given below (see "Variæ Lectiones").

Second Edition (1880).—This was a reprint of the First Edition; the only differences are typographical. The general title-page is:—

> The | Works of John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Honorary Fellow | of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. | Volume II. | Munera Pulveris. | [*Rose.*] George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1880.

The particular title-page is also different, thus:—

> Munera Pulveris. | Six Essays | on the Elements of | Political Economy. | By | John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Honorary Fellow of Corpus | Christi College, Oxford. | Second Thousand. | George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1880.

This edition has also a different imprint (in the same place as before): "Chiswick Press:—Charles Whittingham and Co., Took's Court, Chancery Lane."

Issued, again in "Ruskin calf," price 18s. The price was reduced in 1893 to 15s. in calf and 9s. 6d. in cloth; and again in 1900 to 14s. 6d. calf, 7s. 6d. cloth. This edition is still current (1905).

In July 1882 some copies were put up in mottled-grey paper boards, with white paper back-label, which reads: "Ruskin. | Works. | Vol. II. | Munera | Pulveris." These were sold at 13s. (reduced in 1900 to 7s. 6d.). This edition was printed by mistake on demy octavo paper instead of medium; but the book was put up in medium octavo boards to range with the other volumes of the "Works Series." (So also in the case of *The Eagle's Nest*.)

In April 1893 copies were put up in green cloth, lettered on the back. Price 13s. (reduced in 1900 to 7s. 6d.). In this form also the Second Edition is still current.

Third, or Small Edition (1886).—The title-page of this edition is:—

> Munera Pulveris. | Six Essays | on the Elements of Political Economy. | By | John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Honorary Fellow | of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. | New Edition. | George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1886. | [*All rights reserved.*]

Small crown 8vo, pp. xxxii.+218. Not being in the "Works Series," this edition omits the general title-page. Contents, p. v.; Preface, pp. vii.–xxxii.; Text, pp. 1–205; Appendices, pp. 207–218. The imprint (at the foot of the reverse of the title-page and at the foot of the last page) is "Printed by Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury." The sub-titles of the chapters are omitted from the headlines. The text remained unchanged (except for a few trifling and accidental alterations: see "Variæ").

Issued in August 1886 in chocolate and in dark green cloth; lettered across the back: "Ruskin | Munera | Pulveris." Price 5s. 3000 copies.

Fourth, or Second Small, Edition (1894).—This was a reprint of the Third, but the imprint was that of Messrs. Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., and the publisher's was "George Allen, Sunnyside, Orpington | and | 156, Charing Cross Road, London." It included an index (by Mr. Wedderburn, pp. 220–240), and the paragraphs of the Preface were numbered. Issued in June 1894. Price 5s. 2000 copies.

This edition was electrotyped, and further issues of it were made (with changes only on the title-page) in July 1898—"Third Small Edition"—(1000 copies); January 1899—"Ninth Thousand"; and June 1904—"Tenth Thousand." The price was reduced in January 1904 to 3s. 6d.

Pocket Edition (1904).—Simultaneously with the issue last mentioned, 3000 copies were printed off (with new title-page) for the Pocket Edition, uniform with other volumes (see Vol. XV. p. 6). The title-page is :—

Munera Pulveris | By | John Ruskin | London : George Allen.

On the reverse : "*June 1904* | *All rights reserved.*" Issued in terra-cotta cloth at 2s. 6d. net, and in limp leather at 3s. 6d. net. In October 1904, 2000 more copies were printed, completing the fifteenth thousand of the work in the small form (17th thousand in all) (?).]

There have been the usual *unauthorised American editions.*

An authorised American ("Brantwood") *Edition* was issued in 1891 by Charles E. Merrill & Co., New York, with an introduction by Charles Eliot Norton, pp. vi.–xiv.

Notices of the essays as they appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* were published in the *Morning Star* (a leading article), December 4 ; and the *Weekly Review*, December 6, 1862. At the time when they were collected into a volume (1872), Ruskin's books were not sent to the Press, and the volume was therefore not reviewed.

Variæ Lectiones.—There have, as already stated, been no intentional variations in the text of any of the editions of *Munera Pulveris* in a collected form. Such few variations as have crept in are noted in the following list. It is, however, mainly occupied by variations between the book in its collected form and the original essays. These are very numerous. The following list mentions them all (a few trifling differences of spelling or punctuation alone excepted). The more important variations are noted under the text ; they are included in this list only by references to the pages. The list compares the original essays with the present text ; that is to say, the first readings are those of the essays ; the second, those in the text.

Title.—Each of the essays had the general title, as shown at the beginning of this Note. On the left-hand pages the headline throughout was "Essays on Political Economy" ; on the right-hand pages the headlines were as given here, in notes on pp. 147, 164, 194, 217, 231, 262. They were presumably supplied by the editor of the *Magazine* (Froude).

Contents and Headlines : see p. 129 *n.*

The *Notes* added by the author in 1872 are here distinguished by being included in round brackets ; square brackets in earlier editions (see p. cxiii.).

Chapter i.—§ 2. This paragraph was printed as a footnote, with the following variations : line 1, "in modern days" for "lately in England" ; line 3, "the phenomena" for "some accidental phenomena" ; lines 3, 4, "modern" and "nor has it . . . these" were omitted ; lines 7, 8, "as long as it is allowed to pass" for "as long as its unscholarly and undefined statements are . . ." ; line 11, "either misunderstood or misapplied" for "nearly useless to mankind" ; line 17, "and as a misused word always is liable to involve an obscured thought, and all careful thinkers, either on this or any other subject are sure . . ."

§ 8, footnote, Appendix I. referred to in the note was printed at this place as a footnote.

§ 9, line 20, see p. 151 *n.*

§ 11, third line from end, "this paper" for "this first chapter."

§ 12, line 1, "Section I.—Wealth. Wealth, it has been said . . ."; footnote, the italics spoken of in the author's note of 1872 (p. 153) were here and there omitted in the original essays.

§ 14, last line, see p. 154 *n.*

§ 15, line 5, "and" before "medicine"; line 9, "We shall enter into separate inquiry as to the conditions of value under each of these heads. The following sketch of the entire subject may be useful for future reference."

§ 16, lines 1, 2, "A" and "B" for "first" and "secondly"; "A" and "B" were correspondingly inserted before "Its value" and "The second element"; lines 8, 9, the words "in order to give effectual value" followed "intrinsic value"; line 13, see p. 155 *n.*; line 16, see p. 155 *n.*; line 25, "forms" for "is"; line 26, see p. 155 *n.*

§ 17, lines 2 and 10, 13 and 29, "A" and "B" as above; line 14, see p. 156 *n.*; line 11, "secondarily" for "secondly."

§ 19, lines 2 and 4, again "A" and "B."

§ 21, "Section II.—Money"; line 7, see p. 158 *n.*

§ 22, line 1, "real" was omitted before "worth"; line 3, "which it professes to represent" after "labour."

§ 23, line 10, ". . . takes place exclusively in the new piece, according to the inferiority of its credit."

§ 25, line 1, "Finally" before "the use"; line 10, "of currency" for "proper to currency"; line 11, 'worth of money in the market" for "market worth of bullion"; last line, see p. 160 *n.*

§ 26, line 1, "Section III.—Riches"; lines 16, 17, "contrary only in the manner of the terms 'warmth' and 'cold,' of which . . ."

§ 27, line 12, "be" for "are"; lines 18, 19, see p. 161 *n.*

§ 28, lines 1–3, "Since there are two modes in which inequality, which is indeed the condition and constituent of riches, may be established—namely . . ."

§ 29, line 7, "A. Their power . . ." and similarly with "B" and "C" in lines 14 and 20; in lines 20, 21, "their redundance" for "the redundance of wealth."

§ 31, line 1, "last paper" for "first chapter"; line 3, ". . . definitions, so as to avoid confusion in their use when we enter into the detail of our subject"; line 13, "wealth consists in things exchangeable at rated prices" for "the worth of things depends on the demand for them, instead of on the use of them."

§ 32, line 13, "yet" before "become"; line 20, ". . . in proportion. They are separable by instinct and judgment, but not interchangeable; and in things . . ."

§ 33, line 1, "the" for "any," and "into which we have presently to enter" after "wealth"; line 8, "will" for "may."

§ 34, lines 1 and 2, "So that, finally, wealth is not the accidental . . . but the constant . . ."; lines 2 and 3, "only to" omitted and there are no italics; footnote, the Appendix II. here referred to was in the original printed as a footnote in this place; lines 7 and 8, "would be but

as the weighing"; line 11, "faithful" omitted; line 12, "she" omitted; line 13, "it" for "that she."

§ 35, line 24, "great" for "true"; line 29, "grain" for "atom"; lines 30 and 31, "its twin grain of governing capacity."

§ 36, lines 2 and 3, "that in estimating property which we cannot use as wealth, because it is exchangeable, we in reality . . ."

§ 37, line 5, "For a man's . . ."; line 6, "for himself" omitted; line 7, "to others" omitted; footnote, the "Appendix III." here referred to was originally printed as a footnote in this place; lines 36–41, "and whatever beautiful things you may obtain possession of," and "by servants, for whose maintenance you will be charged, and whom you will have the trouble of superintending" omitted; and "they" for "the accumulated property."

§ 38, lines 6–8, no italics; line 9, there was a misprint here (p. 268 in the original essay), which the author corrected (see below, p. 290 *n.*); line 14, see p. 169 *n.*; line 16, "probably" for "evil," and "the" omitted before "contents"; last line, "service" for "advantage"; footnote, in previous editions the whole of this was enclosed in brackets, thus denoting that none of it appeared in the original essay. This, however, is not the case; the terminal bracket is now placed at the end of the matter added in 1872. In the original note "somewhat" was inserted before "dogged."

§ 39, line 5, "the" for "his," and "our" for "the"; line 17, "a different rate and manner of variation is."

§ 40, line 1, "real or imaginary, that is to say," after "wealth"; footnote, "Appendix IV." was here printed as a footnote; line 3, "a" for "the"; line 8, after "other things" there was an asterisk, and the passage now in the text—"The question of equivalence . . . and so on"—was printed as a footnote, "namely" being inserted (in our line 10) before "how"; lines 19 and 20, "the labourer speedily uses this general order, or, in common . . ."; and in following lines, "order" and "it" for "order" and "them"; line 29, here however, in revising, Ruskin forgot to change "order" into "orders," and the correction is now made.

§ 41, lines 4–7, "But a Government may be far other than a conservative power. It may be on the one hand constructive, on the other destructive. If a constructive, or improving power, using . . ."; line 12, see p. 172 *n.*

§ 42, lines 4, 6, 8, "(A)," "(B)," and "(C)" inserted.

§ 43, line 4, see p. 173 *n.*

§ 50, line 12, see p. 177 *n.*; line 17, the collected editions all read "combustible"; "combustibles" is now read, in accordance with the original essay.

§ 51, line 1, "above" for "in § 49."

§ 54, line 11, "does not follow" for "cannot be assumed."

§ 58, line 18, see p. 182 *n.*

§ 59, line 4, see p. 183 *n.*; footnote, last line, "all" italicised.

§ 60, footnote, see p. 184 *n.*

§ 61, line 9, "irrespectively of any questions of demand or supply" for "being dependent much on application of money."

§ 62, footnote, lines 19–20, see p. 185 *n.* § 62, line 4, "price" not italicised; line 21, see p. 187 *n.*

§ 63, line 9, "their" omitted before "existence."

§ 65, line 13, "strong or weak" not italicised.

§ 66, line 15, "quantity" for "need."

§ 67, line 16, "necessarily" omitted; lines 18 and 19, "and as an expression of passion, plays a more and more important part in the nations . . ."; line 21, again "part" for "power."

Chapter iii.—§ 68, line 1, "paper" for "chapter."

§ 69, lines 1 and 2, no italics; lines 15–23, see p. 195 *n.*

§ 71, lines 13–15, see p. 196 *n.*

§ 76, line 23, "so" was placed before "as to despise"; see also p. 199 *n.*

§ 77, author's second footnote, the words "(consisting of herds and cattle)" were inserted in 1872; author's fourth footnote, "stater" for "drachma," and "sequin" for "zecchin"; "daguerreotyping Venetian architecture" for "taking daguerreotypes at Venice." Two of these corrections were made by Ruskin in his terminal note (see p. 290 *n.*).

§ 78, lines 6 and 9, "Incontroversible currencies, those of . . . interfere with its causes."

§ 79, lines 6–8, see p. 201 *n.*; line 10, "pursue" for "visit," and see p. 201 *n.*; line 15, the "quick" in "quicksand" not italicised.

§ 80, line 8, "(whatever its credit power)" inserted after document; line 9, "therefore" omitted; line 10, "being" inserted after "as"; and "and his subsequent will to work," after "issuer"; last line, see p. 202 *n.*

§ 81, author's footnote, line 8, "gradated" (the form commonly used by Ruskin) for "graduated."

§ 82, author's footnote, line 2, "still time" for "time still."

§ 83, line 1, "Finally" for "Farther."

§ 84, lines 3 and 4, "chiefly" omitted, and "depends" for "depend"; lines 6 and 7, see p. 206 *n.*; lines 16 and 17, "vileness of nature and of use"; lines 21 and 22, "competition" for "consequent dispute," "of them" omitted after "accumulation," and "reckoning" for "estimate of them."

§ 85, line 1, "Now, the" for "The"; lines 4 and 5, "the more they tire of them and want to change . . ."; line 7, ". . . currency; while the large . . ."; lines 11 and 12, "vacancy in idea" omitted; line 12, "*absoluteness*" for "seclusion"; last three lines, "measure superiorities in other things; but everybody can understand money and count it."

§ 86, last line, see p. 208 *n.*

§§ 87–94, see author's footnote, p. 208.

§ 87, line 29, "respecting" for "of"; line 32, "of" for "in."

§ 88, line 7, "*none*" not italicised; lines 10 and 11, "compare . . . turba" omitted (see Ruskin's terminal note, p. 290 *n.*); line 17, "soccorrien" was misprinted "toccarrien"—corrected by Ruskin in his terminal note (see p. 290 *n.*); line 18, "sight" has hitherto been misprinted "light"; line 33, see p. 210 *n.*

§ 90, line 5, "πλοῦτου" for "πλούτου"; line 18, "constant" for "divine."

§ 91, lines 12–16, ". . . cave; to men she gives no rich feast, nothing but pure . . . corn, milk, and wine, the three . . ."; line 17, "(see Appendix V.)" omitted.

§ 94, line 27, see p. 216 *n.*

Chapter iv.—§ 95, line 3, "and" for "so that."

§ 97, line 4, "or rob" omitted; line 5, "lake" for "sea," and

instead of "etc.," "or over a mountain, though not across a lake, etc."; lines 9 and 10, "over a mountain but not over a ferry" for "fifty miles, but not in being carried five"; line 12, "*one*" not italicised, nor any italics in lines 14 and 15.

§ 98, line 2, "Now note that" omitted; line 3, for "*in itself*" read "as such"; line 22, "a just one" for "just pay"; line 36, "in" for "on" before "rent" and "price"; line 42, see p. 220 *n.*

§ 100, line 8, "it harden" for "that hardens"; lines 13 and 14, no italics; line 32, the original essay (p. 754) and all editions hitherto have misprinted "learning" for "leaning," though Ruskin himself corrected it in *Fraser's Magazine* (see below, p. 290 *n.*); fourth line from end, see p. 224 *n.*

§ 101, author's footnote, the first lines—"As Charis . . . 'Cherish'"—were in the original essay printed as a separate footnote, appended to the word "Labour" in our line 10 of § 101; this was an error; the note was intended to be appended to the word "Charitas" in § 102, line 1—Ruskin noted this error in the *Magazine* (see p. 290 *n.*, below). § 101, author's footnote, lines 6–8, see p. 225 *n.*; last line of footnote, "cruel people or" omitted; § 101, line 23, "etc." after "Phæaxque"; line 28, here the present § 104 was appended as a footnote; line 31, "deal with" for "employ themselves in."

§ 102, author's footnote, a few misprints in accents in all previous editions have now been corrected. In the original essay "*ὠνομακέναι*" was misprinted "*αναγόμεναι*"—corrected by Ruskin in his terminal note (see p. 290 *n.*); this was corrected in 1872, when also the English translation was added.

§ 103, lines 9 and 10, "not merely . . . mast" were in error printed after the quotation from George Herbert (in which "passion's" in all previous editions is here corrected to "passions'").

§ 104, line 9, "IS" in *Fraser* and ed. 1; the capitals dropped out in the smaller editions.

§ 106, lines 1–4, "It remains, in order to complete the series of our definitions, that we examine the general conditions of government, and fix the sense in which we are to use, in future, the terms applied to them"; line 13, "or accomplishment" added after "completeness"; line 18, "practice, or" added before "ethical."

§ 107, last three lines, see p. 223 *n.*

§ 108, line 1, see p. 223 *n.*; line 5, "and" for "or"; line 6, "surrounding" omitted.

§ 109, line 9, "but" omitted; author's footnote, line 14, see p. 235 *n.*; the references in this note to Xenophon's *Economist* have been wrongly given in all previous editions: they are here corrected from "i. 4" and "i. 6" to "iv. 3" and "vi. 5"; § 109, lines 17–19, see p. 235 *n.*; last line, see p. 236 *n.*; in the author's footnote to the last line the English translation was introduced in 1872.

§ 111, line 1, "A. Archic Law" omitted.

§ 112, last line but one, "at that bridle rein" for "at the bridle."

§ 113, last line, see p. 239 *n.*

§ 114, line 1, "B" omitted.

§ 115, line 16 to end, the words—"These laws . . . subjected"—were in the original essay printed as a footnote (the word "and" being added when they were raised to the text); line 35, "are schools" for "is a

school"; line 36, "*treasuries*" not italicised; lines 39, 40, see p. 240 *n.*; line 43, "While, finally" for "Finally."

§ 116, line 1, "C" omitted; line 3 to end, this passage was printed as a footnote; line 13, "funds devoted to disputation" for "exercise in oratory."

§ 117, lines 1 and 2, "Therefore, in order to true analysis of it, we . . . this word 'injury'"; line 7, "*un*" not italicised; line 9, "carelessness" for "indolence."

§ 118, line 7, "or" before "help"; line 8, "by" omitted.

§ 119, line 7 to end, see p. 242 *n.*; also "*De*" and "*Ef*" not italicised.

§ 120, line 2, again no italics; line 4, "old" between "great" and "wrathful"; line 10, "as straight and earnest" for "strong," and correspondingly in line 12, "as" for "but stronger still."

§ 121, line 1, "are" for "are part of"; line 2, see p. 243 *n.*; lines 9 and 10, see p. 243 *n.*; line 13, see p. 244 *n.*; last five lines, ". . . and governors; the modes of such discernment forming the real 'constitution' of the state, and not the titles . . . fulfil it. And this brings us to the third division of our subject."

§ 122, line 14, "fights battles, or directs that they be fought" for "orders war or peace"; line 15, "exponent" for "arbiter"; last line, see p. 245 *n.*

§ 124, author's second footnote, see p. 247 *n.* § 124, line 28, see p. 247 *n.*; author's third footnote, line 1, "expressed the popular security wisely, saying" for "says"; line 4, "Yes, and when the four winds (your only pilots) steer competitively from the four corners, "ὡς δ' ὅτ' . . . ἀκάνθας, perhaps the mariner may wish for keel and wheel again"; at the end of the section, in the quotation from Carlyle, a few typographical alterations are here made in accordance with Carlyle's text.

§ 125, line 3, "either to be" for "to be either"; lines 6, 7, no italics.

§ 126, line 9, "Then for tyranny" omitted, and correspondingly in line 11, "of tyranny" for "of it"; line 11, "nearly" for "closely"; line 16, "Tennant" in all previous editions is here corrected to "Tennent."

§ 127, line 3, "*costly*" not italicised.

§ 128, line 3, no italics; line 8, "I am prepared to admit"; line 14, "it would be" for "would it not be"; line 24, "the averting of hostile liquid fire"; line 25, see p. 252 *n.*; line 29, "parcels—" inserted before "even"; last lines, see p. 253 *n.*

§ 129, line 1, "thus" omitted, and see p. 253 *n.*; line 19, "inferring" for "implying"; line 26, "the previous paper" for "§ 105."

§ 130, lines 8, 9, "or even . . . placed in it" omitted; line 16, "highly" for "very"; line 36, "her brother" for "Apollo."

§ 131, lines 2, 3, no italics.

§ 132, lines 2, 3, no italics; lines 8–10, see p. 256 *n.*

§ 133, line 2, no italics; in the latter portion of this section the original essay omitted "(Ariel in the pine)," "("in the cowslip-bell I lie")," or "(Caliban's slavery and freedom)," and "themselves" after "Ariel and Caliban," and "or diminished" at the end, and in line 9, read "clothes-stealing" for "drinking."

§ 134, line 1, see p. 257 *n.*; line 3, "the attack of Caliban on" for "Caliban attacking." § 134, author's second footnote, this in the original essay was a continuation of the note analysing the *Tempest*, which is now

printed in the main text; for alterations in this second note, see p. 257 *n.* § 134, lines 9–11, ". . . spirits of freedom and mechanical labour. Prospero . . ."; line 15, "*raven's feather*" not italicised; line 18, "phantasms of God" for "divine phantasms"; line 20, "all fondness and emptiness" for "fond and empty"; line 22, "true liberty" for "generous and free-hearted service"; lines 24 and 25, and 42, quotation marks have been inserted in this edition; line 25, "fearful" for "dreadful"; line 29, see p. 259 *n.*; line 35, "power of liberty" for "*vis viva*"; line 37, "*after*" not italicised.

§ 135, line 2, "somewhat" before "more length," and "matter" for "subject of slavery."

Chapter vi.—§ 136, line 2, "we must study this relation in its simplest . . ." § 136, author's footnote, line 2, "*innocent*" not italicised; "I assume poverty . . ." § 136, lines 20 and 21, "of your work" and "for it" omitted, and see p. 263 *n.*

§ 137, last two lines, no italics; nor were there any in §§ 138, 139.

§ 139, line 1, "rare" for "rarely," and line 9, "of the weaving" after "design" (the author's statement, p. 264 *n.*, that he had not altered a syllable in the paragraph requires this small amount of qualification).

§ 140, lines 7 and 8, "expressions" for "expression," "of foolish convictions" for "of foul and foolish convictions"; lines 10 and 11, "and malicious" omitted; last line, "misconception" for "misrepresentation."

§ 141, line 10, "only" for "but"; line 11, "*all*" not italicised; line 15, "clothing, and in" for "clothing,—in"; lines 16 and 17, "and around his fields a wedge of wall against flood" omitted; line 19, "many of" for "half," and "peasantry" for "peasants"; line 23, "*not*" not italicised.

§ 142, lines 2 and 3, "not only" omitted, and "and" for "but."

§ 143, line 2, the words "At the end of a few years" are put before "We may conceive"; lines 3 and 4, no italics; last line but one, "true" for "rational."

§ 144, line 9, see p. 267 *n.*

§ 145, lines 5 and 6, "entirely recommendable; or even" omitted; line 9, "I only wish" for "But I am determined that," and "to" for "shall"; line 10, "and see" omitted; line 13, "master" for "masters" and "you" for "we"; line 15, "may Heaven" for "God"; lines 33 and 36, no italics; last two lines, "man" for "manly people," and "child" for "childish one."

§ 146, lines 1 and 2, "There may be thus, and, to a certain extent, there always is a government . . ."; lines 4 and 5, ". . . it consists, observe, of two distinct functions—the collection . . ."; line 8, "or" for "and when it is dishonourable"; lines 9–11, "for" for "it consists . . . appropriation to."

§ 147, lines 9 and 10, no italics; line 16, "in Savoy" omitted; line 29, "there for" in *Fraser*, "therefore" in eds. 1 and 2; "therefor," afterwards.

§ 148, lines 8 and 9, ". . . chance of bullet, for their pride's sake, . . ."

§ 149, line 27, "hour of year" for "season."

§ 150, line 1, "But" for "Going back to the matter in hand"; line 8, "with" for "lighted by," "small" omitted, and "in it" after "window"; line 9, "entered by" omitted.

§ 151, line 11, "of the evening" for "in the evening"; line 12, "without nails" after "the panels"; line 14, "fastening" omitted; lines 14,

15, "with useless precision" omitted; lines 16, 17, "fasten" and "with decent strength" omitted; line 18, "*He*" not italicised.

§ 152, line 14, no italics.

§ 153, lines 28, 29, "it" for "he does," "know" omitted, and "any evil" for "for disease." § 153, author's second footnote, in the last line "42" is a misprint in all previous editions for "12."

§ 154, line 7, "promise anything" for "hope."

§ 155, author's footnote, lines 3 and 4, in *Fraser:* "Men are apt to watch rather the exchanges in a state than its damages; but the exchanges are only of importance so far as they bring about these last. A large . . ." In eds. 1–3 as in the present text; in the later editions "IS" was not printed in capitals. § 155, footnote, line 11, "fact" for "reality"; line 16, see p. 279 *n.*

§ 158, quotation from Carlyle, see p. 280 *n.*

§ 159, line 6, "then" for "secondly"; line 9, "icewards" and "sunwards" transposed; line 10, "you" inserted after "given"; line 14, "you have" for "it has"; line 17, see p. 282 *n.*

§ 160, line 6, see p. 282 *n.*

Appendices.—Introductory passage added in 1872.

Appendix i.—Line 13, ". . . of justice. The necessity . . ."; lines 22 and 23, ". . . of the results of the want of education of large masses of nations in principles of justice"; and see below, p. 286 *n.*; line 25, "among nations, is" for "prove." For other, and more extensive, alterations in this Appendix, see pp. 285, 286 *nn.*

Appendix ii.—This Appendix appeared in the original essays as a footnote to § 34 (at our line 3). Lines 9 and 10, see p. 287 *n.*; line 13, ". . . for bitter, so betraying the first of all Loyalties . . ."; line 15, "serving" for "serve," and "dwelling" for "House"; line 16, see p. 287 *n.*; line 21, "*image-* or likeness-breaking" for "*image*-breaking"; line 23, "in resolution or persuasion" for "to do, or persuade to doing"; last line, "a phantasm" for "an imagination."

Appendix iii.—This appeared in the original essays as a footnote to § 37 (at our line 14). Lines 1–3, "I reserve until the completion of these papers any support, by the authority of other writers, of the statements made in them; indeed were such authorities wisely sought for and shown, there would be . . ."; line 8, "seven" for "a hundred"; line 9, "exclaimed" for "revolted"; line 15, "preceding" inserted before "passages"; end of the Appendix, see p. 288 *n.*

Appendix iv.—This appeared in the original essays as a footnote to § 40. Lines 20–21, ". . . purity of bodily ailment, as well as of religious conviction? Why, having . . ."; line 22, "they may" for "may they"; line 24, "spiritual" for "theological"; line 27, "inconvenient," for "inapplicable"; end of the Appendix, see p. 289 *n.*

Appendix v.—For the place of this and the following Appendix in the original essays, see p. 290 *n.* Lines 6–7, "usual useful ingenuity" for "customary helpfulness"; lines 12–13, ". . . myths, respecting them all I have but this to say: Even . . ."; line 18, "high" for "mute"; line 20, see p. 291 *n.*; last line, "*no*" not italicised.

Appendix vi.—Line 4, "even" for "often much"; line 18, "in the daytime" for "at noon."]

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[1] [In all editions hitherto the "Contents" have been merely "Chap. I. Definitions," "II. Store-Keeping," and so on; but in eds. 1 and 2 Ruskin indicated the contents of the various pages by additions to the headlines, thus: "Chap. I. Definitions (Economy)," "Chap. II. Store-Keeping (Of Good Things)," and so on. In later editions (owing to the re-setting of the text) these descriptive headlines were abandoned, and here also it has been found impossible so to give them; but the above list preserves them in a different form. The titles of the Appendices are, however, supplied by the editors, as no descriptive headlines were given to them in eds. 1 and 2.]

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PREFACE

[1872]

1. THE following pages contain, I believe, the first accurate analysis of the laws of Political Economy which has been published in England. Many treatises, within their scope, correct, have appeared in contradiction of the views popularly received;[1] but no exhaustive examination of the subject was possible to any person unacquainted with the value of the products of the highest industries, commonly called the "Fine Arts"; and no one acquainted with the nature of those industries has, so far as I know, attempted, or even approached, the task.

So that, to the date (1863) when these Essays were published, not only the chief conditions of the production of wealth had remained unstated, but the nature of wealth itself had never been defined. "Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by wealth," wrote Mr. Mill, in the outset of his treatise;[2] and contentedly proceeded, as if a chemist should proceed to investigate the laws of chemistry without endeavouring to ascertain the nature of fire or water, because every one had a notion of them, "sufficiently correct for common purposes."

2. But even that apparently indisputable statement was untrue. There is not one person in ten thousand who has

[1] [As Ruskin was almost certainly not familiar with the works of the German Historical School of Economists, he probably was thinking here of such English treatises as that of Richard Jones on *Rent* (1831), attacking Ricardo, and John Lalor's *Money and Morals* (1852). Perhaps he was thinking also of Carlyle's various assaults on "the dismal science" (see Ruskin's letter to Dr. John Brown quoted above, p. xxxiv.).]

[2] [See *Unto this Last*, Preface, § 2; above, p. 18.]

a notion sufficiently correct, even for the commonest purposes, of "what is meant" by wealth; still less of what wealth everlastingly *is*, whether we mean it or not; which it is the business of every student of economy to ascertain. We, indeed, know (either by experience or in imagination) what it is to be able to provide ourselves with luxurious food, and handsome clothes; and if Mr. Mill had thought that wealth consisted only in these, or in the means of obtaining these, it would have been easy for him to have so defined it with perfect scientific accuracy. But he knew better: he knew that some kinds of wealth consisted in the possession, or power of obtaining, other things than these; but, having, in the studies of his life, no clue to the principles of essential value, he was compelled to take public opinion as the ground of his science; and the public, of course, willingly accepted the notion of a science founded on their opinions.

3. I had, on the contrary, a singular advantage, not only in the greater extent of the field of investigation opened to me by my daily pursuits, but in the severity of some lessons I accidentally received in the course of them.

When, in the winter of 1851, I was collecting materials for my work on Venetian architecture, three of the pictures of Tintoret on the roof of the School of St. Roch were hanging down in ragged fragments, mixed with lath and plaster, round the apertures made by the fall of three Austrian heavy shot.[1] The city of Venice was not, it appeared, rich enough to repair the damage that winter; and buckets were set on the floor of the upper room of the school to catch the rain, which not only fell directly through the shot holes, but found its way, owing to the generally pervious state of the roof, through many of the canvases of Tintoret in other parts of the ceiling.

4. It was a lesson to me, as I have just said, no less

[1] [For other references to this incident, see Vol. XII. p. 421, and Vol. XVI. p. 76 *n.*; and for similar neglect in 1846, Vol. IV. pp. 40, 395, and Vol. X. p. 437.]

direct than severe; for I knew already at that time (though I have not ventured to assert, until recently at Oxford,[1]) that the pictures of Tintoret in Venice were accurately the most precious articles of wealth in Europe, being the best existing productions of human industry. Now at the time that three of them were thus fluttering in moist rags from the roof they had adorned, the shops of the Rue Rivoli at Paris were, in obedience to a steadily-increasing public Demand, beginning to show a steadily-increasing Supply of elaborately finished and coloured lithographs, representing the modern dances of delight, among which the cancan[2] has since taken a distinguished place.

5. The labour employed on the stone of one of these lithographs is very much more than Tintoret was in the habit of giving to a picture of average size. Considering labour as the origin of value, therefore, the stone so highly wrought would be of greater value than the picture; and since also it is capable of producing a large number of immediately saleable or exchangeable impressions, for which the "demand" is constant, the city of Paris naturally supposed itself, and on all hitherto believed or stated principles of political economy, was, infinitely richer in the possession of a large number of these lithographic stones, (not to speak of countless oil pictures and marble carvings of similar character), than Venice in the possession of those rags of mildewed canvas, flaunting in the south wind and its salt rain. And, accordingly, Paris provided (without thought of the expense) lofty arcades of shops, and rich recesses of innumerable private apartments, for the protection of these better treasures of hers from the weather.[3]

6. Yet, all the while, Paris was not the richer for these possessions. Intrinsically, the delightful lithographs were not wealth, but polar contraries of wealth. She was, by

[1] [In the lecture on "The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret," delivered in 1871.]

[2] [See below, *Time and Tide*, § 48, p. 357.]

[3] [For another reference to the Rue de Rivoli, see Vol. IX. p. 257.]

the exact quantity of labour she had given to produce these, sunk below, instead of above, absolute Poverty. They not only were false Riches—they were true *Debt* which had to be paid at last—and the present aspect of the Rue Rivoli shows in what manner.[1]

And the faded stains of the Venetian ceiling, all the while, were absolute and inestimable wealth. Useless to their possessors as forgotten treasure in a buried city, they had in them, nevertheless, the intrinsic and eternal nature of wealth; and Venice, still possessing the ruins of them, was a rich city; only, the Venetians had *not* a notion sufficiently correct even for the very common purpose of inducing them to put slates on a roof, of what was "meant by wealth."

7. The vulgar economist would reply that his science had nothing to do with the qualities of pictures, but with their exchange-value only; and that his business was, exclusively, to consider whether the remains of Tintoret were worth as many ten-and-sixpences as the impressions which might be taken from the lithographic stones.

But he would not venture, without reserve, to make such an answer, if the example be taken in horses, instead of pictures. The most dull economist would perceive and admit, that a gentleman who had a fine stud of horses was absolutely richer than one who had only ill-bred and broken-winded ones. He would instinctively feel, though his pseudo-science had never taught him, that the price paid for the animals, in either case, did not alter the fact of their worth; that the good horse, though it might have been bought by chance for a few guineas, was not therefore less valuable, nor the owner of the galled jade any the richer, because he had given a hundred for it.

8. So that the economist, in saying that his science takes no account of the qualities of pictures, merely signifies that he cannot conceive of any quality of essential badness

[1] [The date was 1872, the reference thus being to the destruction caused by the Commune.]

or goodness existing in pictures; and that he is incapable of investigating the laws of wealth in such articles. Which is the fact. But, being incapable of defining intrinsic value in pictures, it follows that he must be equally helpless to define the nature of intrinsic value in painted glass, or in painted pottery, or in patterned stuffs, or in any other national produce requiring true human ingenuity. Nay, though capable of conceiving the idea of intrinsic value with respect to beasts of burden, no economist has endeavoured to state the general principles of National Economy, even with regard to the horse or the ass. And, in fine, *the modern political economists have been, without exception, incapable of apprehending the nature of intrinsic value at all.*[1]

9. And the first specialty of the following treatise consists in its giving at the outset, and maintaining as the foundation of all subsequent reasoning, a definition of Intrinsic Value, and Intrinsic Contrary-of-Value; the negative power having been left by former writers entirely out of account, and the positive power left entirely undefined.

But, secondly: the modern economist, ignoring intrinsic value, and accepting the popular estimate of things as the only ground of his science, has imagined himself to have ascertained the constant laws regulating the relation of this popular demand to its supply; or, at least, to have proved that demand and supply were connected by heavenly balance, over which human foresight had no power. I chanced, by singular coincidence, lately to see this theory of the law of demand and supply brought to as sharp practical issue in another great siege, as I had seen the theories of intrinsic value brought, in the siege of Venice.[2]

10. I had the honour of being on the committee under the presidentship of the Lord Mayor of London, for the victualling of Paris after her surrender.[3] It became, at one

[1] [Compare the *Crown of Wild Olive* Introduction, § 8.]

[2] [See above, § 3. Venice surrendered to the Austrians after a siege of fifteen months on August 22, 1849.]

[3] [January 1871; see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 33 (Notes and Correspondence). For other references to the siege of Paris, see *Aratra Pentelici*, § 208; and here, § 48, p. 175 *n.*]

period of our sittings, a question of vital importance at what moment the law of demand and supply would come into operation, and what the operation of it would exactly be: the demand on this occasion, being very urgent indeed; that of several millions of people within a few hours of utter starvation, for any kind of food whatsoever. Nevertheless, it was admitted, in the course of debate, to be probable that the divine principle of demand and supply might find itself at the eleventh hour, and some minutes over, in want of carts and horses; and we ventured so far to interfere with the divine principle as to provide carts and horses, with haste which proved, happily, in time for the need; but not a moment in advance of it. It was farther recognised by the committee that the divine principle of demand and supply would commence its operations by charging the poor of Paris twelve-pence for a penny's worth of whatever they wanted; and would end its operations by offering them twelve-pence worth for a penny, of whatever they didn't want. Whereupon it was concluded by the committee that the tiny knot, on this special occasion, was scarcely "*dignus vindice*,"[1] by the divine principle of demand and supply: and that we would venture, for once, in a profane manner, to provide for the poor of Paris what they wanted, when they wanted it. Which, to the value of the sums entrusted to us, it will be remembered we succeeded in doing.

11. But the fact is that the so-called "Law," which was felt to be false in this case of extreme exigence, is alike false in cases of less exigence. It is false always, and everywhere. Nay, to such an extent is its existence imaginary, that the vulgar economists are not even agreed in their account of it; for some of them mean by it, only that prices are regulated by the relation between demand and supply, which is partly true; and others mean that the relation itself is one with the process of which it is unwise to interfere; a statement which is not only, as in

[1] [Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 191 ("dignus vindice nodus").]

the above instance, untrue; but accurately the reverse of the truth: for all wise economy, political or domestic, consists in the resolved maintenance of a given relation between supply and demand, other than the instinctive, or (directly) natural, one.

12. Similarly, vulgar political economy asserts for a "law" that wages are determined by competition.

Now I pay my servants exactly what wages I think necessary to make them comfortable. The sum is not determined at all by competition; but sometimes by my notions of their comfort and deserving, and sometimes by theirs. If I were to become penniless to-morrow, several of them would certainly still serve me for nothing.

In both the real and supposed cases the so-called "law" of vulgar political economy is absolutely set at defiance. But I cannot set the law of gravitation at defiance, nor determine that in my house I will not allow ice to melt, when the temperature is above thirty-two degrees. A true law outside of my house will remain a true one inside of it. It is not, therefore, a law of Nature that wages are determined by competition. Still less is it a law of State, or we should not now be disputing about it publicly, to the loss of many millions of pounds to the country. The fact which vulgar economists have been weak enough to imagine a law, is only that, for the last twenty years a number of very senseless persons have attempted to determine wages in that manner; and have, in a measure, succeeded in occasionally doing so.

13. Both in definition of the elements of wealth, and in statement of the laws which govern its distribution, modern political economy has been thus absolutely incompetent, or absolutely false. And the following treatise is not as it has been asserted with dull pertinacity, an endeavour to put sentiment in the place of science;[1] but it

[1] [Compare § 99 *n.*; below, p. 222. For a reply by Ruskin to the charge of "sentimentality," see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 41; and for passages in which he emphasises "the intensely practical character of his mind," see *ibid.*, Letter 37, and *Præterita*, ii. § 197.]

contains the exposure of what insolently pretended to be a science; and the definition, hitherto unassailed—and I do not fear to assert, unassailable — of the material elements with which political economy has to deal, and the moral principles in which it consists; being not itself a science, but "a system of conduct founded on the sciences, and impossible, except under certain conditions of moral culture."[1] Which is only to say, that industry, frugality, and discretion, the three foundations of economy, are moral qualities, and cannot be attained without moral discipline: a flat truism, the reader may think, thus stated, yet a truism which is denied both vociferously, and in all endeavour, by the entire populace of Europe; who are at present hopeful of obtaining wealth by tricks of trade, without industry; who, possessing wealth, have lost in the use of it even the conception,—how much more the habit?—of frugality; and who, in the choice of the elements of wealth, cannot so much as lose—since they have never hitherto at any time possessed,—the faculty of discretion.

14. Now if the teachers of the pseudo-science of economy had ventured to state distinctly even the poor conclusions they had reached on the subjects respecting which it is most dangerous for a populace to be indiscreet, they would have soon found, by the use made of them, which were true, and which false.

But on main and vital questions, no political economist has hitherto ventured to state one guiding principle. I will instance three subjects of universal importance. National Dress. National Rent. National Debt.

Now if we are to look in any quarter for a systematic and exhaustive statement of the principles of a given science, it must certainly be from its Professor at Cambridge.

15. Take the last edition[2] of Professor Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy*, and forming, first, clearly in your

[1] [See below, ch. i. § 1; p. 147.]
[2] [The third edition, published in 1869.]

mind these three following questions, see if you can find an answer to them.

I. Does expenditure of capital on the production of luxurious dress and furniture tend to make a nation rich or poor?

II. Does the payment, by the nation, of a tax on its land, or on the produce of it, to a certain number of private persons, to be expended by them as they please, tend to make the nation rich or poor?

III. Does the payment, by the nation, for an indefinite period, of interest on money borrowed from private persons, tend to make the nation rich or poor?

These three questions are, all of them, perfectly simple, and primarily vital. Determine these, and you have at once a basis for national conduct in all important particulars. Leave them undetermined, and there is no limit to the distress which may be brought upon the people by the cunning of its knaves, and the folly of its multitudes.

I will take the three in their order.

16. (I.) Dress. The general impression on the public mind at this day is, that the luxury of the rich in dress and furniture is a benefit to the poor. Probably not even the blindest of our political economists would venture to assert this in so many words. But where do they assert the contrary? During the entire period of the reign of the late Emperor it was assumed in France, as the first principle of fiscal government, that a large portion of the funds received as rent from the provincial labourer should be expended in the manufacture of ladies' dresses in Paris. Where is the political economist in France, or England, who ventured to assert the conclusions of his science as adverse to this system? As early as the year 1857 I had done my best to show the nature of the error, and to give warning of its danger;* but not one of the men who

* *Political Economy of Art.* (Smith and Elder, 1857, pp. 65–76.[1])

[1] [See now Vol. XVI. pp. 47–53.]

had the foolish ears of the people intent on their words, dared to follow me in speaking what would have been an offence to the powers of trade; and the powers of trade in Paris had their full way for fourteen years more,—with this result, to-day,—as told us in precise and curt terms by the Minister of Public Instruction,*—

"We have replaced glory by gold, work by speculation, faith and honour by scepticism. To absolve or glorify immorality; to make much of loose women; to gratify our eyes with luxury, our ears with the tales of orgies; to aid in the manœuvres of public robbers, or to applaud them; to laugh at morality, and only believe in success; to love nothing but pleasure, adore nothing but force; to replace work with a fecundity of fancies; to speak without thinking; to prefer noise to glory; to erect sneering into a system, and lying into an institution—is this the spectacle that we have seen?—is this the society that we have been?"

Of course, other causes, besides the desire of luxury in furniture and dress, have been at work to produce such consequences; but the most active cause of all has been the passion for these; passion unrebuked by the clergy, and, for the most part, provoked by economists, as advantageous to commerce; nor need we think that such results have been arrived at in France only; we are ourselves following rapidly on the same road. France, in her old wars with us, never was so fatally our enemy as she has been in the fellowship of fashion, and the freedom of trade: nor, to my mind, is any fact recorded of Assyrian or Roman luxury more ominous, or ghastly, than one which came to my knowledge a few weeks ago, in England; a respectable and well-to-do father and mother, in a quiet north country town, being turned into the streets in their old age, at the suit of their only daughter's milliner.

17. (II.) Rent. The following account of the real nature of rent is given, quite accurately, by Professor

* See report of speech[1] of M. Jules Simon, in *Pall Mall Gazette* of October 27th, 1871.

[1] [At the annual meeting of the Institute of France.]

Fawcett, at page 112 of the last edition of his *Political Economy:*[1]—

"Every country has probably been subjugated, and grants of vanquished territory were the ordinary rewards which the conquering chief bestowed upon his more distinguished followers. . . . Lands obtained by force had to be defended by force; and before law had asserted her supremacy, and property was made secure, no baron was able to retain his possessions, unless those who lived on his estates were prepared to defend them. . . .* As property became secure, and landlords felt that the power of the State would protect them in all the rights of property, every vestige of these feudal tenures was abolished, and the relation between landlord and tenant has thus become purely commercial. A landlord offers his land to any one who is willing to take it; he is anxious to receive the highest rent he can obtain. What are the principles which regulate the rent which may thus be paid?"

These principles the Professor goes on contentedly to investigate, never appearing to contemplate for an instant the possibility of the first principle in the whole business —the maintenance, by force, of the possession of land obtained by force, being ever called in question by any human mind. It is, nevertheless, the nearest task of our day to discover how far original theft may be justly encountered by reactionary theft, or whether reactionary theft be indeed theft at all; and farther, what, excluding either original or corrective theft, are the just conditions of the possession of land.

18. (III.) Debt. Long since, when, a mere boy, I used to sit silently listening to the conversation of the London merchants who, all of them good and sound men of business, were wont occasionally to meet round my father's dining-table, nothing used to surprise me more than the conviction openly expressed by some of the soundest and most cautious of them, that "if there were no National debt they would not know what to do with their money, or where to place it

* The omitted sentences merely amplify the statement; they in no wise modify it.

[1] [Book ii. ch. iii. *ad init.* Compare *Fors Clavigera,* Letter 22, where this passage is referred to, and the subject of Rent and Land Tenure further discussed.]

safely." At the 399th page of his Manual,[1] you will find Professor Fawcett giving exactly the same statement—

> "In our own country, this certainty against risk of loss is provided by the public funds;"

and again, as on the question of rent, the Professor proceeds, without appearing for an instant to be troubled by any misgiving that there may be an essential difference between the effects on national prosperity of a Government paying interest on money which it spent in fireworks fifty years ago, and of a Government paying interest on money to be employed to-day on productive labour.

That difference, which the reader will find stated and examined at length, in §§ 127–129 of this volume, it is the business of economists, before approaching any other question relating to government, fully to explain. And the paragraphs to which I refer, contain, I believe, the only definite statement of it hitherto made.

19. The practical result of the absence of any such statement is, that capitalists, when they do not know what to do with their money, persuade the peasants, in various countries, that the said peasants want guns to shoot each other with. The peasants accordingly borrow guns, out of the manufacture of which the capitalists get a percentage, and men of science much amusement and credit. Then the peasants shoot a certain number of each other, until they get tired; and burn each other's homes down in various places. Then they put the guns back into towers, arsenals, etc., in ornamental patterns; (and the victorious party put also some ragged flags in churches). And then the capitalists tax both, annually, ever afterwards, to pay interest on the loan of the guns and gunpowder.[2] And that is what capitalists call "knowing what to do with their money"; and what commercial men in general call "practical" as opposed to "sentimental" Political Economy.

[1] [Book iii. ch. xii.]

[2] [On this subject of capitalist-made war, compare *Unto this Last*, § 76 *n.*; above, pp. 103–104.]

20. Eleven years ago, in the summer of 1860, perceiving then fully, (as Carlyle had done long before), what distress was about to come on the said populace of Europe through these errors of their teachers, I began to do the best I might, to combat them, in the series of papers for the *Cornhill Magazine*, since published under the title of *Unto this Last*. The editor of the Magazine[1] was my friend, and ventured the insertion of the three first essays; but the outcry against them became then too strong for any editor to endure, and he wrote to me, with great discomfort to himself, and many apologies to me, that the Magazine must only admit one Economical Essay more.

I made, with his permission, the last one longer than the rest, and gave it blunt conclusion as well as I could—and so the book now stands; but, as I had taken not a little pains with the Essays, and knew that they contained better work than most of my former writings, and more important truths than all of them put together, this violent reprobation of them by the *Cornhill* public set me still more gravely thinking; and, after turning the matter hither and thither in my mind for two years more, I resolved to make it the central work of my life to write an exhaustive treatise on Political Economy. It would not have been begun, at that time, however, had not the editor of *Fraser's Magazine*[2] written to me, saying that he believed there was something in my theories, and would risk the admission of what I chose to write on this dangerous subject; whereupon, cautiously, and at intervals, during the winter of 1862–63, I sent him, and he ventured to print, the preface of the intended work, divided into four chapters. Then, though the Editor had not wholly lost courage, the Publisher indignantly interfered; and the readers of *Fraser*, as those of the *Cornhill*, were protected, for that time, from farther disturbance on my part. Subsequently, loss of health, family distress,[3] and various

[1] [Thackeray: see above, Introduction, p. xxviii.]
[2] [Froude: see above, Introduction, p. l.]
[3] [The death of his father in March 1864.]

untoward chances, prevented my proceeding with the body of the book;—seven years have passed ineffectually; and I am now fain to reprint the Preface by itself, under the title which I intended for the whole.

21. Not discontentedly; being, at this time of life, resigned to the sense of failure; and also, because the preface is complete in itself as a body of definitions, which I now require for reference in the course of my *Letters to Workmen;*[1] by which also, in time, I trust less formally to accomplish the chief purpose of *Munera Pulveris* practically summed in the two paragraphs 27 and 28: namely, to examine the moral results and possible rectifications of the laws of distribution of wealth, which have prevailed hitherto without debate among men. Laws which ordinary economists assume to be inviolable, and which ordinary socialists imagine to be on the eve of total abrogation. But they are both alike deceived. The laws which at present regulate the possession of wealth are unjust, because the motives which provoke to its attainment are impure; but no socialism can effect their abrogation, unless it can abrogate also covetousness and pride, which it is by no means yet in the way of doing. Nor can the change be, in any case, to the extent that has been imagined. Extremes of luxury may be forbidden, and agony of penury relieved; but nature intends, and the utmost efforts of socialism will not hinder the fulfilment of her intention, that a provident person shall always be richer than a spendthrift; and an ingenious one more comfortable than a fool. But, indeed, the adjustment of the possession of the products of industry depends more on their nature than their quantity, and on wise determination therefore of the aims of industry. A nation which desires true wealth, desires it moderately, and can therefore distribute it with kindness, and possess it with pleasure; but one which desires false wealth, desires it immoderately, and can neither dispense it with justice, nor enjoy it in peace.

[1] [The sub-title of *Fors Clavigera* is "Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain."]

22. Therefore, needing, constantly in my present work, to refer to the definitions of true and false wealth given in the following Essays, I republish them with careful revisal. They were written abroad; partly at Milan, partly during a winter residence on the south-eastern slope of the Mont Salève, near Geneva; and sent to London in as legible MS. as I could write; but I never revised the press sheets, and have been obliged, accordingly, now to amend the text here and there, or correct it in unimportant particulars. Wherever any modification has involved change in the sense, it is enclosed in square brackets; and what few explanatory comments I have felt it necessary to add, have been indicated in the same manner.[1] No explanatory comments, I regret to perceive, will suffice to remedy the mischief of my affected concentration of language, into the habit of which I fell by thinking too long over particular passages, in many and many a solitary walk towards the mountains of Bonneville or Annecy. But I never intended the book for anything else than a dictionary of reference, and that for earnest readers; who will, I have good hope, if they find what they want in it, forgive the affectedly curt expressions.

The Essays, as originally published, were, as I have just stated, four in number. I have now, more conveniently, divided the whole into six chapters; and (as I purpose throughout this edition of my works) numbered the paragraphs.

I inscribed the first volume of this series[2] to the friend who aided me in chief sorrow. Let me inscribe the second to the friend and guide who has urged me to all chief labour, THOMAS CARLYLE.

23. I would that some better means were in my power

[1] [In order to prevent confusion in this edition (in which editors' notes are enclosed in square brackets), the author's footnotes of 1872 are here enclosed in round brackets.]

[2] [The revised "Works" series. The first volume—*Sesame and Lilies*—issued in 1871, was dedicated (Preface, § 19) to "φίλη" (Lady Mount Temple), for whom, and for whose help "in chief sorrow," see *Præterita*, ii. § 39.]

of showing reverence to the man who alone, of all our masters of literature, has written, without thought of himself, what he knew it to be needful for the people of his time to hear, if the will to hear were in them: whom, therefore, as the time draws near when his task must be ended, Republican and Free-thoughted England assaults with impatient reproach; and out of the abyss of her cowardice in policy and dishonour in trade, sets the hacks of her literature to speak evil, grateful to her ears, of the Solitary Teacher who has asked her to be brave for the help of Man, and just, for the love of God.

DENMARK HILL,
25th November, 1871.

MUNERA PULVERIS

"Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera."[1]

CHAPTER I

DEFINITIONS[2]

1. As domestic economy regulates the acts and habits of a household, Political Economy regulates those of a society or State, with reference to the means of its maintenance.

Political economy is neither an art nor a science; but a system of conduct and legislature, founded on the sciences, directing the arts, and impossible, except under certain conditions of moral culture.

2. The study which lately in England has been called Political Economy is in reality nothing more than the investigation of some accidental phenomena of modern commercial operations, nor has it been true in its investigation even of these. It has no connection whatever with political economy, as understood and treated of by the great thinkers of past ages; and as long as its unscholarly and undefined statements are allowed to pass under the same name, every word written on the subject by those thinkers—and chiefly

[1] [Horace: *Odes*, i. 28. For a translation and the meaning of the title, see above, Introduction, pp. lxv. *seq.*]

[2] [This chapter was the first essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines to it were: "Maintenance of Life.—Work and its Reward.—Value and Valuable Things.—Money and Riches."]

the words of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and Bacon—must be nearly useless to mankind. The reader must not, therefore, be surprised at the care and insistance with which I have retained the literal and earliest sense of all important terms used in these papers; for a word is usually well made at the time it is first wanted; its youngest meaning has in it the full strength of its youth; subsequent senses are commonly warped or weakened; and as all careful thinkers are sure to have used their words accurately, the first condition, in order to be able to avail ourselves of their sayings at all, is firm definition of terms.

3. By the "maintenance" of a State is to be understood the support of its population in healthy and happy life;[1] and the increase of their numbers, so far as that increase is consistent with their happiness. It is not the object of political economy to increase the numbers of a nation at the cost of common health or comfort; nor to increase indefinitely the comfort of individuals, by sacrifice of surrounding lives, or possibilities of life.

4. The assumption which lies at the root of nearly all erroneous reasoning on political economy,—namely, that its object is to accumulate money or exchangeable property,—may be shown in a few words to be without foundation. For no economist would admit national economy to be legitimate which proposed to itself only the building of a pyramid of gold. He would declare the gold to be wasted, were it to remain in the monumental form, and would say it ought to be employed. But to what end? Either it must be used only to gain more gold, and build a larger pyramid, or for some purpose other than the gaining of gold. And this other purpose, however at first apprehended, will be found to resolve itself finally into the service of man;—that is to say, the extension, defence, or comfort of his life. The golden pyramid may perhaps be providently built, perhaps improvidently; but the wisdom or folly of

[1] [See *Unto this Last*, § 77, p. 105.]

the accumulation can only be determined by our having first clearly stated the aim of all economy, namely, the extension of life.

If the accumulation of money, or of exchangeable property, were a certain means of extending existence, it would be useless, in discussing economical questions, to fix our attention upon the more distant object — life — instead of the immediate one—money. But it is not so. Money may sometimes be accumulated at the cost of life, or by limitations of it; that is to say, either by hastening the deaths of men, or preventing their births. It is therefore necessary to keep clearly in view the ultimate object of economy; and to determine the expediency of minor operations with reference to that ulterior end.

5. It has been just stated that the object of political economy is the continuance not only of life, but of healthy and happy life. But all true happiness is both a consequence and cause of life: it is a sign of its vigour, and source of its continuance. All true suffering is in like manner a consequence and cause of death. I shall therefore, in future, use the word "Life" singly: but let it be understood to include in its signification the happiness and power of the entire human nature, body and soul.

6. That human nature, as its Creator made it, and maintains it wherever His laws are observed, is entirely harmonious. No physical error can be more profound, no moral error more dangerous, than that involved in the monkish doctrine of the opposition of body to soul. No soul can be perfect in an imperfect body: no body perfect without perfect soul. Every right action and true thought sets the seal of its beauty on person and face;[1] every wrong action and foul thought its seal of distortion; and the various aspects of humanity might be read as plainly as a printed history, were it not that the impressions are so complex that it

[1] [So in *The Art of England*, § 83: "On all the beautiful features of men and women, throughout the ages, are written the solemnities and majesty of the law they knew," etc.]

must always in some cases (and, in the present state of our knowledge, in all cases) be impossible to decipher them completely. Nevertheless, the face of a consistently just, and of a consistently unjust person, may always be rightly distinguished at a glance; and if the qualities are continued by descent through a generation or two, there arises a complete distinction of race. Both moral and physical qualities are communicated by descent,[1] far more than they can be developed by education, (though both may be destroyed by want of education); and there is as yet no ascertained limit to the nobleness of person and mind which the human creature may attain, by persevering observance of the laws of God respecting its birth and training.

7. We must therefore yet farther define the aim of political economy to be "The multiplication of human life at the highest standard." It might at first seem questionable whether we should endeavour to maintain a small number of persons of the highest type of beauty and intelligence, or a larger number of an inferior class. But I shall be able to show in the sequel, that the way to maintain the largest number is first to aim at the highest standard. Determine the noblest type of man, and aim simply at maintaining the largest possible number of persons of that class, and it will be found that the largest possible number of every healthy subordinate class must necessarily be produced also.

8. The perfect type of manhood, as just stated, involves the perfections (whatever we may hereafter determine these to be) of his body, affections, and intelligence. The material things, therefore, which it is the object of political economy to produce and use, (or accumulate for use,) are things which serve either to sustain and comfort the body, or exercise rightly the affections and form the intelligence.*

* See Appendix I. [p. 285].

[1] [Compare *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 344 *n.*).]

Whatever truly serves either of these purposes is "useful" to man, wholesome, healthful, helpful, or holy. By seeking such things, man prolongs and increases his life upon the earth.

On the other hand, whatever does not serve either of these purposes,—much more whatever counteracts them,—is in like manner useless to man, unwholesome, unhelpful, or unholy; and by seeking such things man shortens and diminishes his life upon the earth.

9. And neither with respect to things useful or useless can man's estimate of them alter their nature. Certain substances being good for his food, and others noxious to him, what he thinks or wishes respecting them can neither change, nor prevent, their power. If he eats corn, he will live; if nightshade, he will die. If he produce or make good and beautiful things, they will *Re-Create* him; (note the solemnity and weight of the word); if bad and ugly things, they will "corrupt" or "break in pieces"—that is, in the exact degree of their power, Kill him. For every hour of labour, however enthusiastic or well intended, which he spends for that which is not bread,[1] so much possibility of life is lost to him. His fancies, likings, beliefs, however brilliant, eager, or obstinate, are of no avail if they are set on a false object. Of all that he has laboured for, the eternal law of heaven and earth measures out to him for reward, to the utmost atom, that part which he ought to have laboured for, and withdraws from him (or enforces on him, it may be) inexorably, that part which he ought not to have laboured for[2] until, on his summer threshing-floor, stands his heap of corn; little or much, not according to his labour, but to his discretion. No "commercial arrangements," no painting of surfaces, nor alloying of substances, will avail him a pennyweight. Nature asks of him calmly

[1] [Isaiah lv. 2: "Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not?"]

[2] [The original essay here reads:—

". . . laboured for. The dust and chaff are all, to the last speck, winnowed away, and on his summer threshing-floor . . ."]

and inevitably, What have you found, or formed—the right thing or the wrong? By the right thing you shall live; by the wrong you shall die.

10. To thoughtless persons it seems otherwise. The world looks to them as if they could cozen it out of some ways and means of life. But they cannot cozen IT: they can only cozen their neighbours. The world is not to be cheated of a grain; not so much as a breath of its air can be drawn surreptitiously. For every piece of wise work done, so much life is granted; for every piece of foolish work, nothing; for every piece of wicked work, so much death is allotted. This is as sure as the courses of day and night. But when the means of life are once produced, men, by their various struggles and industries of accumulation or exchange, may variously gather, waste, restrain, or distribute them; necessitating, in proportion to the waste or restraint, accurately, so much more death. The rate and range of additional death are measured by the rate and range of waste; and are inevitable;—the only question (determined mostly by fraud in peace, and force in war) is, Who is to die, and how?

11. Such being the everlasting law of human existence, the essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful or life-giving things, and by what degrees and kinds of labour they are attainable and distributable. This investigation divides itself under three great heads;—the studies, namely, of the phenomena, first, of WEALTH; secondly, of MONEY; and thirdly, of RICHES.

These terms are often used as synonymous, but they signify entirely different things. "Wealth" consists of things in themselves valuable; "Money," of documentary claims to the possession of such things; and "Riches" is a relative term, expressing the magnitude of the possessions of one person or society as compared with those of other persons or societies.

The study of Wealth is a province of natural science:—it deals with the essential properties of things.

The study of Money is a province of commercial science: —it deals with conditions of engagement and exchange.

The study of Riches is a province of moral science:—it deals with the due relations of men to each other in regard of material possessions; and with the just laws of their association for purposes of labour.

I shall in this first chapter shortly sketch out the range of subjects which will come before us as we follow these three branches of inquiry.

12. And first of WEALTH, which, it has been said, consists of things essentially valuable. We now, therefore, need a definition of "value."

"Value" signifies the strength, or "availing" of anything towards the sustaining of life, and is always twofold; that is to say, primarily, INTRINSIC, and secondarily, EFFECTUAL.

The reader must, by anticipation, be warned against confusing value with cost, or with price. *Value is the life-giving power of anything; cost, the quantity of labour required to produce it; price, the quantity of labour which its possessor will take in exchange for it.** Cost and price are commercial conditions, to be studied under the head of money.

13. Intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life. A sheaf of wheat of given quality and weight has in it a measurable power of sustaining the substance of the body; a cubic foot of pure air, a fixed power of sustaining its warmth; and a cluster of flowers of given beauty a fixed power of enlivening or animating the senses and heart.

It does not in the least affect the intrinsic value of the wheat, the air, or the flowers, that men refuse or despise them. Used or not, their own power is in them, and that particular power is in nothing else.

* (Observe these definitions,—they are of much importance,—and connect with them the sentences in italics on next page.[1])

[1] [See below, the letter on "The Definition of Wealth": Appendix i. 3, p. 486.]

14. But in order that this value of theirs may become effectual, a certain state is necessary in the recipient of it. The digesting, breathing, and perceiving functions must be perfect in the human creature before the food, air, or flowers can become of their full value to it. *The production of effectual value, therefore, always involves two needs: first, the production of a thing essentially useful; then the production of the capacity to use it.* Where the intrinsic value and acceptant capacity come together there is Effectual value, or wealth; where there is either no intrinsic value, or no acceptant capacity, there is no effectual value; that is to say, no wealth.[1] A horse is no wealth to us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we cannot see, *nor can any noble thing be wealth, except to a noble person.* As the aptness of the user increases, the effectual value of the thing used increases; and in its entirety can co-exist only with perfect skill of use, and fitness of nature.[2]

15. Valuable material things may be conveniently referred to five heads:

(i.) Land, with its associated air, water, and organisms.

(ii.) Houses, furniture, and instruments.

(iii.) Stored or prepared food, medicine, and articles of bodily luxury, including clothing.

(iv.) Books.

(v.) Works of art.

The conditions of value in these things are briefly as follows:—

16. (i.) Land. Its value is twofold; first, as producing

[1] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 62 (above, p. 87).]

[2] [The original essay reads "or harmony of nature" for "and fitness of nature," and then continues:—

"The effectual value of a given quantity of any commodity existing in the world at any moment is therefore a mathematical function of the capacity existing in the human race to enjoy it. Let its intrinsic value be represented by x, and the recipient faculty by y; its effectual value is $x\ y$, in which the sum varies as either co-efficient varies, is increased by either's increase,* and cancelled by either's absence.

* With this somewhat strange and ungeometrical limitation, however, which, here expressed for the moment in the briefest terms, we must afterwards trace in detail,—that $x\ y$ may be indefinitely increased by the increase of y only; but not by the increase of x, unless y increase also in a fixed proportion."]

food and mechanical power; secondly, as an object of sight and thought, producing intellectual power.

Its value, as a means of producing food and mechanical power, varies with its form (as mountain or plain), with its substance (in soil or mineral contents), and with its climate. All these conditions of intrinsic value must be known and complied with by the men who have to deal with it, in order to give effectual value; but at any given time and place, the intrinsic value is fixed: such and such a piece of land, with its associated lakes and seas, rightly treated in surface and substance, can produce precisely so much food and power, and no more.[1]

The second element of value in land being its beauty, united with such conditions of space and form as are necessary for exercise, and for fulness of animal life,[2] land of the highest value in these respects will be that lying in temperate climates, and boldly varied in form; removed from unhealthy or dangerous influences (as of miasm or volcano); and capable of sustaining a rich fauna and flora. Such land, carefully tended by the hand of man, so far as to remove from it unsightlinesses and evidences of decay, guarded from violence, and inhabited, under man's affectionate protection, by every kind of living creature that can occupy it in peace, is the most precious "property" that human beings can possess.[3]

[1] [The original essay here adds:—

"Its surface treatment (agriculture) and substance treatment (practical geology and chemistry) are the first roots of economical science. By surface treatment, however, I mean more than agriculture as commonly understood; I mean land and sea culture;—dominion over both the fixed and the flowing fields;—perfect acquaintance with the laws of climate, and of vegetable and animal growth in the given tracts of earth or ocean, and of their relations to those of other districts; such relations regulating especially the production of those articles of food which, being in each particular spot producible in the highest perfection, will bring the best price in commercial exchanges."]

[2] [Here the original essay reads:—

". . . exercise, or pleasant to the eye, associated with vital organism. Land . . . is that lying . . ."]

[3] [The original essay here adds:—

"The determination of the degree in which these two elements of value can be united in land, or in which either element must, or should, in particular cases, be sacrificed to the other, forms the most important branch of economical inquiry respecting preferences of things."]

17. (ii.) Buildings, furniture, and instruments.

The value of buildings consists, first, in permanent strength, with convenience of form, of size, and of position; so as to render employment peaceful, social intercourse easy, temperature and air healthy. The advisable or possible magnitude of cities and mode of their distribution in squares, streets, courts, etc.; the relative value of sites of land, and the modes of structure which are healthiest and most permanent, have to be studied under this head.

The value of buildings consists secondly in historical association, and architectural beauty, of which we have to examine the influence on manners and life.

The value of instruments consists, first, in their power of shortening labour, or otherwise accomplishing[1] what human strength unaided could not. The kinds of work which are severally best accomplished by hand or by machine;—the effect of machinery in gathering and multiplying population, and its influence on the minds and bodies of such population; together with the conceivable uses of machinery on a colossal scale in accomplishing mighty and useful works, hitherto unthought of, such as the deepening of large river channels;—changing the surface of mountainous districts;—irrigating tracts of desert in the torrid zone;—breaking up, and thus rendering capable of quicker fusion, edges of ice in the northern and southern Arctic seas, etc., so rendering parts of the earth habitable which hitherto have been lifeless, are to be studied under this head.[2]

The value of instruments is, secondarily, in their aid to abstract sciences. The degree in which the multiplication of such instruments should be encouraged, so as to make them, if large, easy of access to numbers (as costly telescopes), or so cheap as that they might, in a serviceable

[1] [Here the original essay adds "(as ships)."]
[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 49, where this passage is referred to.]

form, become a common part of the furniture of households, is to be considered under this head.*

18. (iii.) Food, medicine, and articles of luxury. Under this head we shall have to examine the possible methods of obtaining pure food in such security and equality of supply as to avoid both waste and famine: then the economy of medicine and just range of sanitary law: finally the economy of luxury, partly an æsthetic and partly an ethical question.

19. (iv.) Books. The value of these consists,

First, in their power of preserving and communicating the knowledge of facts.

Secondly, in their power of exciting vital or noble emotion and intellectual action. They have also their corresponding negative powers of disguising and effacing the memory of facts, and killing the noble emotions, or exciting base ones. Under these two heads we have to consider the economical and educational value, positive and negative, of literature ;—the means of producing and educating good authors, and the means and advisability of rendering good books generally accessible, and directing the reader's choice to them.

20. (v.) Works of art. The value of these is of the same nature as that of books; but the laws of their production and possible modes of distribution are very different, and require separate examination.

21. II.—Money. Under this head, we shall have to examine the laws of currency and exchange; of which I will note here the first separate principles.

Money has been inaccurately spoken of as merely a means of exchange. But it is far more than this. It is a documentary expression of legal claim. It is not wealth,

* (I cannot now recast these sentences, pedantic in their generalization, and intended more for index than statement, but I must guard the reader from thinking that I ever wish for cheapness by bad quality. A poor boy need not always learn mathematics; but, if you set him to do so, have the farther kindness to give him good compasses, not cheap ones, whose points bend like lead.)

but a documentary claim to wealth, being the sign[1] of the relative quantities of it, or of the labour producing it, to which, at a given time, persons, or societies, are entitled.

If all the money in the world, notes and gold, were destroyed in an instant, it would leave the world neither richer nor poorer than it was. But it would leave the individual inhabitants of it in different relations.

Money is, therefore, correspondent in its nature to the title-deed of an estate. Though the deed be burned, the estate still exists, but the right to it has become disputable.

22. The real worth of money remains unchanged, as long as the proportion of the quantity of existing money to the quantity of existing wealth or available labour remains unchanged.

If the wealth increases, but not the money, the worth of the money increases; if the money increases, but not the wealth, the worth of the money diminishes.

23. Money, therefore, cannot be arbitrarily multiplied, any more than title-deeds can. So long as the existing wealth or available labour is not fully represented by the currency, the currency may be increased without diminution of the assigned worth of its pieces. But when the existing wealth, or available labour, is once fully represented, every piece of money thrown into circulation diminishes the worth of every other existing piece, in the proportion it bears to the number of them, provided the new piece be received with equal credit; if not, the depreciation of worth takes place, according to the degree of its credit.

24. When, however, new money, composed of some substance of supposed intrinsic value (as of gold), is brought into the market, or when new notes are issued which are

[1] [The original essay here reads:—

"... a means of exchange. It is, on the contrary, an expression of right. It is not wealth, but a documentary claim to wealth, being a sign* ...

* *Always*, and necessarily, an imperfect sign; but capable of approximate accuracy if rightly ordered."

In the footnote "*Always*" was misprinted "*Moneys*"; the correction was made in an "Erratum" note at the end of the second paper.]

supposed to be deserving of credit, the desire to obtain the money will, under certain circumstances, stimulate industry: an additional quantity of wealth is immediately produced, and if this be in proportion to the new claims advanced, the value of the existing currency is undepreciated. If the stimulus given be so great as to produce more goods than are proportioned to the additional coinage, the worth of the existing currency will be raised.

Arbitrary control and issues of currency affect the production of wealth, by acting on the hopes and fears of men, and are, under certain circumstances, wise. But the issue of additional currency to meet the exigencies of immediate expense, is merely one of the disguised forms of borrowing or taxing. It is, however, in the present low state of economical knowledge, often possible for governments to venture on an issue of currency, when they could not venture on an additional loan or tax, because the real operation of such issue is not understood by the people, and the pressure of it is irregularly distributed, and with an unperceived gradation.

25. The use of substances of intrinsic value as the materials of a currency, is a barbarism;—a remnant of the conditions of barter, which alone render commerce possible among savage nations. It is, however, still necessary,[1] partly as a mechanical check on arbitrary issues; partly as a means of exchanges with foreign nations. In proportion to the extension of civilization, and increase of trustworthiness in governments, it will cease. So long as it exists, the phenomena of the cost and price of the articles used for currency are mingled with those proper to currency itself, in an almost inextricable manner: and the market worth of bullion is affected by multitudinous accidental circumstances, which have been traced, with more or less success, by writers on commercial operations: but with these variations the true political economist has no more to do than an engineer,

[1] [See below, pp. 197 *seq.*]

fortifying a harbour of refuge against Atlantic tide, has to concern himself with the cries or quarrels of children who dig pools with their fingers for its streams[1] among the sand.

26. III.—Riches. According to the various industry, capacity, good fortune, and desires of men, they obtain greater or smaller share of, and claim upon, the wealth of the world.

The inequalities between these shares, always in some degree just and necessary, may be either restrained by law or circumstance within certain limits; or may increase indefinitely.

Where no moral or legal restraint is put upon the exercise of the will and intellect of the stronger, shrewder, or more covetous men, these differences become ultimately enormous. But as soon as they become so distinct in their extremes as that, on one side, there shall be manifest redundance of possession, and on the other manifest pressure of need,—the terms "riches" and "poverty" are used to express the opposite states; being contrary only as the terms "warmth" and "cold" are contraries, of which neither implies an actual degree, but only a relation to other degrees, of temperature.

27. Respecting riches, the economist has to inquire, first, into the advisable modes of their collection; secondly, into the advisable modes of their administration.

Respecting the collection of national riches, he has to inquire, first, whether he is justified in calling the nation rich, if the quantity of wealth it possesses relatively to the wealth of other nations, be large; irrespectively of the manner of its distribution. Or does the mode of distribution in any wise affect the nature of the riches? Thus, if the king alone be rich—suppose Crœsus or Mausolus—are the Lydians or Carians therefore a rich nation? Or if a few slave-masters are rich, and the nation is otherwise

[1] [The original essay reads "ebbing currents" instead of "streams."]

composed of slaves, is it to be called a rich nation? For if not, and the ideas of a certain mode of distribution or operation in the riches, and of a certain degree of freedom in the people, enter into our idea of riches as attributed to a people, we shall have to define the degree of fluency, or circulative character which is essential to the nature of common wealth;[1] and the degree of independence of action required in its possessors. Questions which look as if they would take time in answering.*

28. And farther. Since the inequality, which is the condition of riches, may be established in two opposite modes—namely, by increase of possession on the one side, and by decrease of it on the other—we have to inquire, with respect to any given state of riches, precisely in what manner the correlative poverty was produced: that is to say, whether by being surpassed only, or being depressed also; and if by being depressed, what are the advantages, or the contrary, conceivable in the depression. For instance, it being one of the commonest advantages of being rich to entertain a number of servants, we have to inquire, on the one side, what economical process produced the riches of the master; and on the other, what economical process produced the poverty of the persons who serve him; and what advantages each, on his own side, derives from the result.

29. These being the main questions touching the collection of riches, the next, or last, part of the inquiry is into their administration.

Their possession involves three great economical powers

* (I regret the ironical manner in which this passage, one of great importance in the matter of it, was written. The gist of it is, that the first of all inquiries respecting the wealth of any nation is not, how much it has; but whether it is in a form that can be used, and in the possession of persons who can use it.)

[1] [The original essay reads: 'essential to their vitality; and the degree . . . their possessors."]

which require separate examination: namely, the powers of selection, direction, and provision.

The power of SELECTION relates to things of which the supply is limited (as the supply of best things is always). When it becomes matter of question to whom such things are to belong, the richest person has necessarily the first choice, unless some arbitrary mode of distribution be otherwise determined upon. The business of the economist is to show how this choice may be a Wise one.

The power of DIRECTION arises out of the necessary relation of rich men to poor, which ultimately, in one way or another, involves the direction of, or authority over, the labour of the poor; and this nearly as much over their mental as their bodily labour. The business of the economist is to show how this direction may be a Just one.

The power of PROVISION[1] is dependent upon the redundance of wealth, which may of course by active persons be made available in preparation for future work or future profit; in which function riches have generally received the name of capital; that is to say, of head-, or source-material. The business of the economist is to show how this provision may be a Distant one.

30. The examination of these three functions of riches will embrace every final problem of political economy;—and, above, or before all, this curious and vital problem,—whether, since the wholesome action of riches in these three functions will depend (it appears) on the Wisdom, Justice, and Farsightedness of the holders; and it is by no means to be assumed that persons primarily rich, must therefore be just and wise,—it may not be ultimately possible so, or somewhat so, to arrange matters, as that persons primarily just and wise, should therefore be rich?

Such being the general plan of the inquiry before us, I

[1] [The original essay inserts:—
"or, 'preparatory sight' (for pro-accumulation is by no means necessarily pro-vision), is dependent . . ."]

shall not limit myself to any consecutive following of it, having hardly any good hope of being able to complete so laborious a work as it must prove to me; but from time to time, as I have leisure, shall endeavour to carry forward this part or that, as may be immediately possible; indicating always with accuracy the place which the particular essay will or should take in the completed system.

CHAPTER II

STORE-KEEPING[1]

31. THE first chapter having consisted of little more than definition of terms, I purpose, in this, to expand and illustrate the given definitions.

The view which has here been taken of the nature of wealth, namely, that it consists in an intrinsic value developed by a vital power, is directly opposed to two nearly universal conceptions of wealth. In the assertion that value is primarily intrinsic, it opposes the idea that anything which is an object of desire to numbers, and is limited in quantity, so as to have rated worth in exchange, may be called, or virtually become, wealth. And in the assertion that value is, secondarily, dependent upon power in the possessor, it opposes the idea that the worth of things depends on the demand for them, instead of on the use of them. Before going farther, we will make these two positions clearer.

32. I. First. All wealth is intrinsic, and is not constituted by the judgment of men.[2] This is easily seen in the case of things affecting the body; we know, that no force of fantasy will make stones nourishing, or poison innocent; but it is less apparent in things affecting the mind. We are easily—perhaps willingly—misled by the appearance of beneficial results obtained by industries addressed wholly to the gratification of fanciful desire; and apt to suppose that whatever is widely coveted, dearly bought, and pleasurable in possession, must be included in our definition of wealth.

[1] [This chapter was the second essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines were: "Nature of Wealth.—Variations of Value.—The National Store.—Nature of Labour.—Value and Price.—The Currency."]

[2] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 61; above, p. 84.]

It is the more difficult to quit ourselves of this error because many things which are true wealth in moderate use, become false wealth in immoderate; and many things are mixed of good and evil,—as mostly, books, and works of art,—out of which one person will get the good, and another the evil; so that it seems as if there were no fixed good or evil in the things themselves, but only in the view taken, and use made of them.

But that is not so. The evil and good are fixed; in essence, and in proportion. And in things in which evil depends upon excess, the point of excess, though indefinable, is fixed; and the power of the thing is on the hither side for good, and on the farther side for evil. And in all cases this power is inherent, not dependent on opinion or choice. Our thoughts of things neither make, nor mar their eternal force; nor—which is the most serious point for future consideration—can they prevent the effect of it (within certain limits) upon ourselves.

33. Therefore, the object of any special analysis of wealth will be not so much to enumerate what is serviceable, as to distinguish what is destructive; and to show that it is inevitably destructive; that to receive pleasure from an evil thing is not to escape from, or alter the evil of it, but to be *altered by* it; that is, to suffer from it to the utmost, having our own nature, in that degree, made evil also. And it may be shown farther, that, through whatever length of time or subtleties of connexion the harm is accomplished, (being also less or more according to the fineness and worth of the humanity on which it is wrought,) still, nothing *but* harm ever comes of a bad thing.

34. So that, in sum, the term wealth is never to be attached to the *accidental object of a morbid* desire, but only to the *constant object of a legitimate one.** By the fury of

* (Remember carefully this statement, that Wealth consists only in the things which the nature of humanity has rendered in all ages, and must render in all ages to come, (that is what I meant by "constant,") the objects of legitimate desire. And see Appendix II.) [p. 287].

ignorance, and fitfulness of caprice, large interests may be continually attached to things unserviceable or hurtful; if their nature could be altered by our passions, the science of political Economy would remain, what it has been hitherto among us, the weighing of clouds, and the portioning out of shadows. But of ignorance there is no science; and of caprice no law. Their disturbing forces interfere with the operations of faithful Economy, but have nothing in common with them: she, the calm arbiter of national destiny, regards only essential power for good in all that she accumulates, and alike disdains the wanderings * of imagination, and the thirsts of disease.

35. II. Secondly. The assertion that wealth is not *only* intrinsic, but dependent, in order to become effectual, on a given degree of vital power in its possessor, is opposed to another popular view of wealth;—namely, that though it may always be constituted by caprice, it is, when so constituted, a substantial thing, of which given quantities may be counted as existing here, or there, and exchangeable at rated prices.

In this view there are three errors. The first and chief is the overlooking the fact that all exchangeableness of commodity, or effective demand for it, depends on the sum of capacity for its use existing, here or elsewhere. The book we cannot read, or picture we take no delight in, may indeed be called part of our wealth, in so far as we have power of exchanging either for something we like better. But our power of effecting such exchange, and yet more, of effecting it to advantage, depends absolutely on the number of accessible persons who can understand the book, or enjoy the painting, and who will dispute the possession of them. Thus the actual worth of either, even to us, depends no more on their essential goodness than on the capacity existing somewhere for the perception of it; and it is vain in any completed system of production to think of obtaining

* (The *Wanderings*, observe, not the Right goings, of Imagination. She is very far from despising these.)

one without the other. So that, though the true political economist knows that co-existence of capacity for use with temporary possession cannot be always secured, the final fact, on which he bases all action and administration, is that, in the whole nation, or group of nations, he has to deal with, for every atom of intrinsic value produced he must with exactest chemistry produce its twin atom of acceptant digestion, or understanding capacity; or, in the degree of his failure, he has no wealth. Nature's challenge to us is, in earnest, as the Assyrian's mock: "I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."[1] Bavieca's paces are brave, if the Cid backs him;[2] but woe to us, if we take the dust of capacity, wearing the armour of it, for capacity itself, for so all procession, however goodly in the show of it, is to the tomb.

36. The second error in this popular view of wealth is, that in giving the name of wealth to things which we cannot use, we in reality confuse wealth with money. The land we have no skill to cultivate, the book which is sealed to us, or dress which is superfluous, may indeed be exchangeable, but as such are nothing more than a cumbrous form of banknote, of doubtful or slow convertibility. As long as we retain possession of them, we merely keep our banknotes in the shape of gravel or clay, or book-leaves, or of embroidered tissue. Circumstances may, perhaps, render such forms the safest, or a certain complacency may attach to the exhibition of them; into both these advantages we shall inquire afterwards;[3] I wish the reader only to observe here, that exchangeable property which we cannot use is, to us personally, merely one of the forms of money, not of wealth.

[1] [2 Kings xviii. 23.]

[2] [See Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads* ("Bavieca"). Bavieca (="dolt"), the Cid's horse, who survived his master for two years and a half, during which time no one was allowed to mount him. The Cid transferred to the rough colt of his choice the name which his godfather had given to him for choosing it.]

[3] [Not specifically dealt with; but see ch. vi. ("Mastership").]

37. The third error in the popular view is the confusion of Guardianship with Possession; the real state of men of property being, too commonly, that of curators, not possessors, of wealth.

A man's power over his property is, at the widest range of it, fivefold; it is power of Use, for himself, Administration, to others, Ostentation, Destruction, or Bequest; and possession is in use only, which for each man is sternly limited; so that such things, and so much of them as he can use, are, indeed, well for him, or Wealth; and more of them, or any other things, are ill for him, or Illth.*[1] Plunged to the lips in Orinoco,[2] he shall drink to his thirst measure; more, at his peril: with a thousand oxen on his lands, he shall eat to his hunger measure; more, at his peril. He cannot live in two houses at once; a few bales of silk or wool will suffice for the fabric of all the clothes he can ever wear, and a few books will probably hold all the furniture good for his brain.[3] Beyond these, in the best of us but narrow, capacities, we have but the power of administering, or *mal*-administering, wealth: (that is to say, distributing, lending, or increasing it);—of exhibiting it (as in magnificence of retinue or furniture),—of destroying, or, finally, of bequeathing it. And with multitudes of rich men, administration degenerates into curatorship; they merely hold their property in charge, as Trustees, for the benefit of some person or persons to whom it is to be delivered upon their death; and the position, explained in clear terms, would hardly seem a covetable one. What would be the probable feelings of a youth, on his entrance into life, to

* See Appendix III. [p. 287].

[1] [See *Unto this Last*, § 64 (above, p. 89), where Ruskin first coins the word "illth"; and with this § 37 generally, compare *Aratra Pentelici*, § 63.]

[2] [Ruskin, in selecting here the Orinoco among great rivers, perhaps had in the back of his mind the diet of dwellers by that river, as described by Humboldt in the passage cited in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 27.]

[3] [On this point compare *Sesame and Lilies*, Preface of 1871, § 4; *The Study of Architecture in our Schools*, § 17; *The Cestus of Aglaia*, § 75; *A Joy for Ever*, § 65 (Vol. XVI. p. 59).]

whom the career hoped for him was proposed in terms such as these: "You must work unremittingly, and with your utmost intelligence, during all your available years, you will thus accumulate wealth to a large amount; but you must touch none of it, beyond what is needful for your support. Whatever sums you gain, beyond those required for your decent and moderate maintenance, and whatever beautiful things you may obtain possession of, shall be properly taken care of by servants, for whose maintenance you will be charged, and whom you will have the trouble of superintending, and on your death-bed you shall have the power of determining to whom the accumulated property shall belong, or to what purposes be applied"?

38. The labour of life, under such conditions, would probably be neither zealous nor cheerful; yet the only difference between this position and that of the ordinary capitalist is the power which the latter supposes himself to possess, and which is attributed to him by others, of spending his money at any moment. This pleasure, taken *in the imagination of power to part with that with which we have no intention of parting*, is one of the most curious, though commonest forms of the Eidolon, or Phantasm of Wealth. But the political economist has nothing to do with this idealism, and looks only to the practical issue of it—namely, that the holder of wealth, in such temper, may be regarded simply as a mechanical means of collection; or as a money-chest with a slit in it,[1] not only receptant but suctional, set in the public thoroughfare;—chest of which only Death has the key, and evil Chance the distribution of the contents. In his function of Lender (which, however, is one

[1] [In the original essay the following note was here subjoined, the words in the present text—"not only receptant but suctional"—being omitted:—

> "The orifice being not merely of a recipient but of a suctional character. Among the types of human virtue and vice presented grotesquely by the lower animals, perhaps none is more curiously definite than that of avarice in the Cephalopod, a creature which has a purse for a body; a hawk's beak for a mouth; suckers for feet and hands; and whose house is its own skeleton."

The cuttle-fish is the most familiar member of the class of the *Cephalopoda*.]

of administration, not use, as far as he is himself concerned), the capitalist takes, indeed, a more interesting aspect; but even in that function, his relations with the State are apt to degenerate into a mechanism for the convenient contraction of debt;—a function the more mischievous, because a nation invariably appeases its conscience with respect to an unjustifiable expense by meeting it with borrowed funds, expresses its repentance of a foolish piece of business by letting its tradesmen wait for their money, and always leaves its descendants to pay for the work which will be of the least advantage to them.*

39. Quit of these three sources of misconception, the reader will have little farther difficulty in apprehending the real nature of Effectual value. He may, however, at first not without surprise, perceive the consequences involved in his acceptance of the definition. For if the actual existence of wealth be dependent on the power of its possessor, it follows that the sum of wealth held by the nation, instead of being constant or calculable, varies hourly, nay, momentarily, with the number and character of its holders! and that in changing hands, it changes in quantity. And farther, since the worth of the currency is proportioned to the sum of material wealth which it represents, if the sum of the wealth changes, the worth of the currency changes. And thus both the sum of the property, and power of the currency, of the State, vary momentarily as the character and number of the holders. And not only so, but different rates and kinds of variation are caused by the character of the holders of different kinds of wealth. The transitions of value caused by the character of the holders of land differ in mode from those caused by character in holders of works of art; and these again from those caused by character in holders of machinery or other working capital. But we

* (I would beg the reader's very close attention to these 37th and 38th paragraphs. It would be well if a dogged conviction could be enforced on nations, as on individuals, that, with few exceptions, what they cannot at present pay for, they should not at present have.)

cannot examine these special phenomena of any kind of wealth until we have a clear idea of the way in which true currency expresses them; and of the resulting modes in which the cost and price of any article are related to its value. To obtain this we must approach the subject in its first elements.

40. Let us suppose a national store of wealth, composed of material things either useful, or believed to be so, taken charge of by the Government,* and that every workman, having produced any article involving labour in its production, and for which he has no immediate use, brings it to add to this store, receiving from the Government, in exchange, an order either for the return of the thing itself, or of its equivalent in other things, such as he may choose out of the store, at any time when he needs them. The question of equivalence itself (how much wine a man is to receive in return for so much corn, or how much coal in return for so much iron) is a quite separate one, which we will examine presently.[1] For the time, let it be assumed that this equivalence has been determined, and that the Government order, in exchange for a fixed weight of any article (called, suppose, *a*), is either for the return of that weight of the article itself, or of another fixed weight of the article *b*, or another of the article *c*, and so on.

Now, supposing that the labourer speedily and continually presents these general orders, or, in common language, "spends the money," he has neither changed the circumstances of the nation, nor his own, except in so far as he may have produced useful and consumed useless articles, or *vice versâ*. But if he does not use, or uses in part only, the orders he receives, and lays aside some portion of them; and thus every day bringing his contribution to the national store, lays by some percentage of the orders received in exchange for it, he increases the national wealth

* See Appendix IV. [p. 289].

[1] [See below, §§ 58 *seq.*]

daily by as much as he does not use of the received orders, and to the same amount accumulates a monetary claim on the Government. It is, of course, always in his power, as it is his legal right, to bring forward this accumulation of claim, and at once to consume, destroy, or distribute, the sum of his wealth. Supposing he never does so, but dies, leaving his claim to others, he has enriched the State during his life by the quantity of wealth over which that claim extends, or has, in other words, rendered so much additional life possible in the State, of which additional life he bequeaths the immediate possibility to those whom he invests with his claim. Supposing him to cancel the claim, he would distribute this possibility of life among the nation at large.

41. We hitherto consider the Government itself as simply a conservative power, taking charge of the wealth entrusted to it.

But a Government may be more or less than a conservative power. It may be either an improving, or destructive one.

If it be an improving power, using all the wealth entrusted to it to the best advantage, the nation is enriched in root and branch at once, and the Government is enabled, for every order presented, to return a quantity of wealth greater than the order was written for, according to the fructification obtained in the interim.[1] This ability may be either concealed, in which case the currency does not completely represent the wealth of the country, or it may be manifested by the continual payment of the excess of value on each order, in which case there is (irrespectively, observe, of collateral results afterwards to be examined) a perpetual rise in the worth of the currency, that is to say, a fall in the price of all articles represented by it.

42. But if the Government be destructive, or a consuming

[1] [The original essay here added a note :—
"The reader must be warned in advance that the conditions here supposed have nothing to do with the 'interest' of money commonly so called."]

power, it becomes unable to return the value received on the presentation of the order.

This inability may either be concealed by meeting demands to the full, until it issue in bankruptcy, or in some form of national debt;—or it may be concealed during oscillatory movements between destructiveness and productiveness, which result on the whole in stability;—or it may be manifested by the consistent return of less than value received on each presented order, in which case there is a consistent fall in the worth of the currency, or rise in the price of the things represented by it.

43. Now, if for this conception of a central Government, we substitute that of a body of persons occupied in industrial pursuits, of whom each adds in his private capacity to the common store,[1] we at once obtain an approximation to the actual condition of a civilized mercantile community, from which approximation we might easily proceed into still completer analysis. I purpose, however, to arrive at every result by the gradual expansion of the simpler conception; but I wish the reader to observe, in the meantime, that both the social conditions thus supposed (and I will by anticipation say also, all possible social conditions) agree in two great points; namely, in the primal importance of the supposed national store or stock, and in its destructibility or improveability by the holders of it.

44. I. Observe that in both conditions, that of central Government-holding, and diffused private-holding, the quantity of stock is of the same national moment. In the one case, indeed, its amount may be known by examination of the persons to whom it is confided; in the other it cannot be known but by exposing the private affairs of every individual. But, known or unknown, its significance is the

[1] [The original essay here continues:—
"... the common store: so that the store itself, instead of remaining a public property of ascertainable quantity, for the guardianship of which a body of public men are responsible, becomes disseminated private property, each man giving, in exchange for any article received from another, a general order for its equivalent in whatever other article the claimant may desire (such general order being payable by any number of the society in whose possession the demanded article may be found), we at once ..."]

same under each condition. The riches of the nation consist in the abundance, and their wealth depends on the nature, of this store.

45. II. In the second place, both conditions (and all other possible ones) agree in the destructibility or improveability of the store by its holders. Whether in private hands, or under Government charge, the national store may be daily consumed, or daily enlarged, by its possessors; and while the currency remains apparently unaltered, the property it represents may diminish or increase.

46. The first question, then, which we have to put under our simple conception of central Government, namely, "What store has it?" is one of equal importance, whatever may be the constitution of the State; while the second question—namely, "Who are the holders of the store?" involves the discussion of the constitution of the State itself.

The first inquiry resolves itself into three heads:

1. What is the nature of the store?
2. What is its quantity in relation to the population?
3. What is its quantity in relation to the currency?

The second inquiry into two:

1. Who are the Holders of the store, and in what proportions?
2. Who are the Claimants of the store (that is to say, the holders of the currency), and in what proportions?

We will examine the range of the first three questions in the present paper; of the two following, in the sequel.

47. I. Question First. What is the nature of the store? Has the nation hitherto worked for and gathered the right thing or the wrong? On that issue rest the possibilities of its life.

For example, let us imagine a society, of no great extent, occupied in procuring and laying up store of corn, wine, wool, silk, and other such preservable materials of food and clothing; and that it has a currency representing them. Imagine farther, that on days of festivity, the

society, discovering itself to derive satisfaction from pyrotechnics, gradually turns its attention more and more to the manufacture of gunpowder; so that an increasing number of labourers, giving what time they can spare to this branch of industry, bring increasing quantities of combustibles into the store, and use the general orders received in exchange to obtain such wine, wool, or corn, as they may have need of. The currency remains the same, and represents precisely the same amount of material in the store, and of labour spent in producing it. But the corn and wine gradually vanish, and in their place, as gradually, appear sulphur and saltpetre, till at last the labourers who have consumed corn and supplied nitre, presenting on a festal morning some of their currency to obtain materials for the feast, discover that no amount of currency will command anything Festive, except Fire. The supply of rockets is unlimited, but that of food, limited, in a quite final manner; and the whole currency in the hands of the society represents an infinite power of detonation, but none of existence.

48. This statement, caricatured as it may seem, is only exaggerated in assuming the persistence of the folly to extremity, unchecked, as in reality it would be, by the gradual rise in price of food. But it falls short of the actual facts of human life in expression of the depth and intensity of the folly itself. For a great part (the reader would not believe how great until he saw the statistics in detail) of the most earnest and ingenious industry of the world is spent in producing munitions of war; gathering, that is to say, the materials, not of festive, but of consuming fire; filling its stores with all power of the instruments of pain, and all affluence of the ministries of death. It was no true *Trionfo della Morte** which men have seen and feared (sometimes

* (I little thought, what *Trionfo della Morte* would be, for this very cause, and in literal fulfilment of the closing words of the 47th paragraph, over the fields and houses of Europe, and over its fairest city—within seven years from the day I wrote it.[1])

[1] [A reference again to the Franco-German war, the siege of Paris, and the subsequent Communist rising: compare p. 135, above, and see Vol. XVI. p. 155 *n.*]

scarcely feared) so long; wherein he brought them rest from their labours.[1] We see, and share, another and higher form of his triumph now. Taskmaster, instead of Releaser, he rules the dust of the arena no less than of the tomb; and, content once in the grave whither man went, to make his works to cease and his devices to vanish,[2]—now, in the busy city and on the serviceable sea, makes his work to increase, and his devices to multiply.

49. To this doubled loss, or negative power of labour, spent in producing means of destruction, we have to add, in our estimate of the consequences of human folly, whatever more insidious waste of toil there is in production of unnecessary luxury. Such and such an occupation (it is said) supports so many labourers, because so many obtain wages in following it; but it is never considered that unless there be a supporting power in the product of the occupation, the wages given to one man are merely withdrawn from another. We cannot say of any trade that it maintains such and such a number of persons, unless we know how and where the money, now spent in the purchase of its produce, would have been spent, if that produce had not been manufactured. The purchasing funds truly support a number of people in making This; but (probably)[3] leave unsupported an equal number who are making, or could have made That. The manufacturers of small watches thrive at Geneva;—it is well;—but where would the money spent on small watches have gone, had there been no small watches to buy?

50. If the so frequently uttered aphorism of mercantile economy[4]—"Labour is limited by capital," were true, this question would be a definite one. But it is untrue; and

[1] [Revelation xiv. 13.]
[2] [Ecclesiastes ix. 10.]
[3] [See below, § 51, p. 177.]
[4] [As, for instance, by Mill, book i. ch. v. ("Fundamental Propositions respecting Capital"), § 1: "The first of these propositions is, That industry is limited by capital." In his copy of the book Ruskin wrote in the margin, at the head of this chapter, "Industry dependent on Will, not on Capital. Single head and heart may do all. Napoleon—with his starving army."]

that widely. Out of a given quantity of funds for wages, more or less labour is to be had, according to the quantity of will with which we can inspire the workman; and the true limit of labour is only in the limit of this moral stimulus of the will, and of the bodily power. In an ultimate, but entirely unpractical sense, labour is limited by capital, as it is by matter—that is to say, where there is no material, there can be no work,—but in the practical sense, labour is limited only by the great original capital[1] of head, heart, and hand. Even in the most artificial relations of commerce, labour is to capital as fire to fuel: out of so much fuel, you *can* have only so much fire; but out of so much fuel you *shall* have so much fire,—not in proportion to the mass of combustibles, but to the force of wind that fans and water that quenches; and the appliance of both. And labour is furthered, as conflagration is, not so much by added fuel, as by admitted air.*

51. For which reasons, I had to insert, in § 49, the qualifying "probably"; for it can never be said positively that the purchase-money, or wages fund, of any trade is withdrawn from some other trade. The object itself may be the stimulus of the production of the money which buys it; that is to say, the work by which the purchaser obtained the means of buying it, would not have been done by him, unless he had wanted that particular thing. And the production of any article not intrinsically (nor in the process of manufacture) injurious, is useful, if the desire of it causes productive labour in other directions.

52. In the national store, therefore, the presence of

* (The meaning of which is, that you may spend a great deal of money, and get very little work for it, and that little bad; but having good "air," or "spirit," to put life into it, with very little money, you may get a great deal of work, and all good; which, observe, is an arithmetical, not at all a poetical or visionary circumstance.)

[1] [Here the original essay appended a footnote :—
"This aphorism, being hurried English for 'labour is limited by want of capital,' involves also awkward English in its denial, which cannot be helped."]

things intrinsically valueless does not imply an entirely correlative absence of things valuable. We cannot be certain that all the labour spent on vanity has been diverted from reality, and that for every bad thing produced a precious thing has been lost. In great measure, the vain things represent the results of roused indolence; they have been carved, as toys, in extra time; and, if they had not been made, nothing else would have been made. Even to munitions of war this principle applies; they partly represent the work of men who, if they had not made spears, would never have made pruning-hooks,[1] and who are incapable of any activities but those of contest.

53. Thus then, finally, the nature of the store has to be considered under two main lights; the one, that of its immediate and actual utility; the other, that of the past national character which it signifies by its production, and future character which it must develop by its use. And the issue of this investigation will be to show us that

Economy does not depend merely on principles of "demand and supply," but primarily on what is demanded, and what is supplied; which I will beg of you to observe, and take to heart.

54. II. Question Second.—What is the quantity of the store in relation to the population?

It follows from what has been already stated that the accurate form in which this question has to be put is—"What quantity of each article composing the store exists in proportion to the real need for it by the population?" But we shall for the time assume, in order to keep all our terms at the simplest, that the store is wholly composed of useful articles, and accurately proportioned to the several needs for them.

Now it cannot be assumed, because the store is large in proportion to the number of the people, that the people

[1] [See Isaiah ii. 4; Joel iii. 10; Micah iv. 3; often quoted by Ruskin: *e.g.*, below, p. 463, and Vol. XVI. p. 411.]

must be in comfort; nor because it is small, that they must be in distress. An active and economical race always produces more than it requires, and lives (if it is permitted to do so) in competence on the produce of its daily labour. The quantity of its store, great or small, is therefore in many respects indifferent to it, and cannot be inferred from its aspect. Similarly an inactive and wasteful population, which cannot live by its daily labour, but is dependent, partly or wholly, on consumption of its store, may be (by various difficulties, hereafter to be examined, in realizing or getting at such store) retained in a state of abject distress, though its possessions may be immense. But the results always involved in the magnitude of store are, the commercial power of the nation, its security, and its mental character. Its commercial power, in that according to the quantity of its store may be the extent of its dealings; its security, in that according to the quantity of its store are its means of sudden exertion or sustained endurance; and its character, in that certain conditions of civilization cannot be attained without permanent and continually accumulating store, of great intrinsic value, and of peculiar nature.*

55. Now, seeing that these three advantages arise from largeness of store in proportion to population, the question arises immediately, "Given the store—is the nation enriched by diminution of its numbers? Are a successful national speculation, and a pestilence, economically the same thing?"

This is in part a sophistical question; such as it would be to ask whether a man was richer when struck by disease which must limit his life within a predicable period, than he was when in health. He is enabled to enlarge his current expenses, and has for all purposes a larger sum at his immediate disposal (for, given the fortune, the shorter the life, the larger the annuity); yet no man considers himself richer because he is condemned by his physician.

* (More especially, works of great art.)

56. The logical reply is that, since Wealth is by definition only the means of life, a nation cannot be enriched by its own mortality. Or in shorter words, the life is more than the meat;[1] and existence itself, more wealth than the means of existence. Whence, of two nations who have equal store, the more numerous is to be considered the richer, provided the type of the inhabitant be as high (for, though the relative bulk of their store be less, its relative efficiency, or the amount of effectual wealth, must be greater). But if the type of the population be deteriorated by increase of its numbers, we have evidence of poverty in its worst influence; and then, to determine whether the nation in its total may still be justifiably esteemed rich, we must set or weigh, the number of the poor against that of the rich.

To effect which piece of scale-work, it is of course necessary to determine, first, who are poor and who are rich; nor this only, but also how poor and how rich they are. Which will prove a curious thermometrical investigation; for we shall have to do for gold and for silver, what we have done for quicksilver;—determine, namely, their freezing-point, their zero, their temperate and fever-heat points; finally, their vaporescent point, at which riches, sometimes explosively, as lately in America,[2] "make to themselves wings":[3]—and correspondently, the number of degrees *below* zero at which poverty, ceasing to brace with any wholesome cold, burns to the bone.*

* (The meaning of that, in plain English, is, that we must find out how far poverty and riches are good or bad for people, and what is the difference between being miserably poor—so as, perhaps, to be driven to crime, or to pass life in suffering—and being blessedly poor, in the sense meant in the Sermon on the Mount.[4] For I suppose the people who believe that sermon,

[1] [Matthew vi. 25.]

[2] [See for the allusion here, *A Joy for Ever*, § 151 (Vol. XVI. p. 137 and *n.*).]

[3] [Proverbs xxiii. v.]

[4] [Matthew v. 3: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for their's is the kingdom of heaven." Luke vi. 20, 24: "Blessed be ye poor . . . But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation."]

57. For the performance of these operations, in the strictest sense scientific, we will first look to the existing so-called "science" of Political Economy; we will ask it to define for us the comparatively and superlatively rich, and the comparatively and superlatively poor; and on its own terms—if any terms it can pronounce—examine, in our prosperous England, how many rich and how many poor people there are; and whether the quantity and intensity of the poverty is indeed so overbalanced by the quantity and intensity of wealth, that we may permit ourselves a luxurious blindness to it, and call ourselves, complacently, a rich country. And if we find no clear definition in the existing science, we will endeavour for ourselves to fix the true degrees of the scale, and to apply them.*

58. III. Question Third. What is the quantity of the store in relation to the Currency?

We have seen[1] that the real worth of the currency, so far as dependent on its relation to the magnitude of the store, may vary, within certain limits, without affecting its worth in exchange. The diminution or increase of the represented wealth may be unperceived, and the currency may be taken either for more or less than it is truly worth. Usually it is taken for much more; and its power in exchange, or credit-power, is thus increased up to a given strain upon its relation to existing wealth. This credit-power is of chief importance in the thoughts, because most sharply present to the experience, of a mercantile

do not think (if they ever honestly ask themselves what they do think), either that Luke vi. 24 is a merely poetical exclamation, or that the Beatitude of Poverty has yet been attained in St. Martin's Lane and other back streets of London.)

* (Large plans!—Eight years are gone, and nothing done yet. But I keep my purpose of making one day this balance, or want of balance, visible, in those so seldom used scales of Justice.)

[1] [Above, § 39, p. 170.]

community: but the conditions of its stability * and all other relations of the currency to the material store are entirely simple in principle, if not in action. Far other than simple are the relations of the currency to the available labour which[1] it also represents. For this relation is involved not only with that of the magnitude of the store to the number, but with that of the magnitude of the store to the mind, of the population. Its proportion to their number, and the resulting worth of currency, are calculable; but its proportion to their will for labour is not. The worth of the piece of money which claims a given quantity of the store is, in exchange, less or greater according to the facility of obtaining the same quantity of the same thing without having recourse to the store. In other words, it depends on the immediate Cost and Price of the thing. We must now, therefore, complete the definition of these terms.

59. All cost and price are counted in Labour. We must know first, therefore, what is to be counted *as* Labour.

I have already[2] defined Labour to be the Contest of the

* These are nearly all briefly represented by the image used for the force of money by Dante, of mast and sail:—

Quali dal vento le gonfiate vele
Caggiono avvolte, poi chè l'alber fiacca
Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele.[3]

The image may be followed out, like all of Dante's, into as close detail as the reader chooses. Thus the stress of the sail must be proportioned to the strength of the mast, and it is only in unforeseen danger that a skilful seaman ever carries all the canvas his spars will bear; states of mercantile languor are like the flap of the sail in a calm; of mercantile precaution, like taking in reefs; and mercantile ruin is instant on the breaking of the mast.

(I mean by credit-power, the general impression on the national mind that a sovereign, or any other coin, is worth so much bread and cheese—so much wine—so much horse and carriage—or so much fine art: it may be really worth, when tried, less or more than is thought: the thought of it is the credit-power.)

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[1] [The original essay here added "by our definition (p. 790)"—the reference here being to § 22.]

[2] [In *Unto this Last*, § 70 (above, pp. 94–95).]

[3] [*Inferno*, vii. 13; compare *Unto this Last*, § 74 *n.* (above, p. 101).]

life of man with an opposite.[1] Literally, it is the quantity of "Lapse," loss, or failure of human life, caused by any effort. It is usually confused with effort itself, or the application of power (opera); but there is much effort which is merely a mode of recreation, or of pleasure. The most beautiful actions of the human body, and the highest results of the human intelligence, are conditions, or achievements, of quite unlaborious,—nay, of recreative,—effort. But labour is the *suffering* in effort. It is the negative quantity, or quantity of de-feat, which has to be counted against every Feat, and of de-fect, which has to be counted against every Fact, or Deed of men. In brief, it is "that quantity of our toil which we die in."

We might, therefore, *à priori*, conjecture (as we shall ultimately find), that it cannot be bought, nor sold. Everything else is bought and sold for Labour, but Labour itself cannot be bought nor sold for anything, being priceless.* The idea that it is a commodity to be bought or sold, is the alpha and omega of Politico-Economic fallacy.

60. This being the nature of labour, the "Cost" of anything is the quantity of labour necessary to obtain it;—the quantity for which, or at which, it "stands" (constat). It is literally the "Constancy" of the thing;—you shall win it—move it—come at it, for no less than this.

Cost is measured and measurable (using the accurate

* The object of Political Economy is not to buy, nor to sell labour, but to spare it. Every attempt to buy or sell it is, in the outcome, ineffectual; so far as successful, it is not sale, but Betrayal; and the purchase-money is a part of that thirty pieces which bought, first the greatest of labours, and afterwards the burial-field of the Stranger;[2] for this purchase-money, being in its very smallness or vileness the exactly measured opposite of the "vilis annona amicorum,"[3] makes all men strangers to each other.

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[1] [The original essay here appended a footnote:—

"That is to say, its only price is its return. Compare *Unto this Last*, p. 80, and what follows."

See now pp. 64 *seq.*, above.]

[2] [Matthew xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3–7.]

[3] [Horace, *Epistles*, i. 12, 24: "Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest" (when good men lack, the price of friends is low).]

Latin terms) only in "labor," not in "opera."* It does not matter how much *work* a thing needs to produce it; it matters only how much *distress*. Generally the more the power it requires, the less the distress; so that the noblest works of man cost less than the meanest.

True labour, or spending of life, is either of the body, in fatigue or pain; of the temper or heart (as in perseverance of search for things,—patience in waiting for them,—fortitude or degradation in suffering for them, and the like), or of the intellect. All these kinds of labour are supposed to be included in the general term, and the quantity of labour is then expressed by the time it lasts. So that a unit of labour is "an hour's work" or a day's work, as we may determine.†

61. Cost, like value, is both intrinsic and effectual. Intrinsic cost is that of getting the thing in the right way; effectual cost is that of getting the thing in the way we set about it. But intrinsic cost cannot be made a subject of analytical investigation, being only partially discoverable, and that by long experience. Effectual cost is all that the political economist can deal with; that is to say, the cost of the thing under existing circumstances, and by known processes.

* Cicero's distinction,[1] "sordidi quæstus, quorum operæ, non quorum artes emuntur," admirable in principle, is inaccurate in expression, because Cicero did not practically know how much operative dexterity is necessary in all the higher arts; but the cost of this dexterity is incalculable. Be it great or small, the "cost" of the mere perfectness of touch in a hammer-stroke of Donatello's, or a pencil-touch of Correggio's, is inestimable by any ordinary arithmetic.[2]

(Old notes, these, more embarrassing, I now perceive, than elucidatory; but right, and worth retaining.)

† Only observe, as some labour is more destructive of life than other labour, the hour or day of the more destructive toil is supposed to include proportionate rest. Though men do not, or cannot, usually take such rest, except in death.

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[1] [*De Officiis*, i. 42, 150.]

[2] [The original essay adds:—

"The best masters themselves usually estimate it at sums varying from two to three or four shillings a day, with wine or soup extra."

Compare Vol. VII. p. 459, and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 41.]

Cost, being dependent much on application of method, varies with the quantity of the thing wanted, and with the number of persons who work for it. It is easy to get a little of some things, but difficult to get much; it is impossible to get some things with few hands, but easy to get them with many.

62. The cost and value of things, however difficult to determine accurately, are thus both dependent on ascertainable physical circumstances.*

* There is, therefore, observe, no such thing as cheapness (in the common use of that term), without some error or injustice. A thing is said to be cheap, not because it is common, but because it is supposed to be sold under its worth. Everything has its proper and true worth at any given time, in relation to everything else; and at that worth should be bought and sold. If sold under it, it is cheap to the buyer by exactly so much as the seller loses, and no more. Putrid meat, at twopence a pound, is not "cheaper" than wholesome meat at sevenpence a pound; it is probably much dearer; but if, by watching your opportunity, you can get the wholesome meat for sixpence a pound, it is cheaper to you by a penny, which you have gained, and the seller has lost. The present rage for cheapness is either, therefore, simply and literally a rage for badness of all commodities, or it is an attempt to find persons whose necessities will force them to let you have more than you should for your money. It is quite easy to produce such persons, and in large numbers; for the more distress there is in a nation, the more cheapness of this sort you can obtain, and your boasted cheapness is thus merely a measure of the extent of your national distress.

There is, indeed, a condition of apparent cheapness, which we have some right to be triumphant in;[1] namely, the real reduction in cost of articles by right application of labour. But in this case the article is only cheap with reference to its *former* price; the so-called cheapness is only our expression for the sensation of contrast between its former and existing prices. So soon as the new methods of producing the article are established, it ceases to be esteemed either cheap or dear, at the new price, as at the old one, and is felt to be cheap only when accident enables it to be purchased beneath this new value. And it is no advantage to produce the article more easily, except as it enables you to multiply your population. Cheapness of this kind is merely the discovery that more men can be maintained on the same ground; and the question how many you will maintain in proportion to your additional means, remains exactly in the same terms that it did before.

A form of immediate cheapness results, however, in many cases, without

[1] [For "have some right to be triumphant in," the original essay reads "confuse, in practice and in reasoning, with the other."]

But their *price* is dependent on the human will.

Such and such a thing is demonstrably good for so much. And it may demonstrably be had for so much.

But it remains questionable, and in all manner of ways questionable, whether I choose to give so much.*

This choice is always a relative one. It is a choice to give a price for this, rather than for that;—a resolution to have the thing, if getting it does not involve the loss of a better thing. Price depends, therefore, not only on the cost of the commodity itself, but on its relation to the cost of every other attainable thing.

Farther. The *power* of choice is also a relative one. It depends not merely on our own estimate of the thing, but on everybody else's estimate;[1] therefore on the number and force of the will of the concurrent buyers, and on the existing quantity of the thing in proportion to that number and force.

distress, from the labour of a population where food is redundant, or where the labour by which the food is produced leaves much idle time on their hands, which may be applied to the production of "cheap" articles.

All such phenomena indicate to the political economist places where the labour is unbalanced. In the first case, the just balance is to be effected by taking labourers from the spot where pressure exists, and sending them to that where food is redundant. In the second, the cheapness is a local accident, advantageous to the local purchaser, disadvantageous to the local producer. It is one of the first duties of commerce to extend the market, and thus give the local producer his full advantage.

Cheapness caused by natural accidents of harvest, weather, etc., is always counterbalanced, in due time, by natural scarcity, similarly caused. It is the part of wise government, and healthy commerce, so to provide in times and places of plenty for times and places of dearth, as that there shall never be waste, nor famine.

Cheapness caused by gluts of the market is merely a disease of clumsy and wanton commerce.

* Price has been already defined (p. 153) to be the quantity of labour which the possessor of a thing is willing to take for it. It is best to consider the price to be that fixed by the possessor, because the possessor has absolute power of refusing sale, while the purchaser has no absolute power of compelling it; but the effectual or market price is that at which their estimates coincide.

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[1] [See above, § 35, p. 166.]

Hence the price of anything depends on four variables.[1]

(1.) Its cost.

(2.) Its attainable quantity at that cost.

(3.) The number and power of the persons who want it.

(4.) The estimate they have formed of its desirableness.

Its value only affects its price so far as it is contemplated in this estimate; perhaps, therefore, not at all.

63. Now, in order to show the manner in which price is expressed in terms of a currency, we must assume these four quantities to be known, and "the estimate of desirableness," commonly called the Demand, to be certain. We will take the number of persons at the lowest. Let A and B be two labourers who "demand," that is to say, have resolved to labour for, two articles, *a* and *b*. Their demand for these articles (if the reader likes better, he may say their need) is to be conceived as absolute, their existence depending on the getting these two things. Suppose, for instance, that they are bread and fuel, in a cold country, and let *a* represent the least quantity of bread, and *b* the least quantity of fuel, which will support a man's life for a day. Let *a* be producible by an hour's labour, but *b* only by two hours' labour.

Then the *cost* of *a* is one hour, and of *b* two (cost, by our definition, being expressible in terms of time). If, therefore, each man worked both for his corn and fuel, each would have to work three hours a day. But they divide the labour for its greater ease.* Then if A works

* This "greater ease" ought to be allowed for by a diminution in the times of the divided work; but as the proportion of times would remain the same, I do not introduce this unnecessary complexity into the calculation.

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[1] [The original essay here appended a footnote:—

"The two first of these variables are included in the *x*, and the two last in the *y*, of the formula given at p. 81 of *Unto this Last*, and the four are the radical conditions which regulate the price of things on first production; in their price in exchange, the third and fourth of these divide each into two others, forming the four which are stated at p. 136 of *Unto this Last*."

The references are now to pp. 64 and 94, above.]

three hours, he produces 3 *a*, which is one *a* more than both the men want. And if B works three hours, he produces only $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*, or half of *b* less than both want. But if A work three hours and B six, A has 3 *a*, and B has 3 *b*, a maintenance in the right proportion for both for a day and a half; so that each might take half a day's rest. But as B has worked double time, the whole of this day's rest belongs in equity to him. Therefore the just exchange should be, A giving two *a* for one *b*, has one *a* and one *b*; —maintenance for a day. B giving one *b* for two *a*, has two *a* and two *b*;—maintenance for two days.

But B cannot rest on the second day, or A would be left without the article which B produces. Nor is there any means of making the exchange just, unless a third labourer is called in. Then one workman, A, produces *a*, and two, B and C, produce *b*:—A, working three hours, has three *a*;—B, three hours, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*;—C, three hours, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*. B and C each give half of *b* for *a*, and all have their equal daily maintenance for equal daily work.

To carry the example a single step farther, let three articles, *a*, *b*, and *c* be needed.

Let *a* need one hour's work, *b* two, and *c* four; then the day's work must be seven hours, and one man in a day's work can make 7 *a*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *b*, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ *c*.

Therefore one A works for *a*, producing 7 *a*; two B's work for *b*, producing 7 *b*; four C's work for *c*, producing 7 *c*.

A has six *a* to spare, and gives two *a* for one *b*, and four *a* for one *c*. Each B has $2\frac{1}{2}$ *b* to spare, and gives $\frac{1}{2}$ *b* for one *a*, and two *b* for one *c*.

Each C has $\frac{3}{4}$ of *c* to spare, and gives $\frac{1}{2}$ *c* for one *b*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of *c* for one *a*.

And all have their day's maintenance.

Generally, therefore, it follows that if the demand is constant,* the relative prices of things are as their costs, or as the quantities of labour involved in production.

* Compare *Unto this Last*, p. 115, *et seq.* [here p. 82].

64. Then, in order to express their prices in terms of a currency, we have only to put the currency into the form of orders for a certain quantity of any given article (with us it is in the form of orders for gold), and all quantities of other articles are priced by the relation they bear to the article which the currency claims.

But the worth of the currency itself is not in the slightest degree founded more on the worth of the article which it either claims or consists in (as gold) than on the worth of every other article for which the gold is exchangeable. It is just as accurate to say, "so many pounds are worth an acre of land," as "an acre of land is worth so many pounds." The worth of gold, of land, of houses, and of food, and of all other things, depends at any moment on the existing quantities and relative demands for all and each; and a change in the worth of, or demand for, any one, involves an instantaneously correspondent change in the worth of, and demand for, all the rest;—a change as inevitable and as accurately balanced (though often in its process as untraceable) as the change in volume of the outflowing river from some vast lake, caused by change in the volume of the inflowing streams, though no eye can trace, nor instrument detect, motion, either on its surface, or in the depth.

65. Thus, then, the real working power or worth of the currency is founded on the entire sum of the relative estimates formed by the population of its possessions; a change in this estimate in any direction (and therefore every change in the national character), instantly alters the value of money, in its second great function of commanding labour. But we must always carefully and sternly distinguish between this worth of currency, dependent on the conceived or appreciated value of what it represents, and the worth of it, dependent on the *existence* of what it represents. A currency is *true or false*, in proportion to the security with which it gives claim to the possession of land, house, horse, or picture; but a currency

is *strong or weak*,* worth much or worth little, in proportion to the degree of estimate in which the nation holds the house, horse, or picture which is claimed. Thus the power of the English currency has been, till of late, largely based on the national estimate of horses and of wine: so that a man might always give any price to furnish choicely his stable, or his cellar; and receive public approval therefore: but if he gave the same sum to furnish his library, he was called mad, or a biblio-maniac. And although he might lose his fortune by his horses, and his health or life by his cellar, and rarely lost either by his books, he was yet never called a Hippo-maniac nor an Oino-maniac;[1] but only Biblio-maniac, because the current worth of money was understood to be legitimately founded on cattle and wine, but not on literature. The prices lately given at sales for pictures and MSS. indicate some tendency to change in the national character in this respect, so that the worth of the currency may even come in time to rest, in an acknowledged manner, somewhat on the state and keeping of the Bedford missal, as well as on the health of Caractacus or Blink Bonny;[2] and old pictures be considered property, no less than old port. They might have been so before now, but that it is more difficult to choose the one than the other.

66. Now, observe, all these sources of variation in the power of the currency exist, wholly irrespective of the influences of vice, indolence, and improvidence. We have hitherto supposed, throughout the analysis, every professing labourer to labour honestly, heartily, and in harmony

* (That is to say, the love of money is founded first on the intenseness of desire for given things; a youth will rob the till, now-a-days, for pantomime tickets and cigars; the "strength" of the currency being irresistible to him, in consequence of his desire for those luxuries.)

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 32.]

[2] [The Bedford Hours, generally known as the Bedford Missal, was written and illuminated for the Duke of Bedford, and presented to Henry VI. in 1430. It was acquired in 1852 for the Library of the British Museum (Add. MSS. 18,850). Caractacus, winner of the Derby in 1862. Blink Bonny, winner of the Derby and the Thousand Guineas in 1857.]

with his fellows. We have now to bring farther into the calculation the effects of relative industry, honour, and forethought; and thus to follow out the bearings of our second inquiry: Who are the holders of the Store and Currency, and in what proportions?

This, however, we must reserve for our next paper—noticing here only that, however distinct the several branches of the subject are, radically, they are so interwoven in their issues that we cannot rightly treat any one, till we have taken cognizance of all. Thus the need of the currency in proportion to number of population is materially influenced by the probable number of the holders in proportion to the non-holders; and this again, by the number of holders of goods, or wealth, in proportion to the non-holders of goods. For as, by definition, the currency is a claim to goods which are not possessed, its quantity indicates the number of claimants in proportion to the number of holders; and the force and complexity of claim. For if the claims be not complex, currency as a means of exchange may be very small in quantity. A sells some corn to B, receiving a promise from B to pay in cattle, which A then hands over to C, to get some wine. C in due time claims the cattle from B; and B takes back his promise. These exchanges have, or might have been, all effected with a single coin or promise; and the proportion of the currency to the store would in such circumstances indicate only the circulating vitality of it—that is to say, the quantity and convenient divisibility of that part of the store which the *habits* of the nation keep in circulation. If a cattle breeder is content to live with his household chiefly on meat and milk, and does not want rich furniture, or jewels, or books—if a wine and corn grower maintains himself and his men chiefly on grapes and bread; —if the wives and daughters of families weave and spin the clothing of the household, and the nation, as a whole, remains content with the produce of its own soil and the work of its own hands, it has little occasion for circulating media. It pledges and promises little and seldom; exchanges

only so far as exchange is necessary for life. The store belongs to the people in whose hands it is found, and money is little needed either as an expression of right, or practical means of division and exchange.

67. But in proportion as the habits of the nation become complex and fantastic (and they may be both, without therefore being civilized), its circulating medium must increase in proportion to its store. If every one wants a little of everything,—if food must be of many kinds, and dress of many fashions,—if multitudes live by work which, ministering to fancy, has its pay measured by fancy, so that large prices will be given by one person for what is valueless to another,—if there are great inequalities of knowledge, causing great inequalities of estimate, — and, finally, and worst of all, if the currency itself, from its largeness, and the power which the possession of it implies, becomes the sole object of desire with large numbers of the nation, so that the holding of it is disputed among them as the main object of life:—in each and all of these cases, the currency necessarily enlarges in proportion to the store; and as a means of exchange and division, as a bond of right, and as an object of passion, has a more and more important and malignant power over the nation's dealings, character, and life.

Against which power, when, as a bond of Right, it becomes too conspicuous and too burdensome, the popular voice is apt to be raised in a violent and irrational manner, leading to revolution instead of remedy. Whereas all possibility of Economy depends on the clear assertion and maintenance of this bond of right, however burdensome. The first necessity of all economical government[1] is to secure the unquestioned and unquestionable working of the great law of Property—that a man who works for a thing shall be allowed to get it, keep it, and consume it, in peace; and that he who does not eat his cake to-day, shall be seen, without grudging, to have his cake to-morrow. This,

[1] [For a reference to this passage, see below, p. 375 and *n.*]

I say, is the first point to be secured by social law; without this, no political advance, nay, no political existence, is in any sort possible. Whatever evil, luxury, iniquity, may seem to result from it, this is nevertheless the first of all Equities; and to the enforcement of this, by law and police-truncheon, the nation must always primarily set its mind—that the cupboard door may have a firm lock to it, and no man's dinner be carried off by the mob, on its way home from the baker's.[1] Which, thus fearlessly asserting, we shall endeavour in next paper to consider how far it may be practicable for the mob itself, also, in due breadth of dish, to have dinners to carry home.

[1] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 68 (below, p. 375), where Ruskin refers to this passage.]

CHAPTER III

COIN-KEEPING [1]

68. It will be seen by reference to the last chapter that our present task is to examine the relation of holders of store to holders of currency; and of both to those who hold neither. In order to do this, we must determine on which side we are to place substances such as gold, commonly known as bases of currency. By aid of previous definitions the reader will now be able to understand closer statements than have yet been possible.

69. *The currency of any country consists of every document acknowledging debt, which is transferable in the country.**

This transferableness depends upon its intelligibility and credit. Its intelligibility depends chiefly on the difficulty of forging anything like it;—its credit much on national character, but ultimately *always on the existence of substantial means of meeting its demand.*†

As the degrees of transferableness are variable, (some documents passing only in certain places, and others passing, if at all, for less than their inscribed value,) both the mass,

* (Remember this definition: it is of great importance as opposed to the imperfect ones usually given. When first these essays were published, I remember one of their reviewers asking contemptuously, "Is half-a-crown a document?" it never having before occurred to him that a document might be stamped as well as written, and stamped on silver as well as on parchment.)

† (I do not mean the demand of the holder of a five-pound note for five pounds, but the demand of the holder of a pound for a pound's worth of something good.)

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[1] [This chapter was part of the third essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines to the portion of the essay included in the present chapter were: "The Currency.—The Currency-holders and the Store-holders.—The Disease of Desire."]

and, so to speak, fluidity, of the currency, are variable. True or perfect currency flows freely, like a pure stream; it becomes sluggish or stagnant in proportion to the quantity of less transferable matter which mixes with it, adding to its bulk, but diminishing its purity. [Articles of commercial value, on which bills are drawn, increase the currency indefinitely; and substances of intrinsic value, if stamped or signed without restriction so as to become acknowledgments of debt, increase it indefinitely also. Every bit of gold found in Australia, so long as it remains uncoined, is an article offered for sale like any other; but as soon as it is coined into pounds, it diminishes the value of every pound we have now in our pockets.][1]

70. Legally authorized or national currency, in its perfect condition, is a form of public acknowledgment of debt, so regulated and divided that any person presenting a commodity of tried worth in the public market, shall, if he please, receive in exchange for it a document giving him claim to the return of its equivalent, (1) in any place, (2) at any time, and (3) in any kind.

When currency is quite healthy and vital, the persons entrusted with its management are always able to give on demand either,

A. The assigning document for the assigned quantity of goods. Or,

B. The assigned quantity of goods for the assigning document.

[1] [The square brackets here denote that the passage enclosed in them was inserted by Ruskin in revising the original essay for republication in 1872. (By error, however, the terminal bracket has hitherto been placed after "indefinitely also" instead of after "our pockets.") The essay reads thus :—

"... diminishing its purity. Substances of intrinsic value, such as gold, mingle also with the currency, and increase, while they modify, its power; these are carried by it as stones are carried by a torrent, sometimes momentarily impeding, sometimes concentrating its force, but not affecting its purity. These substances of intrinsic value may be also stamped or signed so as to become acknowledgments of debt, and then become, so far as they operate independently of their intrinsic value, part of the real currency.

"Deferring consideration of minor forms of currency, consisting of documents bearing private signature, we will examine the principles of legally authorized or national currency. This in its perfect condition ..."]

If they cannot give document for goods, the national exchange is at fault.

If they cannot give goods for document, the national credit is at fault.

The nature and power of the document are therefore to be examined under the three relations it bears to Place, Time, and Kind.

71. (1.) It gives claim to the return of equivalent wealth in any *Place*. Its use in this function is to save carriage, so that parting with a bushel of corn in London, we may receive an order for a bushel of corn at the Antipodes, or elsewhere. To be perfect in this use, the substance of currency must be to the maximum portable, credible, and intelligible. Its non-acceptance or discredit results always from some form of ignorance or dishonour: so far as such interruptions rise out of differences in denomination, there is no ground for their continuance among civilized nations. It may be convenient in one country to use chiefly copper for coinage, in another silver, and in another gold,—reckoning accordingly in centimes, francs, or zecchins: but that a franc should be different in weight and value from a shilling, and a zwanziger[1] vary from both, is wanton loss of commercial power.

72. (2.) It gives claim to the return of equivalent wealth at any *Time*. In this second use, currency is the exponent of accumulation: it renders the laying-up of store at the command of individuals unlimitedly possible;—whereas, but for its intervention, all gathering would be confined within certain limits by the bulk of property, or by its decay, or the difficulty of its guardianship. "I will pull down my barns and build greater,"[2] cannot be a daily saying; and all

[1] [The original essays read:—

"... francs, or sequins: but that a French franc should be different in weight and value from an English shilling, and an Austrian zwanziger vary in weight and alloy from both ..."

The *zecchino*, or sequin—still current in Tuscany when Ruskin wrote—was of pure gold, of the value of 2 *scudi*, or in all 8s. 10¾d. The *zwanziger*, or *lira Austriaca*, equalled the Italian *lira* and 9 *denari*, and passed for 1½ *pauls* (or about 10¾d.).]

[2] [Luke xii. 18.]

material investment is enlargement of care. The national currency transfers the guardianship of the store to many; and preserves to the original producer the right of re-entering on its possession at any future period.

73. (3.) It gives claim (practical, though not legal) to the return of equivalent wealth in any *Kind*. It is a transferable right, not merely to this or that, but to anything; and its power in this function is proportioned to the range of choice. If you give a child an apple or a toy, you give him a determinate pleasure, but if you give him a penny, an indeterminate one, proportioned to the range of selection offered by the shops in the village. The power of the world's currency is similarly in proportion to the openness of the world's fair, and, commonly, enhanced by the brilliancy of external aspect, rather than solidity, of its wares.

74. We have said that the currency consists of orders for equivalent goods. If equivalent, their quality must be guaranteed. The kinds of goods chosen for specific claim must, therefore, be capable of test, while, also, that a store may be kept in hand to meet the call of the currency, smallness of bulk, with great relative value, is desirable; and indestructibility, over at least a certain period, essential.

Such indestructibility, and facility of being tested, are united in gold; its intrinsic value is great, and its imaginary value greater; so that, partly through indolence, partly through necessity and want of organization, most nations have agreed to take gold for the only basis of their currencies;—with this grave disadvantage, that its portability enabling the metal to become an active part of the medium of exchange, the stream of the currency itself becomes opaque with gold—half currency and half commodity, in unison of functions which partly neutralize, partly enhance, each other's force.[1]

75. They partly neutralize, since in so far as the gold is commodity, it is bad currency, because liable to sale; and

[1] [Compare above, p. 195 *n*. For a passing reference to this subject, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 25, where "the use of scarce metals" is spoken of as "often necessary" rather than in itself "beneficent."]

in so far as it is currency, it is bad commodity, because its exchange value interferes with its practical use. Especially its employment in the higher branches of the arts becomes unsafe on account of its liability to be melted down for exchange.

Again. They partly enhance, since in so far as the gold has acknowledged intrinsic value, it is good currency, because everywhere acceptable; and in so far as it has legal exchangeable value, its worth as a commodity is increased. We want no gold in the form of dust or crystal; but we seek for it coined, because in that form it will pay baker and butcher. And this worth in exchange not only absorbs a large quantity in that use,* but greatly increases the effect on the imagination of the quantity used in the arts. Thus, in brief, the force of the functions is increased, but their precision blunted, by their unison.

76. These inconveniences, however, attach to gold as a basis of currency on account of its portability and preciousness. But a far greater inconvenience attaches to it as the only legal basis of currency. Imagine gold to be only attainable in masses weighing several pounds each, and its value, like that of malachite or marble, proportioned to its largeness of bulk;—it could not then get itself confused with the currency in daily use, but it might still remain as

* (Read, and think over, the following note very carefully.[1])
The waste of labour in obtaining the gold, though it cannot be estimated by help of any existing data, may be understood in its bearing on entire economy by supposing it limited to transactions between two persons. If two farmers in Australia have been exchanging corn and cattle with each other for years, keeping their accounts of reciprocal debt in any simple way, the sum of the possessions of either would not be diminished, though the part of it which was lent or borrowed were only reckoned by marks on a stone, or notches on a tree; and the one counted himself accordingly, so many scratches, or so many notches, better than the other. But it would soon be seriously diminished if, discovering gold in their fields, each resolved only to accept golden counters for a reckoning; and accordingly, whenever he wanted a sack of corn or a cow, was obliged to go and wash sand for a week before he could get the means of giving a receipt for them.

[1] [And compare the letter in the Appendix to this volume, ii. 1 (p. 489).]

its basis; and this second inconvenience would still affect it, namely, that its significance as an expression of debt varies, as that of every other article would, with the popular estimate of its desirableness, and with the quantity offered in the market. My power of obtaining other goods for gold depends always on the strength of public passion for gold, and on the limitation of its quantity, so that when either of two things happens—that the world esteems gold less, or finds it more easily—*my right of claim is in that degree effaced;* and it has been even gravely maintained that a discovery of a mountain of gold would cancel the National Debt; in other words, that men may be paid for what costs much in what costs nothing. Now, it is true that there is little chance of sudden convulsion in this respect; the world will not so rapidly increase in wisdom as to despise gold on a sudden; and perhaps may [for a little time][1] desire it more eagerly the more easily it is obtained; nevertheless, the right of debt ought not to rest on a basis of imagination; nor should the frame of a national currency vibrate with every miser's panic, and every merchant's imprudence.

77. There are two methods of avoiding this insecurity, which would have been fallen upon long ago, if, instead of calculating the conditions of the supply of gold, men had only considered how the world might live and manage its affairs without gold at all.* One is, to base the currency on substances of truer intrinsic value; the other, to base it

* It is difficult to estimate the curious futility of discussions such as that which lately occupied a section of the British Association,[2] on the absorption of gold, while no one can produce even the simplest of the data necessary for the inquiry. To take the first occurring one,—What means have we of ascertaining the weight of gold employed this year in the toilettes of the women of Europe (not to speak of Asia); and, supposing it known, what means of conjecturing the weight by which, next year, their fancies, and the changes of style among their jewellers, will diminish or increase it?

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[1] [Here, again, the square brackets denote that the words were inserted by Ruskin in 1872; he should similarly have enclosed "on a sudden."]

[2] [A reference to the meeting at Cambridge, in October 1862, at which Fawcett read a paper "On the Economic Effects of the recent Gold Discoveries."]

on several substances instead of one. If I can only claim gold, the discovery of a golden mountain starves me; but if I can claim bread, the discovery of a continent of cornfields need not trouble me. If, however, I wish to exchange my bread for other things, a good harvest will for the time limit my power in this respect; but if I can claim either bread, iron, or silk at pleasure, the standard of value has three feet instead of one, and will be proportionately firm.[1] Thus, ultimately, the steadiness of currency depends upon the breadth of its base; but the difficulty of organization increasing with this breadth, the discovery of the condition at once safest and most convenient* can only be by long analysis, which must for the present be deferred. Gold or silver† may always be retained in limited use, as a luxury of coinage and questionless standard, of one weight and alloy among all nations, varying only in the die. The purity of coinage, when metallic, is closely indicative of the honesty of the system of revenue, and even of the general dignity of the State.‡

* See, in Pope's epistle to Lord Bathurst, his sketch of the difficulties and uses of a currency literally "pecuniary"—(consisting of herds of cattle).[2]

"His Grace will game—to White's a bull be led," etc.

† Perhaps both; perhaps silver only. It may be found expedient ultimately to leave gold free for use in the arts. As a means of reckoning, the standard might be, and in some cases has already been, entirely ideal. —See Mill's *Political Economy*, book iii. chap. vii. at beginning.

‡ The purity of the drachma[3] and zecchin were not without significance of the state of intellect, art, and policy, both in Athens and Venice;

[1] [Compare, again, the letter in Appendix ii. 1 (p. 488).]

[2] [The words in brackets were added in 1872. For other quotations from the same poem, see *Unto this Last*, §§ 53, 65 (above, pp. 73, 89).]

[3] [Ruskin originally wrote "stater," which in a terminal note to the essays in *Fraser's Magazine* he altered to "drachma"—remarking (see below, p. 290 *n.*) that though in a passage in the *Clouds*, "which best illustrates the point in question," Aristophanes speaks of gold, "the Attic silver was the true standard." There is a mention of the stater in the *Clouds* (line 1041 : πλεῖν ἢ μυρίων ἔστ' ἄξιον στατήρων) —"and this is worth more than 10,000 staters that a man, though choosing the worse arguments, should after all win"—but this does not seem to throw much light on the point in question. As Ruskin may not have had an Aristophanes by him at the time, it seems probable that he was really thinking of a passage in the *Frogs* (720), where reference is made to the gold coinage issued at Athens just before the year 405. The poet there contrasts the old Attic silver coinage, renowned for its purity, with this gold issue, so debased that he calls it no better than brass. The standard coin was the *silver* stater (or tetradrachm); the ordinary *gold* staters (=20 drachmas) were Persian coins current in Greece.]

78. Whatever the article or articles may be which the national currency promises to pay, a premium on that article indicates bankruptcy of the government in that proportion, the division of its assets being restrained only by the remaining confidence of the holders of notes in the return of prosperity to the firm. Currencies of forced acceptance, or of unlimited issue, are merely various modes of disguising taxation, and delaying its pressure, until it is too late to interfere with the cause of pressure. To do away with the possibility of such disguise would have been among the first results of a true economical science, had any such existed; but there have been too many motives for the concealment, so long as it could by any artifices be maintained, to permit hitherto even the founding of such a science.

79. And indeed, it is only through evil conduct, wilfully persisted in, that there is any embarrassment, either in the theory or working of currency. No exchequer is ever embarrassed, nor is any financial question difficult of solution, when people keep their practice honest, and their heads cool. But when governments lose all office of pilotage, protection, or scrutiny; and live only in magnificence of authorized larceny, and polished mendicity;[1] or when the people, choosing Speculation (the *s* usually redundant in the spelling) instead of Toil, visit no dishonesty with chastisement, that each may with impunity take his dishonest turn;[2]—there are no tricks of financial terminology that will save them; all signature and mintage do but magnify the ruin they retard;

—a fact first impressed upon me ten years ago, when, in taking daguerreotypes at Venice, I found no purchaseable gold pure enough to gild them with, except that of the old Venetian zecchin.[3]

[1] [Here Ruskin pruned the original essay a little, which reads :—
". . . protection, scrutiny, and witness; and live only in magnificence of authorized larceny, effulgent mendacity, and polished mendicity . . ."]

[2] [Here, again, Ruskin curtailed ; the original essay reads :—
". . . dishonest turn, and enlarge their lust of wealth through ignorance of its use, making their harlot of the dust, and setting Earth the Mother at the mercy of Earth the Destroyer, so that she has to seek in hell the children she left playing in the meadows,—there are no tricks . . ."
For a note on this passage, see the Introduction; above, p. lxvii.]

[3] [Ruskin refers to 1850. For his interest in daguerreotypes, see Vol. III. p. 210; Vol. VIII. pp. 4, 13; and Vol. X. p. 356; also *Præterita*, ii. §§ 141, 221.]

and even the riches that remain, stagnant or current, change only from the slime of Avernus to the sand of Phlegethon[1] —*quick*sand at the embouchure;—land fluently recommended by recent auctioneers as "eligible for building leases."

80. Finally, then, the power of true currency is fourfold.

(1.) Credit power. Its worth in exchange, dependent on public opinion of the stability and honesty of the issuer.

(2.) Real worth. Supposing the gold, or whatever else the currency expressly promises, to be required from the issuer, for all his notes; and that the call cannot be met in full. Then the actual worth of the document would be, and its actual worth at any moment is, therefore, to be defined as, what the division of the assets of the issuer would produce for it.

(3.) The exchange power of its base. Granting that we can get five pounds in gold for our note, it remains a question how much of other things we can get for five pounds in gold. The more of other things exist, and the less gold, the greater this power.

(4.) The power over labour, exercised by the given quantity of the base, or of the things to be got for it. The question in this case is, how much work, and (question of questions!) *whose* work, is to be had for the food which five pounds will buy. This depends on the number of the population, on their gifts, and on their dispositions, with which, down to their slightest humours, and up to their strongest impulses, the power of the currency varies.[2]

81. Such being the main conditions of national currency, we proceed to examine those of the total currency, under the broad definition, "transferable acknowledgment

[1] [Ruskin writes with Virgil and Dante in his mind; thinking of the putrid and stagnant waters of Lake Avernus (*Æneid*, vi.) and of Phlegethon, the river of Hell whose waters of blood race quickly (*ibid.*, 550): for Dante's Phlegethon, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 23.]

[2] [Here the original essay continues:—

"... currency varies; and in this last of its ranges—the range of passion, price, or praise (converso in pretium Deo), is at once least, and greatest."

See Horace, *Odes*, iii. 16, 8—the ode which begins with an ironical rationalisation of the legend of Danaë: "the way was smooth and plain when the god was turned into his price in gold."]

of debt;"* among the many forms of which there are in effect only two, distinctly opposed; namely, the acknowledgments of debts which will be paid, and of debts which will not. Documents, whether in whole or part, of bad debt, being to those of good debt as bad money to bullion, we put for the present these forms of imposture aside (as in analysing a metal we should wash it clear of dross), and then range, in their exact quantities, the true currency of the country on one side, and the store or property of the

* Under which term, observe, we include all documents of debt which, being honest, might be transferable, though they practically are not transferred; while we exclude all documents which are in reality worthless, though in fact transferred temporarily, as bad money is. The document of honest debt, not transferred, is merely to paper currency as gold withdrawn from circulation is to that of bullion.[1] Much confusion has crept into the reasoning on this subject from the idea that the withdrawal from circulation is a definable state, whereas it is a graduated state, and indefinable. The sovereign in my pocket is withdrawn from circulation as long as I choose to keep it there. It is no otherwise withdrawn if I bury it, nor even if I choose to make it, and others, into a golden cup, and drink out of them; since a rise in the price of the wine, or of other things, may at any time cause me to melt the cup and throw it back into currency; and the bullion operates on the prices of the things in the market as directly, though not as forcibly, while it is in the form of a cup as it does in the form of a sovereign. No calculation can be founded on my humour in either case. If I like to handle rouleaus, and therefore keep a quantity of gold, to play with, in the form of jointed basaltic columns, it is all one in its effect on the market as if I kept it in the form of twisted filigree, or, steadily "amicus lamnæ,"[2] beat the narrow gold pieces into broad ones, and dined off them. The probability is greater that I break the rouleau than that I melt the plate; but the increased probability is not calculable. Thus, documents are only withdrawn from the currency when cancelled, and bullion when it is so effectually lost as that the probability of finding it is no greater than of finding new gold in the mine.

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[1] [Here, also, see the letter in Appendix ii. 1 (p. 489).]

[2] [The reference here is to Horace, *Odes*, ii. 2, 2:—

"Nullus argento color est avaris
Abdito terris, *inimice lamnæ*
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
Splendeat usu"—

"lamna" being the unwrought bar into which the metal was first run. "As silver has no brightness while it is still in the earth, but shines with fair use, so money only acquires its value by the purposes it is put to"—is the poet's argument; Ruskin takes a man who, on the contrary, is *amicus lamnæ*, and keeps his gold in the form of bullion.]

country on the other. We place gold, and all such substances, on the side of documents, as far as they operate by signature;—on the side of store as far as they operate by value. Then the currency represents the quantity of debt in the country, and the store the quantity of its possession. The ownership of all the property is divided between the holders of currency and holders of store, and whatever the claiming value of the currency is at any moment, that value is to be deducted from the riches of the store-holders.[1]

82. Farther, as true currency represents by definition debts which will be paid, it represents either the debtor's wealth, or his ability and willingness; that is to say, either wealth existing in his hands transferred to him by the creditor, or wealth which, as he is at some time surely to return it, he is either increasing, or, if diminishing, has the will and strength to reproduce. A sound currency therefore, as by its increase it represents enlarging debt, represents also enlarging means; but in this curious way, that a certain quantity of it marks the deficiency of the

[1] [Here the original essay proceeds :—

"... store-holders, the deduction being practically made in the payment of rent for houses and lands, of interest on stock, and in other ways hereafter to be examined. At present I wish only to note the broad relations of the two great classes—the currency-holders and the store-holders.* Of course they are partly united, most monied men having possessions of land or other goods; but they are separate in their nature and functions. The currency-holders as a class regulate the demand for labour, and the store-holders the laws of it; the currency-holders determine what shall be produced, and the store-holders the conditions of its production."

* "They are (up to the amount of the currency) simply creditors and debtors—the commercial types of the two great sets of humanity which those words describe; for debt and credit are of course merely the mercantile forms of the words 'duty' and 'creed,' which give the central ideas; only it is more accurate to say 'faith' than 'creed,' because creed has been applied carelessly to mere forms of words. Duty properly signifies whatever in substance or act one person owes to another, and faith the other's trust in his rendering it. The French 'devoir' and 'foi' are fuller and clearer words than ours; for, faith being the passive of fact, foi comes straight through fides from fio; and the French keep the group of words formed from the infinitive—fieri, 'se fier,' 'se défier,' 'défiance,' and the grand following 'défi.' Our English 'affiance,' 'defiance,' 'confidence,' 'diffidence' retain accurate meanings; but our 'faithful' has become obscure from being used for 'faithworthy,' as well as 'full of faith.' 'His name that sat on him was called Faithful and True.'

"Trust is the passive of true saying, as faith is the passive of due doing; and the right learning of these etymologies, which are in the strictest sense only to be learned 'by heart,' is of considerably more importance to the youth of a nation than its reading and ciphering."

For a further note (in the original essay) on the etymology of "faith," etc., see below, p. 290 *n.*; and compare *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. pp. 326–327). The Bible quotation is from Revelation xix. 11.]

wealth of the country from what it would have been if that currency had not existed.* In this respect it is like the detritus of a mountain; assume that it lies at a fixed angle, and the more the detritus, the larger must be the mountain; but it would have been larger still, had there been none.

83. Farther, though, as above stated,[1] every man possessing money has usually also some property beyond what is necessary for his immediate wants, and men possessing property usually also hold currency beyond what is necessary for their immediate exchanges, it mainly determines the class to which they belong, whether in their eyes the money is an adjunct of the property, or the property of the money. In the first case the holder's pleasure is in his possessions, and in his money subordinately, as the means of bettering or adding to them. In the second, his pleasure is in his money, and in his possessions only as representing it. (In the first case the money is as an atmosphere surrounding the wealth, rising from it and raining back upon it; but in the second, it is as a deluge, with the wealth floating, and for the most part perishing in it.†) The shortest distinction between the men is that the one wishes always to buy, and the other to sell.

* For example, suppose an active peasant, having got his ground into good order and built himself a comfortable house, finding time still on his hands, sees one of his neighbours little able to work, and ill-lodged, and offers to build him also a house, and to put his land in order, on condition of receiving for a given period rent for the building and tithe of the fruits. The offer is accepted, and a document given promissory of rent and tithe. This note is money. It can only be good money if the man who has incurred the debt so far recovers his strength as to be able to take advantage of the help he has received, and meet the demand of the note; if he lets his house fall to ruin, and his field to waste, his promissory note will soon be valueless: but the existence of the note at all is a consequence of his not having worked so stoutly as the other. Let him gain as much as to be able to pay back the entire debt; the note is cancelled, and we have two rich store-holders and no currency.

† (You need not trouble yourself to make out the sentence in parenthesis, unless you like, but do not think it is mere metaphor. It states a fact which I could not have stated so shortly, *but* by metaphor.)

[1] [Stated in a passage in the original essays: see p. 204 *n.*]

84. Such being the great relations of the classes, their several characters are of the highest importance to the nation; for on the character of the store-holders chiefly depend the preservation, display, and serviceableness of its wealth; on that of the currency-holders, its distribution; on that of both, its reproduction.[1]

We shall, therefore, ultimately find it to be of incomparably greater importance to the nation in whose hands the thing is put, than how much of it is got; and that the character of the holders may be conjectured by the quality of the store; for such and such a man always asks for such and such a thing; nor only asks for it, but if it can be bettered, betters it: so that possession and possessor reciprocally act on each other, through the entire sum of national possession. The base nation, asking for base things, sinks daily to deeper vileness of nature and weakness in use; while the noble nation, asking for noble things, rises daily into diviner eminence in both; the tendency to degradation being surely marked by "ἀταξία"; that is to say, (expanding the Greek thought,[2]) by carelessness as to the hands in which things are put, consequent dispute for the acquisition of them, disorderliness in accumulation of them, inaccuracy in estimate of them, and bluntness in conception as to the entire nature of possession.

85. The currency-holders always increase in number and influence in proportion to the bluntness of nature and clumsiness of the store-holders; for the less use people can make of things, the more they want of them, and the sooner weary of them, and want to change them for something else; and all frequency of change increases the quantity and power of currency. The large currency-holder himself is

[1] [Here the original essay reads:—
". . . its reproduction.
"The store-holders are either constructive, neutral, or destructive; and in subsequent papers we shall with respect to every kind of wealth, examine the relative power of the store-holder for its improvement or destruction; and we shall then find it to be . . ."]

[2] [ἀταξία meaning originally "want of military discipline," and then passing to mean want of discipline in character (as in Plato's *Crito*, 53 D.).]

essentially a person who never has been able to make up his mind as to what he will have, and proceeds, therefore, in vague collection and aggregation, with more and more infuriate passion, urged by complacency in progress, vacancy in idea, and pride of conquest.

While, however, there is this obscurity in the nature of possession of currency, there is a charm in the seclusion of it, which is to some people very enticing. In the enjoyment of real property, others must partly share. The groom has some enjoyment of the stud, and the gardener of the garden; but the money is, or seems, shut up; it is wholly enviable. No one else can have part in any complacencies arising from it.

The power of arithmetical comparison is also a great thing to unimaginative people. They know always they are so much better than they were, in money; so much better than others, in money; but wit cannot be so compared, nor character. My neighbour cannot be convinced that I am wiser than he is, but he can, that I am worth so much more; and the universality of the conviction is no less flattering than its clearness. Only a few can understand, —none measure—and few will willingly adore, superiorities in other things; but everybody can understand money, everybody can count it, and most will worship it.

86. Now, these various temptations to accumulation would be politically harmless if what was vainly accumulated had any fair chance of being wisely spent. For as accumulation cannot go on for ever, but must some day end in its reverse—if this reverse were indeed a beneficial distribution and use, as irrigation from reservoir, the fever of gathering, though perilous to the gatherer, might be serviceable to the community. But it constantly happens (so constantly, that it may be stated as a political law having few exceptions), that what is unreasonably gathered is also unreasonably spent by the persons into whose hands it finally falls. Very frequently it is spent in war, or else in a stupefying luxury, twice hurtful, both in being indulged by the rich and

witnessed by the poor. So that the *mal tener* and *mal dare*[1] are as correlative as complementary colours; and the circulation of wealth, which ought to be soft, steady, strong, far-sweeping, and full of warmth, like the Gulf stream, being narrowed into an eddy, and concentrated on a point, changes into the alternate suction and surrender of Charybdis. Which is indeed, I doubt not, the true meaning of that marvellous fable, "infinite," as Bacon said of it,[2] "in matter of meditation." * [3]

87. It is a strange habit of wise humanity to speak in enigmas only, so that the highest truths and usefullest laws must be hunted for through whole picture-galleries of dreams, which to the vulgar seem dreams only.[4] Thus Homer, the Greek tragedians, Plato, Dante, Chaucer, Shakspeare, and Goethe, have hidden all that is chiefly serviceable in their work, and in all the various literature they absorbed and re-embodied, under types which have rendered it quite useless to the multitude. What is worse, the two primal declarers of moral discovery, Homer and Plato, are partly at issue; for Plato's logical power quenched his imagination, and he became incapable of understanding the purely imaginative element either in poetry or painting: he therefore somewhat overrates the pure discipline of passionate art in song and music, and misses that of meditative art. There is, however, a deeper reason for his distrust of Homer. His

* (What follows, to the end of the chapter, was a note only, in the first printing; but for after service, it is of more value than any other part of the book, so I have put it into the main text.)

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[1] [*Inferno*, vii. 58, where Dante, in the fourth circle, finds one common doom awaiting the prodigal and the avaricious: "that ill they gave, and ill they kept, hath deprived them of the beauteous world."]

[2] [See ch. xxvii. in Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum:* "quam nos breviter perstringemus tametsi infinitam trahat contemplationem"—his discussion of the fable of Charybdis.]

[3] [Here the original essay continued:—

> "The disease of desire having especial relation to the great art of Exchange, or Commerce, we must, in order to complete our code of first principles, shortly state the nature and limits of that art."

It then continued as at § 95 here.]

[4] [On this subject, compare Vol. XI. pp. 178–180; *Cestus of Aglaia*, §§ 36, 48; *Queen of the Air*, § 17; and a letter given in the Introduction, above, p. lxiv.]

love of justice, and reverently religious nature, made him dread, as death, every form of fallacy; but chiefly, fallacy respecting the world to come (his own myths being only symbolic exponents of a rational hope). We shall perhaps now every day discover more clearly how right Plato was in this, and feel ourselves more and more wonderstruck that men such as Homer and Dante (and, in an inferior sphere, Milton), not to speak of the great sculptors and painters of every age, have permitted themselves, though full of all nobleness and wisdom, to coin idle imaginations of the mysteries of eternity, and guide the faiths of the families of the earth by the courses of their own vague and visionary arts:[1] while the indisputable truths of human life and duty, respecting which they all have but one voice, lie hidden behind these veils of phantasy, unsought, and often unsuspected. I will gather carefully, out of Dante and Homer, what, in this kind, bears on our subject, in its due place; the first broad intention of their symbols may be sketched at once.

88. The rewards of a worthy use of riches, subordinate to other ends, are shown by Dante in the fifth and sixth orbs of Paradise;[2] for the punishment of their unworthy use, three places are assigned; one for the avaricious and prodigal whose souls are lost (*Hell*, canto 7); one for the avaricious and prodigal whose souls are capable of purification (*Purgatory*, canto 19); and one for the usurers, of whom *none* can be redeemed (*Hell*, canto 17). The first group, the largest in all hell ("gente più che altrove troppa," compare Virgil's "quæ maxima turba"[3]), meet in contrary currents, *as the waves of Charybdis*, casting weights at each other from opposite sides. This weariness of contention is the chief element of their torture; so marked by the beautiful

[1] [Compare "The Mystery of Life and its Arts": *Sesame and Lilies*, § 112 (Vol. XVIII. p. 158).]

[2] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 46 (above, p. 62), where Ruskin refers in a similar sense to *Paradiso*, xviii. The "fifth and sixth orbs of Paradise" are the Heavens of Mars and of Jupiter, which, however, the poet assigns (not with any direct reference to the use of riches) respectively to the spirits of those who fought for the faith, and of those who loved and exercised justice.]

[3] [*Æneid*, vi. 611.]

lines beginning "Or puoi, figliuol," etc.: (but the usurers, who made their money inactively, *sit* on the sand, equally without rest, however. "Di qua, di là, soccorrien," etc.) For it is not avarice, but *contention* for riches, leading to this double misuse of them, which, in Dante's sight, is the unredeemable sin. The place of its punishment is guarded by Plutus, "the great enemy," and "la fièra crudele,"[1] a spirit quite different from the Greek Plutus, who, though old and blind, is not cruel, and is curable, so as to become far-sighted. (*οὐ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὀξὺ βλέπων*—Plato's epithets in first book of the *Laws*.[2]) Still more does this Dantesque type differ from the resplendent Plutus of Goethe in the second part of *Faust*, who is the personified power of wealth for good or evil—not the passion for wealth; and again from the Plutus of Spenser, who is the passion of mere aggregation.[3] Dante's Plutus is specially and definitely the Spirit of Contention and Competition, or Evil Commerce; because, as I showed before, this kind of commerce "makes all men strangers";[4] his speech is therefore unintelligible, and no single soul of all those ruined by him *has recognizable features*.[5]

On the other hand, the redeemable sins of avarice and prodigality are, in Dante's sight, those which are without deliberate or calculated operation. The lust, or lavishness, of riches can be purged, so long as there has been no servile consistency of dispute and competition for them. The sin is spoken of as that of degradation by the love of earth; it is

[1] [*Inferno*, vi., last line: "Quivi trovammo Pluto il gran nemico" (quoted also in Vol. VII. p. 401); and *Lectures on Landscape*, § 89.]

[2] [631 C.: "Of the lesser gods the first is health, the second beauty, the third strength . . . and the fourth is wealth, not the blind god, but one who is keen of sight, and has wisdom for a companion."]

[3] [See *The Faerie Queene*, book ii. canto vii. 24 *seq.* Compare *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 403).]

[4] [See above, § 59 *n.*; p. 183.]

[5] [The original essay adds here:—

"(La sconoscente vita
Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni.)"

The reference is to the *Inferno*, vii. 53–54 ("La sconoscente vita, che i fe' sozzi, Ad ogni . . .": "the ignoble life which made them sordid now makes them unto all discernment dim"). Ruskin quotes the passage again in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 8; and for the inarticulateness of Dante's *Plutus*, compare *Unto this Last*, §§ 74 *n.*; above, p. 100.]

purified by deeper humiliation — the souls crawl on their bellies; their chant is, "my soul cleaveth unto the dust."[1] But the spirits thus condemned are all recognizable, and even the worst examples of the thirst for gold, which they are compelled to tell the histories of during the night, are of men swept by the passion of avarice into violent crime, but not sold to its steady work.

89. The precept given to each of these spirits for its deliverance is—Turn thine eyes to the lucre (lure)[2] which the Eternal King rolls with the mighty wheels. Otherwise, the wheels of the "Greater Fortune," of which the constellation is ascending when Dante's dream begins.[3] Compare George Herbert—

> "Lift up thy head;
> Take stars for money; stars, not to be told
> By any art, yet to be purchased."[4]

And Plato's notable sentence in the third book of the *Polity*:—"Tell them they have divine gold and silver in their souls for ever; that they need no money stamped of men—neither may they otherwise than impiously mingle the gathering of the divine with the mortal treasure, *for through that which the law of the multitude has coined, endless crimes have been done and suffered; but in theirs is neither pollution nor sorrow.*"[5]

90. At the entrance of this place of punishment an evil spirit is seen by Dante, quite other than the "Gran Nemico." The great enemy is obeyed knowingly and willingly; but the spirit—feminine—and called a Siren[6]—is the "*Deceitfulness* of riches," ἀπάτη πλούτου of the Gospels,[7] winning obedience by guile. This is the Idol of riches, made doubly phantasmal by Dante's seeing her in a dream. She is lovely

[1] [Psalms cxix. 25, quoted by Dante from the Vulgate: see *Purgatorio*, xix. 73.]
[2] [*Logoro* (lure) in Dante; Ruskin appears to assume a connexion between the words "lure" and "lucre" which can hardly be maintained.]
[3] [*Purgatorio*, xix. 4–7.]
[4] [*The Church Porch*, xxix. Ruskin quotes from memory; the first words are "Raise thy head."]
[5] [*Republic*, iii. 416 E.]
[6] [*Purgatorio*, xix. 19.]
[7] [Matthew xiii. 22.]

to look upon, and enchants by her sweet singing, but her womb is loathsome. Now, Dante does not call her one of the Sirens carelessly, any more than he speaks of Charybdis carelessly; and though he had got at the meaning of Homeric fable only through Virgil's obscure tradition of it,[1] the clue he has given us is quite enough. Bacon's interpretation, "the Sirens, *or pleasures*,"[2] which has become universal since his time, is opposed alike to Plato's meaning and Homer's. The Sirens are not pleasures, but *Desires:* in the *Odyssey* they are the phantoms of vain desire;[3] but in Plato's Vision of Destiny, phantoms of divine desire; singing each a different note on the circles of the distaff of Necessity, but forming one harmony, to which the three great Fates put words.[4] Dante, however, adopted the Homeric conception of them,[5] which was that they were demons of the Imagination, not carnal; (desire of the eyes; not lust of the flesh;[6]) therefore said to be daughters of the Muses.[7] Yet not of the Muses, heavenly or historical, but of the Muse of pleasure; and they are at first winged, because even vain hope excites and helps when first formed; but afterwards, contending for the possession of the imagination with the Muses themselves, they are deprived of their wings.

91. And thus we are to distinguish the Siren power from

[1] [In *Æneid*, v. 864 *seq.*]

[2] [The title of ch. xxxi. in his *De Sapientia Veterum.*]

[3] [*Odyssey*, xii. 40–54, 153–200. For an interesting discussion of the Myths of the Sirens in art and literature, see Miss Jane Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey* (1882), pp. 146–182.]

[4] [*Republic*, x. 617 B.: "The spindle turns on the knees of Necessity; and on the upper surface of each circle is a Siren, who goes round with them, hymning a single sound and note. The eight together form one harmony; and round about, at equal intervals, there is another band, three in number, each sitting upon her throne: these are the Fates, daughters of Necessity, who are clothed in white raiment and have garlands upon their heads, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos, who accompany with their voices the harmony of the Sirens—Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future" (Jowett's version).]

[5] [Probably, however, not consciously so; for Dante, as Ruskin has just said, seems to have been ignorant of Homer's account: see Paget Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, under "Sirena."]

[6] [Ezekiel xxiv. 16; 1 John ii. 16.]

[7] [Here Ruskin passes to versions of the legend later than Homer. Apollonius Rhodius (iv. 894) makes the Sirens daughters of the Muse Terpsichore; and other writers tell of a contest, on lyre and flute, between the Sirens and the Muses, in which the victors fell upon the Sirens, plucked their feathers, and wore them in token of victory (Julian, *Epist.* 41; Pausanias, ix. 34, 3).]

the power of Circe, who is no daughter of the Muses, but of the strong elements, Sun and Sea;[1] her power is that of frank, and full vital pleasure, which, if governed and watched, nourishes men; but, unwatched, and having no "moly," bitterness or delay, mixed with it, turns men into beasts, but does not slay them,—leaves them, on the contrary, power of revival. She is herself indeed an Enchantress;—pure Animal life; transforming—or degrading—but always wonderful (she puts the stores on board the ship invisibly, and is gone again, like a ghost[2]); even the wild beasts rejoice and are softened around her cave; the transforming poisons she gives to men are mixed with no rich feast, but with pure and right nourishment,—Pramnian wine, cheese, and flour;[3] that is, wine, milk, and corn, the three great sustainers of life—it is their own fault if these make swine of them; (see Appendix V.) and swine are chosen merely as the type of consumption; as Plato's ὑῶν πόλις, in the second book of the *Polity*,[4] and perhaps chosen by Homer with a deeper knowledge of the likeness in variety of nourishment, and internal form of body.

"Et quel est, s'il vous plait, cet audacieux animal qui se permet d'être bâti au dedans comme une jolie petite fille?

"Hélas! chère enfant, j'ai honte de le nommer, et il ne faudra pas m'en vouloir. C'est . . . c'est le cochon. Ce n'est pas précisément flatteur pour vous; mais nous en sommes tout là, et si cela vous contrarie par trop, il faut aller vous plaindre au bon Dieu qui a voulu que les choses fussent arrangées ainsi: seulement le cochon, qui ne pense qu'à manger, a l'estomac bien plus vaste que nous et c'est toujours une consolation."—(*Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain*, Lettre ix.[5])

92. But the deadly Sirens are in all things opposed to the Circean power. They promise pleasure, but never give

[1] [*Odyssey*, x. 138, 139. For the herb "moly" as a counter-charm, see *ibid.*, 305.]
[2] [*Odyssey*, x. 571–574.]
[3] [*Odyssey*, x. 235.]
[4] [*Republic*, 372.]
[5] [Jean Macé, *Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain: lettres à une petite fille sur la vie de l'homme et des animaux*, 1861 (an English translation, by Mrs. A. Gatty, was published in 1864).]

it. They nourish in no wise; but slay by slow death. And whereas they corrupt the heart and the head, instead of merely betraying the senses, there is no recovery from their power; they do not tear nor scratch, like Scylla, but the men who have listened to them are poisoned, and waste away. Note that the Sirens' field is covered, not merely with the bones, but with the *skins*,[1] of those who have been consumed there. They address themselves, in the part of the song which Homer gives, not to the passions of Ulysses, but to his vanity, and the only man who ever came within hearing of them, and escaped untempted, was Orpheus, who silenced the vain imaginations by singing the praises of the gods.[2]

93. It is, then, one of these Sirens whom Dante takes as the phantasm or deceitfulness of riches; but note further, that she says it was her song that deceived Ulysses.[3] Look back to Dante's account of Ulysses' death, and we find it was not the love of money, but pride of knowledge,[4] that betrayed him; whence we get the clue to Dante's complete meaning: that the souls whose love of wealth is pardonable have been first deceived into pursuit of it by a dream of its higher uses, or by ambition. His Siren is therefore the Philotimé of Spenser, daughter of Mammon—

> "Whom all that folk with such contention
> Do flock about, my deare, my daughter is—
> Honour and dignitie from her alone
> Derived are." [5]

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[1] [See *Odyssey*, xii. 46; and for the Sirens' song, *ibid.*, 184–191. Ruskin quotes it in the *Eagle's Nest*, both in Greek (§ 78) and in English (§ 74).]

[2] [See Apollodorus, i. 9, 25; and compare Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 905.]

[3] [*Purgatorio*, xix. 22: "I, from his course, Ulysses by my lay enchanted drew."]

[4] [*Inferno*, xxvi. 94–99:—

> "Nor fondness for my son, nor reverence
> Of my old father, nor return of love,
> That should have crown'd Penelope with joy,
> Could overcome in me the zeal I had
> To explore the world, and search the ways of life,
> Man's evil and his virtue."

For other notes by Ruskin on Dante's account of the death of Ulysses—"the most melancholy piece in all Dante"—see *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. i. p. 210 (reprinted in a later volume of this edition), and *Eagle's Nest*, § 75.]

[5] [*The Faerie Queene*, ii. 7, 48.]

By comparing Spenser's entire account of this Philotimé with Dante's of the Wealth-Siren, we shall get at the full meaning of both poets; but that of Homer lies hidden much more deeply. For his Sirens are indefinite; and they are desires of any evil thing; power of wealth is not specially indicated by him, until, escaping the harmonious danger of imagination, Ulysses has to choose between two practical ways of life, indicated by the two *rocks* of Scylla and Charybdis. The monsters that haunt them are quite distinct from the rocks themselves, which, having many other subordinate significations, are in the main Labour and Idleness, or getting and spending; each with its attendant monster, or betraying demon. The rock of gaining has its summit in the clouds, invisible, and not to be climbed; that of spending is low, but marked by the cursed fig-tree, which has leaves, but no fruit.[1] We know the type elsewhere;[2] and there is a curious lateral allusion to it by Dante when Jacopo di Sant' Andrea, who had ruined himself by profusion and committed suicide, scatters the leaves of the bush of Lotto degli Agli, endeavouring to hide himself among them.[3] We shall hereafter examine the type completely;[4] here I will only give an approximate rendering of Homer's words, which have been obscured more by translation than even by tradition.[5]

94. "They are overhanging rocks. The great waves of blue water break round them; and the blessed Gods call them the Wanderers.

"By one of them no winged thing can pass—not even the wild doves that bring ambrosia to their father Jove—but the smooth rock seizes its sacrifice of them." (Not even ambrosia to be had without Labour. The word is peculiar—as a part of anything is offered for sacrifice; especially

[1] [For the fig-tree of Charybdis, see below, p. 290.]
[2] [See Matthew xxi. 19; Mark xi. 13; and for the parable, Luke xiii. 6.]
[3] [*Inferno*, xiii. 115 *seq.*]
[4] [A reference to the intended, but unwritten, sequel: see, however, §§ 152–153, below (p. 276), for some discussion of similar topics.]
[5] [*Odyssey*, xii. 59–64. Then Ruskin omits several lines, and continues with 73–81, 85–92, 101–107.]

used of heave-offering.[1]) "It reaches the wide heaven with its top, and a dark-blue cloud rests on it, and never passes; neither does the clear sky hold it, in summer nor in harvest. Nor can any man climb it—not if he had twenty feet and hands, for it is as smooth as though it were hewn.

"And in the midst of it is a cave which is turned the way of hell. And therein dwells Scylla, whining for prey; her cry, indeed, is no louder than that of a newly-born whelp: but she herself is an awful thing—nor can any creature see her face and be glad; no, though it were a god that rose against her. For she had twelve feet, all fore-feet, and six necks, and terrible heads on them; and each has three rows of teeth, full of black death.

"But the opposite rock is lower than this, though but a bow-shot distant; and upon it there is a great fig-tree, full of leaves; and under it the terrible Charybdis sucks down the black water. Thrice in the day she sucks it down, and thrice casts it up again; be not thou there when she sucks down, for Neptune himself could not save thee."

(Thus far went my rambling note, in *Fraser's Magazine.*[2] The Editor sent me a compliment on it—of which I was very proud; what the Publisher thought of it, I am not informed;[3] only I know that eventually he stopped the papers. I think a great deal of it myself, now, and have put it all in large print accordingly, and should like to write more; but will, on the contrary, self-denyingly, and in gratitude to any reader who has got through so much, end my chapter.)

[1] [Homer's word is ἀφαιρεῖται. The word ἀφαίρεμα is used in the Septuagint (Numbers xv. 20, 21; xviii. 27; xxxi. 41) of heave-offerings (*i.e.*, in the Levitical law offerings which were heaved or elevated by the priest).]

[2] [The original note went, however, a little further, adding: "The reader will find the meaning of these types gradually elicited as we proceed."]

[3] [The editor was Froude; the publishers "Parker, Son, and Brown"; but a little later the magazine was transferred to Messrs. Longman.]

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCE[1]

95. As the currency conveys right of choice out of many things in exchange for one, so Commerce is the agency by which the power of choice is obtained; so that countries producing only timber can obtain for their timber silk and gold; or, naturally producing only jewels and frankincense, can obtain for them cattle and corn. In this function, commerce is of more importance to a country in proportion to the limitations of its products, and the restlessness of its fancy;—generally of greater importance towards Northern latitudes.

96. Commerce is necessary, however, not only to exchange local products, but local skill. Labour requiring the agency of fire can only be given abundantly in cold countries; labour requiring suppleness of body and sensitiveness of touch, only in warm ones; labour involving accurate vivacity of thought only in temperate ones; while peculiar imaginative actions are produced by extremes of heat and cold, and of light and darkness. The production of great art is limited to climates warm enough to admit of repose in the open air, and cool enough to render such repose delightful. Minor variations in modes of skill distinguish every locality. The labour which at any place is easiest, is in that place cheapest; and it becomes often desirable that products raised in one country should be wrought in another. Hence have arisen discussions on "International values" which will be one day remembered as highly curious exercises of the human

[1] [This chapter was the continuation of the third essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines to the portion of the essay contained in the present chapter were: "Labour and its Conditions.—Trader and Traditor.—The Homeric Atlantis."]

mind. For it will be discovered, in due course of tide and time,[1] that international value is regulated just as inter-provincial or inter-parishional value is. Coals and hops are exchanged between Northumberland and Kent on absolutely the same principles as iron and wine between Lancashire and Spain. The greater breadth of an arm of the sea increases the cost, but does not modify the principle of exchange; and a bargain written in two languages will have no other economical results than a bargain written in one. The distances of nations are measured, not by seas, but by ignorances; and their divisions determined, not by dialects, but by enmities.*

97. Of course, a system of international values may always be constructed if we assume a relation of moral law to physical geography; as, for instance, that it is right to cheat or rob across a river, though not across a road; or across a sea, though not across a river, etc.;—again, a system of such values may be constructed by assuming similar relations of taxation to physical geography; as, for instance, that an article should be taxed in crossing a river, but not in crossing a road; or in being carried fifty miles, but not in being carried five, etc.; such positions are indeed not easily maintained when once put in logical form; but *one* law of international value is maintainable in any form: namely, that the farther your neighbour lives from you, and the less he understands you, *the more you are bound to be true in your dealings with him;* because your power

* (I have repeated the substance of this and the next paragraph so often[2] since, that I am ashamed and weary. The thing is too true, and too simple, it seems, for anybody ever to believe. Meantime, the theories of "international values," as explained by Modern Political Economy, have brought about last year's pillage of France by Germany, and the affectionate relations now existing in consequence between the inhabitants of the right and left banks of the Rhine.)

[1] [A foreshadowing of the title of Ruskin's next book on economics: *Time and Tide.*]

[2] [See, for instance, Vol. XI. pp. 198–199.]

over him is greater in proportion to his ignorance, and his remedy more difficult in proportion to his distance.*

98. I have just said the breadth of sea increases the cost of exchange. Now note that exchange, or commerce, *in itself*, is always costly; the sum of the value of the goods being diminished by the cost of their conveyance, and by the maintenance of the persons employed in it; so that it is only when there is advantage to both producers (in getting the one thing for the other) greater than the loss in conveyance, that the exchange is expedient. And it can only be justly conducted when the porters kept by the producers (commonly called merchants) expect *mere* pay, and not profit.† For in just commerce there are but three parties — the two persons or societies exchanging, and the agent or agents of exchange; the value of the things to be exchanged is known by both the exchangers, and each receives equal value, neither gaining nor losing (for whatever one gains the other loses). The intermediate agent is paid a known percentage by both, partly for labour in conveyance, partly for care, knowledge, and risk; every attempt at concealment of the amount of the pay indicates either effort on the part of the agent to obtain unjust profit, or effort on the part of the exchangers to refuse him just pay. But for the most part it is the first, namely the effort on the part of the merchant to obtain larger profit (so-called) by buying cheap and selling dear. Some part, indeed, of this larger gain is deserved, and might be openly demanded, because it is the reward of the merchant's knowledge, and foresight of probable

* (I wish some one would examine and publish accurately the late dealings of the Governors of the Cape with the Caffirs.[1])

† (By "pay," I mean wages for labour or skill; by "profit," gain dependent on the state of the market.)

[1] [Note added in the edition of 1872, written in 1871. It is not clear to what dealings Ruskin refers; possibly to those with the Griquas, consequent upon the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley, which resulted (October 27, 1871) on the declaration of Griqualand West as British territory. For other references to the Kaffirs, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 1 and 62.]

necessity; but the greater part of such gain is unjust; and unjust in this most fatal way, that it depends, first, on keeping the exchangers ignorant of the exchange value of the articles; and, secondly, on taking advantage of the buyer's need and the seller's poverty. It is, therefore, one of the essential, and quite the most fatal, forms of usury; for usury means merely taking an exorbitant* sum for the use of anything; and it is no matter whether the exorbitance is on loan or exchange, on rent or on price—the essence of the usury being that it is obtained by advantage of opportunity or necessity, and not as due reward for labour. All the great thinkers, therefore, have held it to be unnatural and impious, in so far as it feeds on the distress of others, or their folly.† Nevertheless, attempts to repress it by law[1] must for ever be ineffective; though

* (Since I wrote this, I have worked out the question of interest of money, which always, until lately, had embarrassed and defeated me; and I find that the payment of interest of any amount whatever is real "usury," and entirely unjustifiable. I was shown this chiefly by the pamphlets issued by Mr. W. C. Sillar,[2] though I greatly regret the impatience which causes Mr. Sillar to regard usury as the radical crime in political economy. There are others worse, which act with it.)

† Hence Dante's companionship of Cahors, *Inf.*, canto xi.,[3] supported by the view taken of the matter throughout the Middle Ages, in common with the Greeks.

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[1] [Here the original essay continues:—
". . . by law (or in other words, to regulate prices by law so far as their variations depend on iniquity, and not on nature) must for ever . . ."]

[2] [These pamphlets, by Mr. William Cameron Sillar, are as follow: *Usury, its Nature and Effects* (1867); *Usury, its Character further Investigated* (1868); *Interest or Usury, in what Respect it Differs from Rent of Houses, etc.* (1871); *Interest, wherein it Differs from Usury. Including an Extract from the Exposition upon the First Epistle to the Thessalonians iv. 6, by Bishop Jewell* (1871); and *Usury or Interest* (1873). For references to them, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 21, 22, 43 (Notes and Correspondence, where again Ruskin disagrees with Mr. Sillar in "thinking this one sin of receiving interest on money means every other"), and many others. Mr. R. G. Sillar also, at a later date, published the following pamphlets on the subject: *Usury: a Paper read before the Somerville Club* (1883); *Usury: a Paper read before the London Junior Clergy Society* (1883); *Usury: a Paper read before some Members of the University of Cambridge* (1885); and *Usury: its Pernicious Effects on English Agriculture and Commerce* (1885). To the last named Ruskin contributed an Introduction (reprinted in a later volume of this edition).]

[3] [Line 53: "e Soddoma, e Caorsa, E chi, spregiando Dio, col cuor favella" —Cahors being then a city much frequented by usurers: compare, below, p. 560.]

Plato, Bacon, and the First Napoleon[1]—all three of them men who knew somewhat more of humanity than the "British merchant" usually does—tried their hands at it, and have left some (probably) good moderative forms of law, which we will examine in their place.[2] But the only final check upon it must be radical purifying of the national character, for being, as Bacon calls it, "concessum propter duritiem cordis,"[3] it is to be done away with by touching the heart only; not, however, without medicinal law—as in the case of the other permission, "propter duritiem."[4] But in this more than in anything (though much in all, and though in this he would not himself allow of their application, for his own laws against usury are sharp enough), Plato's words in the fourth book of the *Polity* are true, that neither drugs, nor charms, nor burnings, will touch a deep-lying political sore, any more than a deep bodily one; but only right and utter change of constitution: and that "they do but lose their labour who think that by any tricks of law they can get the better of these mischiefs of commerce, and see not that they hew at a Hydra."[5]

99. And indeed this Hydra seems so unslayable, and sin sticks so fast between the joinings of the stones of buying

[1] [Writing to his father from Mornex (September 7, 1862), when this part of *Munera Pulveris* was in preparation, Ruskin says:—

> "I was amused and pleased this morning to see in the *Times* of September 3, that,—among other unpractical and weak-minded persons, such as Xenophon and Bacon,—I happen to have the First Napoleon with me in my political economy. I don't care much for my new ally, he having been given to thieving . . . See *Times*, page 5, 3rd col.: 'We find him advising Bank of France to discount bills on patriotic principles,' etc.—*fixed* rate of wages."

The reference in the *Times* is to a review of the *Correspondence de Napoleon I.*, tome ix., Paris, 1862, where, after the passage quoted by Ruskin, it is added that Napoleon also sought to "establish rates of wages and prices."]

[2] [Again a reference to the intended sequel. Ruskin's discussion of usury was postponed to a later period of his work: see *Fors Clavigera*, passim. For Plato's views on usury, see the *Laws*, xi. 921. For another reference to Bacon's, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 43 (Notes and Correspondence). Had Ruskin referred to Napoleon's laws on the subject, he would doubtless have instanced his re-establishment in 1806 of the monopoly of the Mont de Piété with a view to checking the extortions of usurers.]

[3] [See Bacon's *Essays*: "XLI. Of Usury."]

[4] [See Matthew xix. 8.]

[5] [*Republic*, 426 E.]

and selling, that "to trade" in things, or literally "cross-give"[1] them, has warped itself, by the instinct of nations, into their worst word for fraud; for, because in trade there cannot but be trust, and it seems also that there cannot but also be injury in answer to it, what is merely fraud between enemies becomes treachery among friends: and "trader," "traditor," and "traitor" are but the same word. For which simplicity of language there is more reason than at first appears; for as in true commerce there is no "profit," so in true commerce there is no "sale." The idea of sale is that of an interchange between enemies respectively endeavouring to get the better one of another; but commerce is an exchange between friends; and there is no desire but that it should be just, any more than there would be between members of the same family.* The moment there is a bargain over the pottage, the family relation is dissolved:—typically, "the days of mourning for my father are at hand." Whereupon follows the resolve, "then will I slay my brother."[2]

100. This inhumanity of mercenary commerce is the more notable because it is a fulfilment of the law that the corruption of the best is the worst.[3] For as, taking the body natural for symbol of the body politic, the governing and forming powers may be likened to the brain, and the labouring to the limbs, the mercantile, presiding over circulation and communication of things in changed utilities, is symbolized by the heart; and, if that hardens, all is lost. And this is the ultimate lesson which the leader of English

* (I do not wonder when I re-read this, that people talk about my "sentiment." But there is no sentiment whatever in the matter. It is a hard and bare commercial fact, that if two people deal together who don't try to cheat each other, they will, in a given time, make more money out of each other than if they do. See § 104.)

[1] [This is a derivation which can hardly be maintained; "trade" in old English being "the path which we *tread*" (see Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*), and not connected with the Latin *tradere* (trans dare).]

[2] [Genesis xxvii. 41.]

[3] [For other references to this proverbial saying, see Vol. V p. 47; Vol. VII. p. 209; and below, in *Time and Tide*, §§ 52, 139, pp. 362, 430.]

intellect meant for us, (a lesson, indeed, not all his own, but part of the old wisdom of humanity,) in the tale of the *Merchant of Venice;* in which the true and incorrupt merchant,—*kind and free, beyond every other Shakspearian conception of men,*—is opposed to the corrupted merchant, or usurer;[1] the lesson being deepened by the expression of the strange hatred which the corrupted merchant bears to the pure one, mixed with intense scorn,—

"This is the fool that lent out money gratis; look to him, jailor,"[2] (as to lunatic no less than criminal) the enmity, observe, having its symbolism literally carried out by being aimed straight at the heart, and finally foiled by a literal appeal to the great moral law that flesh and blood cannot be weighed, enforced by "Portia"* ("Portion"), the type of divine Fortune, found, not in gold, nor in silver, but in lead, that is to say, in endurance and patience, not in

* Shakspeare would certainly never have chosen this name had he been forced to retain the Roman spelling. Like Perdita, "lost lady," or Cordelia, "heart-lady," Portia is "fortune" lady. The two great relative groups of words, Fortuna, fero, and fors—Portio, porto, and pars (with the lateral branch op-portune, im-portune, opportunity, etc.), are of deep and intricate significance; their various senses of bringing, abstracting, and sustaining being all centralized by the wheel (which bears and moves at once), or still better, the ball (spera) of fortune,—"Volve sua spera, e beata si gode":[3] the motive power of this wheel distinguishing its goddess from the fixed majesty of Necessitas with her iron nails; or ἀνάγκη, with her pillar of fire and iridescent orbits, *fixed* at the centre. Portus and porta, and gate in its connexion with gain, form another interesting branch group; and Mors, the concentration of delaying, is always to be remembered with Fors, the concentration of bringing and bearing, passing on into Fortis and Fortitude.

(This note is literally a mere memorandum for the future work which I am now completing in *Fors Clavigera;*[4] it was printed partly in vanity, but also with real desire to get people to share the interest I found in the careful study of the leading words in noble languages. Compare the next note.)

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[1] [For a reference to Ruskin's explanation here (and *cf.* § 134, p. 257) of "the intent of Shakespeare throughout the *Merchant of Venice*," see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 76.]

[2] [*Merchant of Venice*, Act iii. sc. 3, line 2.]

[3] [*Inferno*, vii. 96: Fortune "rolls on her sphere and in her bliss exults."]

[4] [The object of which work, said Ruskin, was "to explain the powers of Chance, or Fortune": see Letter 43, and the General Index.]

splendour; and finally taught by her lips also, declaring, instead of the law and quality of "merces," the greater law and quality of mercy, which is not strained, but drops as the rain, blessing him that gives and him that takes.[1] And observe that this "mercy" is not the mean "Misericordia," but the mighty "Gratia," answered by Gratitude, (observe Shylock's leaning on the, to him detestable, word, *gratis*, and compare the relations of Grace to Equity given in the second chapter of the second book of the *Memorabilia*;[2]) that is to say, it is the gracious or loving, instead of the strained, or competing manner, of doing things, answered, not only with "merces" or pay, but with "merci" or thanks. And this is indeed the meaning of the great benediction "Grace, mercy, and peace,"[3] for there can be no peace without grace, (not even by help of rifled cannon,[4]) not even without triplicity of graciousness, for the Greeks, who began but with one Grace, had to open their scheme into three before they had done.[5]

[1] [*Merchant of Venice*, Act iv. sc. 1.]

[2] [In which chapter, at the beginning, the argument of Socrates is that ingratitude to a benefactor, be he enemy or friend, is a form of injustice.]

[3] [1 Timothy i. 2.]

[4] [Here the original essay appended a footnote :—

"Out of whose mouths, indeed, no peace was ever promulgated, but only equipoise of panic, highly tremulous on the edge in changes of wind."]

[5] [A letter from Ruskin to his father (Boulogne, July 1, 1861), illustrates this passage and § 101 :—

"'Grace' is in the *Iliad* a single Goddess, the wife of Vulcan; she is feminine household strength; afterwards this single goddess becomes three, of whom the youngest and loveliest, Aglaia, was still the wife of Vulcan. They are the Powers of all benevolent and affectionate social action; and whereas every other Goddess occasionally becomes hostile or terrible, the Graces never appear but in acts of kindness, whence gradually grace comes to signify kindness or favour, and so we have 'to do a grace,' or demand a grace: so 'faire grace' in French, to pardon; 'demander grace,' to seek pardon; 'demander une grace,' to ask a favour. But the original meaning of the word is always the *power* of benevolent action, and thus the 'Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' means the power for life and kindness, the *animating* mercy; not the greatest mercy. It refers especially to the life of the branches in the vine, and therefore comes first in all the benedictions (the Grace of Christ, and Love of God, and Fellowship of the Holy Ghost), for this life must precede all other gifts. So the hackneyed and little understood expression—King or Queen by the grace of God—means by the power and help of God, not merely by permission of God or pardon of God.

"There are many interesting details connected with the passing of the

101. With the usual tendency of long repeated thought, to take the surface for the deep, we have conceived these goddesses as if they only gave loveliness to gesture; whereas their true function is to give graciousness to deed, the other loveliness arising naturally out of that. In which function Charis becomes Charitas;* and has a name and praise even greater than that of Faith or Truth, for these may be

* As Charis becomes Charitas, the word "Cher," or "Dear," passes from Shylock's sense of it (to buy cheap and sell dear) into Antonio's sense of it: emphasized with the final *i* in tender "Chéri," and hushed to English calmness in our noble "Cherish." The reader must not think that any care can be misspent in tracing the connexion and power of the words which we have to use in the sequel. (See Appendix VI.[1]) Much education sums itself in making men economize their words, and understand them. Nor is it possible to estimate the harm which has been done, in matters of higher speculation and conduct, by loose verbiage, though we may guess at it by observing the dislike which people show to having anything about their religion said to them in simple words, because then they understand it. Thus congregations meet weekly to invoke the influence of a Spirit of Life and Truth; yet if any part of that character were intelligibly expressed to them by the formulas of the service, they would be offended. Suppose, for instance, in the closing benediction, the clergyman were to give vital significance to the vague word "Holy," and were to say, "the fellowship of the Helpful[2] and Honest Ghost be with you, and remain with you always," what would be the horror of many, first at the

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one Goddess into three. For some time there were only two at Athens, and as many at Sparta, but I can't write out these unless I had my Greek books. You must also remember that the Greek word for Grace is 'Charis,' whence the Latin Charitas and finally our Charity. One might write quite an interesting lecture on the branchings of the word; into the Italian 'grazia' and 'carita'; and the French 'grace' and 'gracieuse' on one side, and 'charité' on the other; and our 'gracious' and 'graceful,' and on its equivocal uses leading to error, like the 'Maria mater gratiæ' of the Roman Catholics, and the modern English 'state of grace' in a sense of pardon. Everything becomes endless when one works it out."

For Charis, wife of Hephæstus, see *Iliad*, xviii. 382. For the two Graces of Sparta and Athens, etc., see Pausanias, ix. 35, 1–5. For the three Graces, see Hesiod, *Theogony*, 907, and for Aglaia, as wife of Hephæstus, *ibid.*, 945. For other notes by Ruskin on the expression *Dei Gratia*, see § 105, p. 229; *Sesame and Lilies*, § 91 (Vol. XVIII. p. 139); and *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 145; and on χάρις and *gratia*, compare *Lectures on Art*, § 91.]

[1] [See below, p. 292. The original essay here reads:—

". . . sequel. Not only does all soundness of reasoning depend on the work done in the outset, but we may sometimes gain more by insistance on the expression of a truth, than by much wordless thinking about it; for to strive to express it clearly is often to detect it thoroughly; and education, even as regards thought, nearly sums itself in making . . ."]

[2] [On "Holy" and "Helpful," compare, below, p. 287 *n.*, and Vol. VII. p. 206; and see *Unto this Last*, § 44 (above, p. 60).]

maintained sullenly and proudly; but Charis is in her countenance always gladdening (Aglaia), and in her service instant and humble; and the true wife of Vulcan, or Labour. And it is not until her sincerity of function is lost, and her mere beauty contemplated instead of her patience, that she is born again of the foam flake, and becomes Aphrodité; and it is then only that she becomes capable of joining herself to war and to the enmities of men, instead of to labour and their services. Therefore the fable of Mars and Venus is chosen by Homer, picturing himself as Demodocus, to sing at the games in the court of Alcinous.[1] Phæacia is the Homeric island of Atlantis; an image of noble and wise government, concealed, (how slightly!) merely by the change of a short vowel for a long one in the name of its queen;[2] yet misunderstood by all later writers, (even by Horace, in his "pinguis, Phæaxque"[3]). That fable expresses the perpetual error of men in thinking that grace and dignity can only be reached by the soldier, and never by the artizan; so that commerce and the useful arts have had the honour and beauty taken away, and only the Fraud and Pain left to them, with the lucre. Which is, indeed, one great reason of the continual blundering about the offices of government with respect to commerce. The higher classes are ashamed to employ themselves in it; and though ready enough to fight for (or occasionally against) the people,—to preach to

irreverence of so intelligible an expression; and secondly, at the discomfortable occurrence of the suspicion that while throughout the commercial dealings of the week they had denied the propriety of Help, and possibility of Honesty, the Person whose company they had been now asking to be blessed with could have no fellowship with cruel people or knaves.

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[1] [*Odyssey*, viii. 266 *seq.*]

[2] ['Αρετή (virtue) becoming 'Αρήτη—which, in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 274), Ruskin takes as still meaning to Homer "Virtue." It should be noted, however, that Homer's name shows a double change—the initial A being long, instead of short as in ἀρετή. The Queen's name is thus usually interpreted as meaning "prayed for" (like Samuel). For another reference to Arete, see below, § 134, p. 258.]

[3] [*Epist.* i. xv. 24. "Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phæaxque reverti": "a sleek Phæacian."]

them,—or judge them, will not break bread for them;[1] the refined upper servant who has willingly looked after the burnishing of the armoury and ordering of the library, not liking to set foot in the larder.

102. Farther still. As Charis becomes Charitas on the one side, she becomes — better still — Chara, Joy, on the other; or rather this is her very mother's milk[2] and the beauty of her childhood; for God brings no enduring Love, nor any other good, out of pain; nor out of contention; but out of joy and harmony. And in this sense, human and divine, music and gladness, and the measures of both, come into her name; and Cher becomes full-vowelled Cheer, and Cheerful; and Chara opens into Choir and Choral.*

103. And lastly. As Grace passes into Freedom of action, Charis becomes Eleutheria, or Liberality; a form of liberty quite curiously and intensely different from the thing usually understood by "Liberty" in modern language:[3] indeed, much more like what some people would call slavery: for a Greek always understood, primarily, by liberty, deliverance from the law of his own passions (or from what the Christian writers call bondage of corruption[4]), and this

* "τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ζῷα οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσι τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξιῶν, οἷς δὴ ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ ἁρμονία· ἡμῖν δὲ οὓς εἴπομεν τοὺς θεοὺς (Apollo, the Muses, and Bacchus—the grave Bacchus, that is—ruling the choir of age;[5] or Bacchus restraining; 'sæva *tene*, cum Berecyntio cornu, tympana,' etc.[6]) συγχορευτὰς δέδοσθαι, τούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἴσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς . . . χορούς τε ὠνομακέναι παρὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα." "Other animals have no perception of order nor of disorder in motion; but for us, Apollo and Bacchus and the Muses are appointed to mingle in our dances; and these are they who have given us the sense of delight in rhythm and harmony. And the name of choir, choral dance, (we may believe,) came from chara (delight)."—*Laws*, book ii.[7]

[1] [Compare Vol. XII. p. 343; Vol. XVI. p. 98; and below, *Time and Tide*, § 134, p. 427.]

[2] [Compare Vol. VII. p. 451, and *Sesame and Lilies*, §§ 98, 105 (Vol. XVIII. pp. 146, 151).]

[3] [Compare Vol. VIII. pp. 248–249.]

[4] [Romans viii. 21.]

[5] [For the reference to Plato here, see *Lectures on Landscape*, § 13.]

[6] [Horace, *Odes*, i. 18, 13: "Silence the savage cymbals and the horn (used in Cybele's worship on Mount Berecyntus in Phrygia)."]

[7] [654 A. See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. viii. ch. i. § 20 (Vol. VII. p. 215), where the last words are also quoted and commented upon.]

a complete liberty: not being merely safe from the Siren, but also unbound from the mast,[1] and not having to resist the passion, but making it fawn upon, and follow him—(this may be again partly the meaning of the fawning beasts about the Circean cave; so, again, George Herbert—

> Correct thy passions' spite,
> Then may the beasts draw thee to happy light[2]—

And it is only in such generosity that any man becomes capable of so governing others as to take true part in any system of national economy. Nor is there any other eternal distinction between the upper and lower classes than this form of liberty, Eleutheria, or benignity, in the one, and its opposite of slavery, Douleia, or malignity, in the other; the separation of these two orders of men, and the firm government of the lower by the higher, being the first conditions of possible wealth and economy in any State,—the Gods giving it no greater gift than the power to discern its true freemen, and "malignum spernere vulgus."[3]

104. While I have traced the finer and higher laws of this matter for those whom they concern, I have also to note the material law—vulgarly expressed in the proverb, "Honesty is the best policy."[4] That proverb is indeed wholly inapplicable to matters of private interest. It is not true that honesty, as far as material gain is concerned, profits individuals. A clever and cruel knave will in a mixed society always be richer than an honest person can be. But Honesty IS the best "policy," if policy mean practice of State. For fraud gains nothing in a State. It only enables the knaves in it to live at the expense of honest people; while there is for every act of fraud, however small, a loss of wealth to the community. Whatever the fraudulent person gains, some other person loses, as

[1] [*Odyssey*, xii. 160; and for "the fawning beasts," see *ibid.*, x. 215.]
[2] [*The Church Porch*, xliv.]
[3] [Horace, *Odes*, ii. 16, 39, 40.]
[4] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 33 (below, p. 347).]

fraud produces nothing; and there is, *besides*, the loss of the time and thought spent in accomplishing the fraud, and of the strength otherwise obtainable by mutual help (not to speak of the fevers of anxiety and jealousy in the blood, which are a heavy physical loss, as I will show in due time). Practically, when the nation is deeply corrupt, cheat answers to cheat; every one is in turn imposed upon, and there is to the body politic the dead loss of the ingenuity, together with the incalculable mischief of the injury to each defrauded person, producing collateral effect unexpectedly. My neighbour sells me bad meat: I sell him in return flawed iron. We neither of us get one atom of pecuniary advantage on the whole transaction, but we both suffer unexpected inconvenience; my men get scurvy, and his cattle-truck runs off the rails.

105. The examination of this form of Charis must, therefore, lead us into the discussion of the principles of government in general, and especially of that of the poor by the rich, discovering how the Graciousness joined with the Greatness, or Love with Majestas, is the true Dei Gratia, or Divine Right, of every form and manner of King; *i.e.*, specifically, of the thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, and powers of the earth:[1]—of the thrones, stable, or "ruling," literally right-doing powers ("rex eris, recte si facies"[2]): —of the dominations—lordly, edifying, dominant and harmonious powers; chiefly domestic, over the "built thing," domus, or house; and inherently twofold, Dominus and Domina; Lord and Lady:—of the Princedoms, pre-eminent, incipient, creative, and demonstrative powers; thus poetic and mercantile, in the "princeps carmen deduxisse"[3] and the merchant-prince:—of the Virtues or Courages; militant, guiding, or Ducal powers:—and finally of the Strengths, or

[1] [*Paradise Lost*, v. 601. See also *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 86); and *Sesame and Lilies*, § 90.]

[2] [Horace, *Epistles*, i. 1, 59.]

[3] [An application of Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30, 13 (the ode beginning "Exegi monumentum ære perennius"): "Dicar . . . princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos Deduxisse modos" ("the first, men will say, to have made the Æolian lay at home among Italian measures").]

Forces pure; magistral powers, of the More over the less, and the forceful and free over the weak and servile elements of life.

Subject enough for the next paper, involving "economical" principles of some importance, of which, for theme, here is a sentence, which I do not care to translate, for it would sound harsh in English,* though, truly, it is one of the tenderest ever uttered by man; which may be meditated over, or rather *through*, in the meanwhile, by any one who will take the pains:—

Ἆρ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἵππος τῷ ἀνεπιστήμονι μὲν ἐγχειροῦντι δὲ χρῆσθαι ζημία ἐστὶν, οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφὸς, ὅταν τις αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἐγχειρῇ χρῆσθαι, ζημία ἐστί;[1]

* (My way now, is to say things plainly, if I can, whether they sound harsh or not;—this is the translation—"Is it possible, then, that as a horse is only a mischief to any one who attempts to use him without knowing how, so also our brother, if we attempt to use him without knowing how, may be a mischief to us?")

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[1] [Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, ii. 3, 7. On the subject of wealth and use, see above, § 35 (p. 167); *Unto this Last*, §§ 62, 64 (above, pp. 86, 88); and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 70.]

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT[1]

106. It remains for us, as I stated in the close of the last chapter, to examine first the principles of government in general, and then those of the government of the Poor by the Rich.

The government of a state consists in its customs, laws, and councils, and their enforcements.[2]

I. Customs.

As one person primarily differs from another by fineness of nature, and, secondarily, by fineness of training, so also, a polite nation differs from a savage one, first, by the refinement of its nature, and secondly by the delicacy of its customs.

In the completeness of custom, which is the nation's self-government, there are three stages—first, fineness in method of doing or of being;—called the manner or moral of acts; secondly, firmness in holding such method after adoption, so that it shall become a habit in the character: *i.e.*, a constant "having" or "behaving"; and, lastly, ethical power in performance and endurance, which is the skill following on habit, and the ease reached by frequency of right doing.

[1] [This and the following chapter were the fourth essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines to the portion of the essay contained in the present chapter were: "Laws. —Critic Law.—Governments.—Slavery."]

[2] [In explanation of this passage Ruskin wrote to his father as follows (Talloires, April 27, 1863):—

> "I never intended 'and their enforcements' to be a fourth section of division. It is merely an explanatory or completing term—as one says 'Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery and their proper arms.' Arms is not a fourth head; it belongs to all the three previous ones. So does 'enforcements.' They are spoken of under the head of police—whips—prisons—etc.—pathetic oratory, etc.; but they are infinite, of course, and can't be separately discharged."]

The sensibility of the nation is indicated by the fineness of its customs; its courage, continence, and self-respect by its persistence in them.

By sensibility I mean its natural perception of beauty, fitness, and rightness; or of what is lovely, decent, and just: faculties dependent much on race, and the primal signs of fine breeding in man; but cultivable also by education, and necessarily perishing without it. True education has, indeed, no other function than the development of these faculties, and of the relative will. It has been the great error of modern intelligence to mistake science for education. You do not educate a man by telling him what he knew not, but by making him what he was not.[1]

And making him what he will remain for ever: for no wash of weeds will bring back the faded purple.[2] And in that dyeing there are two processes—first, the cleansing and wringing-out, which is the baptism with water; and then the infusing of the blue and scarlet colours, gentleness and justice, which is the baptism with fire.

107.* The customs and manners of a sensitive and highly-trained race are always Vital: that is to say, they are orderly manifestations of intense life, like the habitual action of the fingers of a musician. The customs and manners of a vile and rude race, on the contrary, are conditions of decay: they are not, properly speaking, habits,

* (Think over this paragraph carefully; it should have been much expanded to be quite intelligible; but it contains all that I want it to contain.)

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[1] [Compare Vol. XI. p. 204 *n.*; Vol. VII. p. 429.]

[2] [Ruskin (as he wrote to his father from Mornex, March 29, 1863) was here referring to Horace, *Odes*, iii. 5, 28 :—

"neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco,
Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus."

"Fucus," he explains, means "sea-weed used to imitate Tyrian purple cheaply." Ruskin's phrase "refers also," he adds, "to a passage of Plato of the same general meaning; and finally to St. John's baptism of repentance, and Christ's with the Holy Ghost and fire."]

but incrustations; not restraints, or forms, of life; but gangrenes, noisome, and the beginnings of death.

And generally, so far as custom attaches itself to indolence instead of action, and to prejudice instead of perception, it takes this deadly character, so that thus

> Custom hangs upon us with a weight
> Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.[1]

But that weight, if it becomes impetus, (living instead of dead weight) is just what gives value to custom, when it works *with* life, instead of against it.[2]

108. The high ethical training of a nation[3] implies perfect Grace, Pitifulness, and Peace; it is irreconcilably inconsistent with filthy or mechanical employments,—with the desire of money,—and with mental states of anxiety, jealousy, or indifference to pain. The present insensibility of the upper classes of Europe to the surrounding aspects of suffering, uncleanness, and crime, binds them not only into one responsibility with the sin, but into one dishonour with the foulness, which rot at their thresholds. The crimes daily recorded in the police-courts of London and Paris (and much more those which are *un*recorded) are a disgrace to the whole body politic;* they are, as in the body

* "The ordinary brute, who flourishes in the very centre of ornate life, tells us of unknown depths on the verge of which we totter, being bound to thank our stars every day we live that there is not a general outbreak, and a revolt from the yoke of civilization."—*Times* leader, Dec. 25, 1862. Admitting that our stars are to be thanked for our safety, whom are we to thank for the danger?

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[1] [Wordsworth: *Intimations of Immortality* ("And custom lie upon thee," etc.): the lines are quoted also in Vol. IV. p. 98 and Vol. V. p. 369.]

[2] [Instead of "But that weight," etc., the original essay reads:—
"This power and depth are, however, just what give value to custom, when it works with life, instead of against it."]

[3] [Here the original essay adds:—
". . . nation, being threefold, of body, heart, and practice (compare the statement in the Preface to *Unto this Last*), involves exquisiteness in all its perceptions of circumstance,—all its modes of act,—and all its operations of thought. It implies . . ."
For the reference to *Unto this Last*, see above, p. 21.]

natural, stains of disease on a face of delicate skin, making the delicacy itself frightful. Similarly, the filth and poverty permitted or ignored in the midst of us are as dishonourable to the whole social body, as in the body natural it is to wash the face, but leave the hands and feet foul. Christ's way is the only true one: begin at the feet;[1] the face will take care of itself.

109. Yet, since necessarily, in the frame of a nation, nothing but the head can be of gold, and the feet, for the work they have to do, must be part of iron, part of clay; —foul or mechanical work is always reduced by a noble race to the minimum in quantity; and, even then, performed and endured, not without sense of degradation, as a fine temper is wounded by the sight of the lower offices of the body. The highest conditions of human society reached hitherto have cast such work to slaves; but supposing slavery of a politically defined kind to be done away with, mechanical and foul employment must, in all highly organized states, take the aspect either of punishment or probation. All criminals should at once be set to the most dangerous and painful forms of it, especially to work in mines and at furnaces,* so as to relieve the innocent population as far as possible: of merely rough (not mechanical) manual labour,

* Our politicians, even the best of them, regard only the distress caused by the *failure* of mechanical labour. The degradation caused by its excess is a far more serious subject of thought, and of future fear. I shall examine this part of our subject at length hereafter.[2] There can hardly be any doubt, at present, cast on the truth of the above passages, as all the great thinkers are unanimous on the matter. Plato's words are terrific in their scorn and pity whenever he touches on the mechanical arts. He calls the men employed in them not even human, but partially and diminutively human, "*ἀνθρωπίσκοι*," and opposes such work to noble occupations, not merely as prison is opposed to freedom, but as a convict's dishonoured prison is to the temple (escape from them being like that of a criminal to the sanctuary); and the destruction caused by them being of soul no less

[1] [See Luke vii. 45, 46, and John xiii. 5.]

[2] [Again a reference to the intended, but unaccomplished, sequel. Ruskin, however, returned to the subject in *Time and Tide*, § 103 (below, p. 402); and compare *Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 2, 89, 90, and *Lectures on Art*, § 123.]

Supplementary.

Note 2. to page 3

Our politicians – even the best of them, regard only the distress caused by the failure of mechanical labour. The degradation caused by its excess is a far more serious subject, (but on subject at length in notes to this) of our thoughts – and of future fear. I shall examine this & there can hardly be any doubt being cast on the truth of the above passage. All the great thinkers are on this matter. Plato's words are terrific in their scorn & pity, whenever he touches on the mechanical arts: he calls the men employed in them not even human – ἄνθρωποι, – but partially human, pretentiously "ἀνθρωπίσκοι", and opposes such work to noble occupations, not merely as the prison to the freedom, but as a convict's disgraceful prison to the temple; ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ

[illegible] ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἄσμενοι;

escape from them being like that of a criminal to the sanctuary. and the destruction caused by them being of soul ~~far more~~ no less than body. "ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα λελώβηνται οὕτω καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ξυγκεκλασμένοι τε καὶ ἀποτεθρυμμένοι διὰ ~~τὰς~~ τὰς βαναυσίας τυγχάνουσιν." (Rep. VI. 9.) Xenophon notices especially the evil of occupations near fire and especially the "ἀσχολία" "want of leisure"; ~~and effeminates~~ (Econ. 1. IV) — modern England, with all its pride of education — has lost that first sense of the word school; and till it recover that, it will find no other rightly) his word for the ~~spo~~ harm to the soul is to "break" it — as we say of the heart. "τὰς ψυχὰς καταγνύουσι" (Econ 1. 6.) And herein, also, is the root of the scorn ~~with which Dante & Shakespeare~~ otherwise apparently most strange [illegible].

A Page of the MS. of "Munera Pulveris" (§ 109 *n.*)

especially agricultural, *a large portion should be done by the upper classes;—bodily health, and sufficient contrast and repose for the mental functions, being unattainable without it;*[1] what necessarily inferior labour remains to be done, as

than body.—*Rep.* vi. 9. Compare *Laws*, v. 11.[2] Xenophon dwells on the evil of occupations at the furnace, and especially their "ἀσχολία, want of leisure."—*Econ.* iv. 3. (Modern England, with all its pride of education, has lost that first sense of the word "school"; and till it recover that, it will find no other rightly.) His word for the harm to the soul is to "break" it, as we say of the heart.—*Econ.* vi. 5. And herein, also, is the root of the scorn, otherwise apparently most strange and cruel, with which Homer, Dante, and Shakspeare always speak of the populace;[3] for it is entirely true that, in great states, the lower orders are low by nature as well as by task, being precisely that part of the commonwealth which has been thrust down for its coarseness or unworthiness (by coarseness I mean especially insensibility and irreverence—the "profane" of Horace[4]); and when this ceases to be so, and the corruption and profanity are in the higher instead of the lower orders, there arises, first helpless confusion; then, if the lower classes deserve power, ensues swift revolution, and they get it; but if neither the populace nor their rulers deserve it, there follows mere darkness and dissolution, till, out of the putrid elements, some new capacity of order rises, like grass on a grave; if not, there is no more hope, nor shadow of turning, for that nation. Atropos has her way with it.

So that the law of national health is like that of a great lake or sea, in perfect but slow circulation, letting the dregs fall continually to the lowest place, and the clear water rise; yet so as that there shall be no neglect of the lower orders, but perfect supervision and sympathy, so that if one member suffer, all members shall suffer with it.

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[1] [The italics here were introduced by Ruskin in 1872—they emphasise schemes which he had much at heart at the time; compare Vol. VII. pp. 341, 429; and Vol. X. p. 201.]

[2] [The references are to the *Republic*, vi. 495 C. (again referred to below, § 134: see the MS. facsimile for the Greek); and to the *Laws*, 741 E.: "No man either ought, or indeed will be, allowed to exercise any ignoble occupation, of which the vulgarity (*βαναυσία*) deters a freeman, and disinclines him to acquire riches by any such means" (Jowett's version). After "furnace" the original essay inserted "(root of *βάναυσος*)"—*βάναυσος* meaning literally "working by the fire" (from *βαῦνος*, "furnace"). For the passages in Xenophon next referred to, see *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, "Economist," iv. 1. See, on the general subject, *Time and Tide*, § 103 (below, p. 402); *Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 89, 90; and *Lectures on Art*, § 123.]

[3] ["There is not, I think, an example in all the *Iliad* of a chief falling, or even being wounded, by an ignoble hand" (see Mahaffy's *Social Life in Greece*, p. 12); and Thersites is the only common soldier mentioned by name in the poem. For Dante's "scorn of the populace," see such passages as *Inferno*, xv. 61, 68; *Purgatorio*, vi. 127 *seq.*, xi. 113; and *Convivio*, i. 11. For Shakespeare see, for instance, *King John*, iv. 2 ("the lean, unwashed artificer").]

[4] [*Odes*, iii. 1, 1.]

especially in manufactures, should, and always will, when the relations of society are reverent and harmonious, fall to the lot of those who, for the time, are fit for nothing better. For as, whatever the perfectness of the educational system, there must remain infinite differences between the natures and capacities of men; and these differing natures are generally rangeable under the two qualities of lordly, (or tending towards rule, construction, and harmony), and servile (or tending towards misrule, destruction, and discord); and, since the lordly part is only in a state of profitableness while ruling, and the servile only in a state of redeemableness while serving, the whole health of the state depends on the manifest separation of these two elements of its mind; for, if the servile part be not separated and rendered visible in service, it mixes with, and corrupts, the entire body of the state; and if the lordly part be not distinguished, and set to rule, it is crushed and lost, being turned to no account, so that the rarest qualities of the nation are all given to it in vain.* [1]

II. Laws.

110. These are the definitions and bonds of custom, or of what the nation desires should become custom.

* "ὀλίγης, καὶ ἄλλως γιγνομένης." (Little, and that little born in vain.) The bitter sentence never was so true as at this day.[2]

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[1] [The original essay continued :—

"The effecting of which distinction is the first object, as we shall presently see, of national councils."

See § 125; below, p. 248.]

[2] [Plato, *Republic*, vi. 495 B. Ruskin's translation of the words cited is not accepted by the commentators. "Which even otherwise (*i.e.*, setting aside the cause of destruction just mentioned) is a rare growth" is the note in Jowett and Campbell's edition of the *Republic*. The passage in its context is as follows: "Thus, you see, that we were not wrong in saying that in fact the very ingredients of the philosophic character, when he is ill-educated, are in a manner the causes of a man's falling away from philosophy; to which result the so-called goods of life, riches and all such paraphernalia, likewise contribute. Yes, indeed, that was truly said. This, then, my good friend, is the ruin and failure of the finest character adapted to the best of all pursuits—a character which even otherwise is rarely to be met with."]

Law is either archic,* (of direction), meristic, (of division), or critic, (of judgment).

Archic law is that of appointment and precept: it defines what is and is not to be *done.*

Meristic law is that of balance and distribution: it defines what is and is not to be *possessed.*

Critic law is that of discernment and award: it defines what is and is not to be *suffered.*

111. A. Archic Law. If we choose to unite the laws of precept and distribution under the head of "statutes," all law is simply either of statute or judgment; that is, first the establishment of ordinance, and, secondly, the assignment of the reward, or penalty, due to its observance or violation.

To some extent these two forms of law must be associated, and, with every ordinance, the penalty of disobedience to it be also determined. But since the degrees and guilt of disobedience vary, the determination of due reward and punishment must be modified by discernment of special fact, which is peculiarly the office of the judge, as distinguished from that of the lawgiver and law-sustainer, or king; not but that the two offices are always theoretically, and in early stages, or limited numbers, of society, are often practically, united in the same person or persons.

* (This following note is a mere cluster of memoranda, but I keep it for reference.) Thetic, or Thesmic, would perhaps be a better term than archic; but liable to be confused with some which we shall want relating to Theoria. The administrators of the three great divisions of law are severally Archons, Merists, and Dicasts. The Archons are the true princes, or beginners of things; or leaders (as of an orchestra). The Merists are properly the Domini, or Lords[1] of houses and nations. The Dicasts, properly, the judges, and that with Olympian justice, which reaches to heaven and hell. The violation of archic law is ἁμαρτία (error), πονηρία (failure), or πλημμέλεια (discord). The violation of meristic law is ἀνομία (iniquity). The violation of critic law is ἀδικία (injury). Iniquity is the central generic term; for all law is *fatal;* it is the division to men of their fate; as the fold of their pasture, it is νόμος; as the assigning of their portion, μοῖρα.

[1] [Here the original essay inserted "(law-wards)."]

112. Also, it is necessary to keep clearly in view the distinction between these two kinds of law, because the possible range of law is wider in proportion to their separation. There are many points of conduct respecting which the nation may wisely express its will by a written precept or resolve, yet not enforce it by penalty:* and the expedient degree of penalty is always quite a separate consideration from the expedience of the statute; for the statute may often be better enforced by mercy than severity, and is also easier in the bearing, and less likely to be abrogated. Farther, laws of precept have reference especially to youth, and concern themselves with training; but laws of judgment to manhood, and concern themselves with remedy and reward. There is a highly curious feeling in the English mind against educational law: we think no man's liberty should be interfered with till he has done irrevocable wrong; whereas it is then just too late for the only gracious and kingly interference, which is to hinder him from doing it.[1] Make your educational laws strict, and your criminal ones may be gentle; but, leave youth its liberty, and you will have to dig dungeons for age. And it is good for a man that he "wear the yoke in his youth":[2] for the reins may then be of silken thread; and with sweet chime of silver bells at the bridle; but, for the captivity of age, you must forge the iron fetter, and cast the passing bell.

113. Since no law can be, in a final or true sense, established, but by right, (all unjust laws involving the

* (This is the only sentence which, in revising these essays, I am now inclined to question; but the point is one of extreme difficulty.[3] There might be a law, for instance, of curfew, that candles should be put out, unless for necessary service, at such and such an hour, the idea of "necessary service" being quite indefinable, and no penalty possible; yet there would be a distinct consciousness of illegal conduct in young ladies' minds who danced by candlelight till dawn.)

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[1] [Compare *Notes on the General Principles of Employment for the Destitute and Criminal Classes;* below, p. 542.]

[2] [Lamentations iii. 27.]

[3] [The same distinction that is made in the text is also discussed in *A Joy for Ever,* § 123 (Vol. XVI. p. 107).]

ultimate necessity of their own abrogation), the law-giving can only become a law-sustaining power in so far as it is Royal, or "right doing";—in so far, that is, as it rules, not mis-rules, and orders, not dis-orders, the things submitted to it. Throned on this rock of justice, the kingly power becomes established and establishing; "θεῖος," or divine, and, therefore, it is literally true that no ruler can err, so long as he is a ruler, or ἄρχων οὐδεὶς ἁμαρτάνει τότε ὅταν ἄρχων ᾖ;[1] perverted by careless thought, which has cost the world somewhat, into—"the king can do no wrong."[2]

114. B. MERISTIC LAW,* or that of the tenure of property, first determines what every individual possesses by right, and secures it to him; and what he possesses by wrong, and deprives him of it. But it has a far higher provisory function: it determines what every man *should* possess, and puts it within his reach on due conditions; and what he should *not* possess, and puts this out of his reach, conclusively.

115. Every article of human wealth has certain conditions attached to its merited possession; when these are unobserved, possession becomes rapine. And the object of meristic law is not only to secure to every man his rightful share (the share, that is, which he has worked for, produced, or received by gift from a rightful owner), but to enforce the due conditions of possession, as far as law may conveniently reach; for instance, that land shall not be wantonly allowed to run to waste, that streams shall not be poisoned by the persons through whose properties

* (Read this and the next paragraph with attention; they contain clear statements, which I cannot mend, of things most necessary.)

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[1] [Plato, *Republic*, i. 340 E.: "no ruler errs when he is a ruler."]

[2] [The original essay adds:—

"Which is a divine right of kings indeed, and quite unassailable, so long as the terms of it are 'God and my Right,' and not 'Satan and my Wrong,' which is apt, in some coinages, to appear on the reverse of the die under a good lens."]

they pass, nor air be rendered unwholesome beyond given limits. Laws of this kind exist already in rudimentary degree, but need large development: the just laws respecting the possession of works of art have not hitherto been so much as conceived, and the daily loss of national wealth, and of its use, in this respect, is quite incalculable. And these laws need revision quite as much respecting property in national as in private hands. For instance: the public are under a vague impression that, because they have paid for the contents of the British Museum, every one has an equal right to see and to handle them. But the public have similarly paid for the contents of Woolwich arsenal; yet do not expect free access to it, or handling of its contents. The British Museum is neither a free circulating library, nor a free school:[1] it is a place for the safe preservation, and exhibition on due occasion, of unique books, unique objects of natural history, and unique works of art; its books can no more be used by everybody than its coins can be handled, or its statues cast. There ought to be free libraries in every quarter of London, with large and complete reading-rooms attached; so also free educational museums should be open in every quarter of London, all day long, and till late at night, well lighted, well catalogued, and rich in contents both of art and natural history. But neither the British Museum nor National Gallery is a school; they are *treasuries;* and both should be severely restricted in access and in use. Unless some order of this kind is made, and that soon, for the MSS. department of the Museum, (its superintendents have sorrowfully told me this, and repeatedly,[2]) the best MSS. in the collection will be destroyed, irretrievably, by the careless and continual handling to which they are now subjected.

[1] [Compare Ruskin's letter to the *Times* (January 27, 1866) on the British Museum; reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. i. p. 78, and in a later volume of this edition.]

[2] [For "(its superintendents . . . repeatedly)," the original essay has "(Sir Frederic Madden was complaining of this to me only the other day)." Sir Frederic Madden, F.R.S. (1801–1873) was assistant-keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, 1828–1837, and head of the department, 1837–1866.]

Finally, in certain conditions of a nation's progress, laws limiting accumulation of any kind of property may be found expedient.

116. C. Critic Law determines questions of injury, and assigns due rewards and punishments to conduct.[1]

Two curious economical questions arise laterally with respect to this branch of law, namely, the cost of crime, and the cost of judgment. The cost of crime is endured by nations ignorantly, that expense being nowhere stated in their budgets; the cost of judgment, patiently, (provided only it can be had pure for the money,) because the science, or perhaps we ought rather to say the art, of law, is felt to found a noble profession and discipline; so that civilized nations are usually glad that a number of persons should be supported by exercise in oratory and analysis. But it has not yet been calculated what the practical value might have been, in other directions, of the intelligence now occupied in deciding, through courses of years, what might have been decided as justly, had the date of judgment been fixed, in as many hours. Imagine one half of the funds which any great nation devotes to dispute by law, applied to the determination of physical questions in medicine, agriculture, and theoretic science; and calculate the probable results within the next ten years!

I say nothing yet of the more deadly, more lamentable loss, involved in the use of purchased, instead of personal, justice—"ἐπακτῷ παρ' ἄλλων—ἀπορίᾳ οἰκείων."[2]

117. In order to true analysis of critic law, we must understand the real meaning of the word "injury."

We commonly understand by it, any kind of harm done by one man to another; but we do not define the

[1] [Ruskin quoted §§ 116 (in part), 117, 118, 119, and 120 (in part) in *The Tortoise of Ægina*, § 7 (see a later volume of this edition), thus: "Critic Law . . . to conduct. Therefore, in order to true analysis of, we must understand . . ."]

[2] [Plato, *Republic*, iii. 405 B.: "Does it not seem to you a scandalous thing, and a strong proof of defective education, to be obliged to use justice *imported from others*, in the character of lords and judges, *in consequence of the lack of it at home*?"]

idea of harm: sometimes we limit it to the harm which the sufferer is conscious of; whereas much the worst injuries are those he is *un*conscious of; and, at other times, we limit the idea to violence, or restraint; whereas much the worst forms of injury are to be accomplished by indolence, and the withdrawal of restraint.

118. "Injury" is then simply the refusal, or violation of, any man's right or claim upon his fellows: which claim, much talked of in modern times, under the term "right," is mainly resolvable into two branches: a man's claim not to be hindered from doing what he should; and his claim to be hindered from doing what he should not; these two forms of hindrance being intensified by reward, help, and fortune, or Fors, on one side, and by punishment, impediment, and even final arrest, or Mors, on the other.

119. Now, in order to a man's obtaining these two rights, it is clearly needful that the *worth* of him should be approximately known; as well as the *want* of worth, which has, unhappily, been usually the principal subject of study for critic law, careful hitherto only to mark degrees of de-merit, instead of merit;—assigning, indeed, to the *De*ficiencies (not always, alas! even to these) just estimate,[1] fine, or penalty; but to the *Ef*ficiencies, on the other side, which are by much the more interesting, as well as the only profitable part of its subject, assigning neither estimate nor aid.

120. Now, it is in this higher and perfect function of critic law, *en*abling instead of *dis*abling, that it becomes truly Kingly,[2] instead of Draconic: (what Providence gave the great, wrathful legislator his name?[3]): that is, it becomes the law of man and of life, instead of the law of the worm and of death—both of these laws being set in changeless poise one against another, and the enforcement

[1] [The original essay here reads:—
"just fine, diminution, or (with the broad vowels) damnation; but to the . . . assigning in any clear way neither measurement nor aid."]

[2] [In the lecture, *The Tortoise of Ægina*, Ruskin here added "or Basilican."]

[3] [For the laws of Draco ("dragon"), see Xenophon's *Economist*, xi. 4, 4, translated in *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, i.]

of both being the eternal function of the lawgiver, and true claim of every living soul: such claim being indeed strong to be mercifully hindered, and even, if need be, abolished, when longer existence means only deeper destruction, but stronger still to be mercifully helped, and recreated, when longer existence and new creation mean nobler life. So that reward and punishment will be found to resolve themselves mainly * into help and hindrance; and these again will issue naturally from true recognition of deserving, and the just reverence and just wrath which follow instinctively on such recognition.

121. I say, "follow," but, in reality, they are part of the recognition.[1] Reverence is as instinctive as anger;—both of them instant on true vision: it is sight and understanding that we have to teach, and these *are* reverence. Make a man perceive worth, and in its reflection he sees his own relative unworth, and worships thereupon inevitably, not with stiff courtesy, but rejoicingly, passionately, and, best of all, *restfully:* for the inner capacity of awe and love is infinite in man; and only in finding these, can we find peace.[2] And the common insolences and petulances of the people, and their talk of equality,[3] are not irreverence in

* (Mainly; not altogether. Conclusive reward of high virtue is loving and crowning, not helping; and conclusive punishment of deep vice is hating and crushing, not merely hindering.)

[1] [The original essay here adds:—

"Reverence is but the perceiving of the thing in its entire truth: truth reverted is truth revered (vereor and veritas having clearly the same root), so that Goethe is for once, and for a wonder, wrong in that part of the noble scheme of education in *Wilhelm Meister,* in which he says that reverence is not innate, and must be taught."

On reconsideration, Ruskin abandoned the idea (accepted by none of the philologists) of a common origin for *vereor* and *veritas.* For the reference to Goethe, compare *Time and Tide,* § 96 (below, p. 398), where the same passage in *Wilhelm Meister* is noticed; and for the instinct of reverence, see also *Crown of Wild Olive,* § 137. The reference is to ch. x. of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (p. 70 in Carlyle's translation, "People's Edition"). Carlyle cited the passage in his Rectorial Address at Edinburgh.]

[2] [For "and only . . . peace," the original essay reads:—

"and when his eyes are once opened to the sight of beauty and honour, it is with him as with a lover, who, falling at his mistress's feet, would cast himself through the earth, if it might be, to fall lower, and find a deeper and humbler place."]

[3] [See above, p. 74 *n.*]

them in the least, but mere blindness, stupefaction, and fog in the brains,* [1] the first sign of any cleansing away of which is, that they gain some power of discerning, and some patience in submitting to, their true counsellors and governors. In the mode of such discernment consists the real "constitution" of the state, more than in the titles or offices of the discerned person; for it is no matter, save in degree of mischief, to what office a man is appointed, if he cannot fulfil it.

122. III. Government by Council.

This is the determination, by living authority, of the national conduct to be observed under existing circumstances; and the modification or enlargement, abrogation or enforcement, of the code of national law according to present needs or purposes. This government is necessarily always by council, for though the authority of it may be vested in one person, that person cannot form any opinion on a matter of public interest but by (voluntarily or involuntarily) submitting himself to the influence of others.

This government is always twofold—visible and invisible.

The visible government is that which nominally carries on the national business; determines its foreign relations, raises taxes, levies soldiers, orders war or peace, and otherwise becomes the arbiter of the national fortune. The invisible government is that exercised by all energetic and intelligent men, each in his sphere, regulating the inner will and secret ways of the people, essentially forming its character, and preparing its fate.

* Compare Chaucer's "villany" (clownishness).

> Full foul and chorlishe seemed she,
> And eke villanous for to be,
> And little coulde of norture
> To worship any creature.[2]

[1] [The original essay reads "brains, which pass away in the degree that they are raised and purified, the first sign of which raising is . . ."]

[2] [*The Romaunt of the Rose*, lines 177–180.]

Visible governments are the toys of some nations,[1] the diseases of others, the harness of some, the burdens of more, the necessity of all. Sometimes their career is quite distinct from that of the people, and to write it, as the national history, is as if one should number the accidents which befall a man's weapons and wardrobe, and call the list his biography.[2] Nevertheless, a truly noble and wise nation necessarily has a noble and wise visible government, for its wisdom issues in that conclusively.[3]

123. Visible governments are, in their agencies, capable of three pure forms, and of no more than three.

They are either monarchies, where the authority is vested in one person; oligarchies, when it is vested in a minority; or democracies, when vested in a majority.

But these three forms are not only, in practice, variously limited and combined, but capable of infinite difference in character and use, receiving specific names according to their variations; which names, being nowise agreed upon, nor consistently used, either in thought or writing, no man can at present tell, in speaking of any kind of government, whether he is understood; nor, in hearing, whether he understands. Thus we usually call a just government by one person a monarchy, and an unjust and cruel one, a tyranny: this might be reasonable if it had reference to the divinity of true government; but to limit the term "oligarchy" to government by a few rich people, and to call government by a few wise or noble people "aristocracy," evidently is absurd, unless it were proved that rich people never could be wise, or noble people rich; and farther absurd, because there are other distinctions in character, as well as riches or wisdom (greater purity of race, or strength of purpose,

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 42.]

[2] [Compare Vol. XVI. p. 452 and *n.*]

[The original essay adds here :—

"'Not out of the oak, nor out of the rock, but out of the temper of man, is his polity'; where the temper inclines, it inclines as Samson by his pillar, and draws all down with it."

The quotation is from Plato (*Republic*, viii. 544 D.: ἡ οἴει ἐκ δρυός ποθεν ἢ ἐκ πέτρας τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐκ τῶν ἠθῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.]

for instance), which may give the power of government to the few. So that if we had to give names to every group or kind of minority, we should have verbiage enough. But there is only one right name—"oligarchy."

124. So also the terms "republic" and "democracy"* are confused, especially in modern use; and both of them are liable to every sort of misconception. A republic means, properly, a polity in which the state, with its all, is at every man's service, and every man, with his all, at the state's service—(people are apt to lose sight of the last condition,) but its government may nevertheless be oligarchic (consular, or decemviral, for instance), or monarchic (dictatorial). But a democracy means a state in which the government rests directly with the majority of the citizens. And both these conditions have been judged only by such accidents and aspects of them as each of us has had experience of; and sometimes both have been confused with anarchy, as it is the fashion at present to talk of the "failure of republican institutions in America," when there has never yet been in America any such thing as an institution, but only defiance of institution; neither any such thing as a *res-publica*, but only a multitudinous *res-privata;* every man for himself. It is not republicanism which fails now in America; it is your model science of political economy, brought to its perfect practice. There you may see competition, and the "law of demand and supply" (especially in paper), in beautiful and unhindered operation.† Lust of wealth, and trust in it; vulgar faith in magnitude and multitude, instead of nobleness; besides that faith natural to backwoods-men—

* (I leave this paragraph, in every syllable, as it was written, during the rage of the American war;[1] it was meant to refer, however, chiefly to the Northerns: what modifications its hot and partial terms require I will give in another place: let it stand here as it stood.[2])

† "Supply and demand! Alas! for what noble work was there ever any audible 'demand' in that poor sense?" (*Past and Present*). Nay, the demand is not loud, even for ignoble work. See "Average Earnings of Betty

[1] [For other references to the American Civil War, see below, pp. 286, 289; and *Time and Tide*, § 141 (below, p. 432 *n.*).]

[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 14, where this § 124 is referred to.]

"lucum ligna"*—perpetual self-contemplation issuing in passionate vanity; total ignorance of the finer and higher arts, and of all that they teach and bestow;[1] and the discontent of energetic minds unoccupied, frantic with hope of uncomprehended change, and progress they know not whither;†—these are the things that have "failed" in America; and yet not altogether failed—it is not collapse, but collision; the greatest railroad accident on record, with fire caught from the furnace, and Catiline's quenching "non aquâ, sed ruinâ."‡ But I see not, in any of our talk of

Taylor," in *Times* of 4th February of this year [1863]: "Worked from Monday morning at 8 A.M. to Friday night at 5.30 P.M. for 1s. 5½d."—*Laissez faire.* [This kind of slavery finds no Abolitionists that I hear of.][2]

* ("That the sacred grove is nothing but logs."[3])

† Ames, by report of Waldo Emerson, says "that a monarchy is a merchantman, which sails well, but will sometimes strike on a rock, and go to the bottom; whilst a republic is a raft, which would never sink, but then your feet are always in the water." Yes, that is comfortable; and though your raft cannot sink (being too worthless for that), it may go to pieces, I suppose, when the four winds (your only pilots) steer competitively from its four corners, and carry it, ὡς ὁπωρινὸς Βορέης φορέῃσιν ἀκάνθας,[4] and then more than your feet will be in the water.

‡ ("Not with water, but with ruin."[5] The worst ruin being that which the Americans chiefly boast of. They sent all their best and honestest

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[1] [The original essay here appends a footnote:—

"See Bacon's note in the *Advancement of Learning*, on 'didicisse fideliter artes' (but indeed the accent had need be upon 'fideliter'). 'It taketh away vain admiration of anything, which is the root of all weakness; for all things are admired either because they are new, or because they are great,' etc."

Bacon (book i. 8, 1) quotes the lines from Ovid (*Ep. Pont.* ii. 9, 47)—

"Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros"—

and continues: "It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds; but indeed the accent had need be upon *fideliter:* for a little superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. . . . It taketh away vain admiration," etc.]

[2] [The square brackets here are Ruskin's, added in 1872. Inverted commas have here been introduced in the first two lines of the note, the words being a quotation from book iii. ch. x. of Carlyle's *Past and Present.*]

[3] [Horace, *Epist.* i. 6, 31. Ruskin's father had asked for an explanation of "lucum ligna," and Ruskin replied from Annecy (April 12, 1863):—

"*Lucus* is peculiarly a sacred grove; Horace has been speaking to moral and religious people—then turns suddenly, saying, 'but, if you think virtue is but words, and the sacred grove but logs, you may make as much money as you like—*Virtutem verba putas, et lucum ligna.*'"]

[4] [*Odyssey*, v. 328: "as the North wind in the harvest sweepeth the thistle-down."]

[5] [Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 25, 51.]

them, justice enough done to their erratic strength of purpose, nor any estimate taken of the strength of endurance of domestic sorrow, in what their women and children suppose a righteous cause. And out of that endurance and suffering, its own fruit will be born with time; [*not* abolition of slavery, however. See § 130][1] and Carlyle's prophecy of them (June, 1850), as it has now come true in the first clause, will, in the last:—

"America, too, will find that caucuses, division-lists, stump-oratory, and speeches to Buncombe will *not* carry men to the immortal gods; that the Washington Congress, and constitutional battle of Kilkenny cats is, there as here, naught for such objects; quite incompetent for such; and, in fine, that said sublime constitutional arrangement will require to be (with terrible throes, and travail such as few expect yet) remodelled, abridged, extended, suppressed, torn asunder, put together again; — not without heroic labour and effort, quite other than that of the Stump-Orator and the Revival Preacher, one day."[2]

125.* Understand, then, once for all, that no form of government, provided it be a government at all, is, as such, to be either condemned or praised, or contested for in anywise, but by fools.[3] But all forms of government are good just so far as they attain this one vital necessity of policy—*that the wise and kind, few or many, shall govern the unwise and unkind;* and they are evil so far as they miss of this, or reverse it. Nor does the form, in any case, signify one whit, but its *firmness*, and adaptation to the need; for if there be many foolish persons in a state, and few wise, then it is good that the few govern; and if there be many wise,

youths, Harvard University men and the like, to that accursed war; got them nearly all shot; wrote pretty biographies (to the ages of 17, 18, 19) and epitaphs for them; and so, having washed all the salt out of the nation in blood, left themselves to putrefaction, and the morality of New York.)

* (This paragraph contains the gist of all that precede.)

[1] [The insertion in the text, in square brackets, here, is the author's, made in 1872.]

[2] [*Latter-Day Pamphlets*: "No. VI. Parliaments (1st June, 1850)."]

[3] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 158 (below, p. 446).]

and few foolish, then it is good that the many govern; and if many be wise, yet one wiser, then it is good that one should govern; and so on. Thus, we may have "the ant's republic, and the realm of bees,"[1] both good in their kind; one for groping, and the other for building; and nobler still, for flying;—the Ducal monarchy* of those

> Intelligent of seasons, that set forth
> The aery caravan, high over seas.[2]

126. Nor need we want examples, among the inferior creatures of dissoluteness, as well as resoluteness, in government. I once saw democracy finely illustrated by the beetles of North Switzerland, who by universal suffrage, and elytric[3] acclamation, one May twilight, carried it, that they would fly over the Lake of Zug; and flew *short*, to the great disfigurement of the Lake of Zug,—Κανθάρου λιμήν[4] —over some leagues square, and to the close of the cockchafer democracy for that year. Then, for tyranny, the old fable of the frogs and the stork finely touches one form of it;[5] but truth will image it more closely than fable,

* (Whenever you are puzzled by any apparently mistaken use of words in these essays, take your dictionary, remembering I had to fix terms, as well as principles. A Duke is a "dux" or "leader"; the flying wedge of cranes is under a "ducal monarch"—a very different personage from a queen-bee. The Venetians, with a beautiful instinct, gave the name to their King of the Sea.)

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[1] [Pope: *Essay on Man*, iii. 184.]

[2] [Milton: *Paradise Lost*, vii. 428, 429. The whole passage reads:—

> "Part loosely wing the region; part, more wise,
> In common, ranged in figure, wedge their way,
> Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
> Their aery caravan, high over seas
> Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing
> Easing their flight: so steers the prudent crane," etc.]

[3] [This word is a coinage of Ruskin's, *elytron* (ἔλυτρον, sheath) being the hard wing-case of an insect.]

[4] [A play on the words, suggested by Aristophanes' *Pax*, 145; the harbour of Cantharus (one of the harbours of the Piræus), or "beetle harbour."]

[5] [The allusion may be to the familiar fable of the frogs asking for a king. Jupiter first threw them a log of wood, but they grumbled at so spiritless a master. He then sent them King Stork, who devoured them eagerly. But Ruskin's tale from true life, of the kites in Ceylon, suggests that he may here have been thinking also of the fable (*Æsop*, ch. clviii.), in which a frog and a mouse, disputing their claims to a marsh, are both carried off by a kite.]

for tyranny is not complete when it is only over the idle, but when it is over the laborious and the blind. This description of pelicans and climbing perch, which I find quoted in one of our popular natural histories, out of Sir Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*,[1] comes as near as may be to the true image of the thing:—

"Heavy rains came on, and as we stood on the high ground, we observed a pelican on the margin of the shallow pool gorging himself; our people went towards him, and raised a cry of 'Fish, fish!' We hurried down, and found numbers of fish struggling upward through the grass, in the rills formed by the trickling of the rain. There was scarcely water to cover them, but nevertheless they made rapid progress up the bank, on which our followers collected about two baskets of them. They were forcing their way up the knoll, and had they not been interrupted, first by the pelican, and afterwards by ourselves, they would in a few minutes have gained the highest point, and descended on the other side into a pool which formed another portion of the tank. In going this distance, however, they must have used muscular exertion enough to have taken them half a mile on level ground; for at these places all the cattle and wild animals of the neighbourhood had latterly come to drink, so that the surface was everywhere indented with footmarks, in addition to the cracks in the surrounding baked mud, into which the fish tumbled in their progress. In those holes, which were deep, and the sides perpendicular, they remained to die, and were carried off by kites and crows." *

* (This is a perfect picture of the French under the tyrannies of their Pelican Kings, before the Revolution. But they must find other than Pelican Kings—or rather, Pelican Kings of the Divine brood, that feed their children, and with their best blood.)

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[1] [*Ceylon: an Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical*, 2 vols., 1859, vol. i. pp. 215–216 *n*. By Sir James Emerson Tennent (1804–1869); traveller, politician, and author; secretary to the India House (1841–1843), and to the Colonial Government of Ceylon (1845–1850); M.P. for Belfast; created a baronet, 1867.]

127. But whether governments be bad or good, one general disadvantage seems to attach to them in modern times — that they are all *costly*.* This, however, is not essentially the fault of the governments. If nations choose to play at war, they will always find their governments willing to lead the game, and soon coming under that term of Aristophanes, "κάπηλοι ἀσπίδων," "shield-sellers."[1] And when (πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι †[2]) the shields take the form of iron ships, with apparatus "for defence against liquid fire,"—as I see by latest accounts they are now arranging the decks in English dockyards—they become costly biers enough for the grey convoy of chief-mourner waves, wreathed with funereal foam, to bear back the dead upon; the massy shoulders of those corpse-bearers being intended for quite other work, and to bear the living, and food for the living, if we would let them.

128. Nor have we the least right to complain of our governments being expensive, so long as we set the government *to do precisely the work which brings no return.* If our present doctrines of political economy be just, let us trust them to the utmost; take that war business out of the government's hands, and test therein the principles of supply and demand. Let our future sieges of Sebastopol

* (Read carefully, from this point; because here begins the statement of things requiring to be done, which I am now re-trying to make definite in *Fors Clavigera*.[3])

† ("Evil on the top of Evil." Delphic oracle, meaning iron on the anvil.)

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[1] [*Pax*, 447.]

[2] [Ruskin explained this passage in a letter to his father (from Annecy, April 12, 1863):—

> "There is a pretty allusion in the Greek words in the passage about shield-ships. When the Spartans wanted the body of Orestes,—or rather, were ordered to find it, near Tegea—on pain of continual defeats, the Pythian oracle told them they would find it in a place where 'blow answered blow, and calamity lay upon calamity.' They found it under a smith's anvil; the 'calamity on calamity,' πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι, being iron laid on iron."

The reference is to Herodotus, i. 67; compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 69 *n.*, where the passage is again referred to.]

[3] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 22, where this passage is referred to in a distinction there drawn between "shield-sellers" and "shield-bearers" (squires).]

be done by contract—no capture, no pay—(I admit that things might sometimes go better so); and let us sell the commands of our prospective battles, with our vicarages, to the lowest bidder; so may we have cheap victories, and divinity. On the other hand, if we have so much suspicion of our science that we dare not trust it on military or spiritual business, would it not be but reasonable to try whether some authoritative handling may not prosper in matters utilitarian? If we were to set our governments to do useful things instead of mischievous, possibly even the apparatus itself might in time come to be less costly. The machine, applied to the building of the house, might perhaps pay, when it seems not to pay, applied to pulling it down. If we made in our dockyards ships to carry timber and coals, instead of cannon, and with provision for the brightening of domestic solid culinary fire, instead of for the scattering of liquid hostile fire, it might have some effect on the taxes.[1] Or suppose that we tried the experiment on land instead of water carriage; already the government, not unapproved, carries letters and parcels for us; larger packages may in time follow;—even general merchandise—why not, at last, ourselves? Had the money spent in local mistakes and vain private litigation, on the railroads of England, been laid out, instead, under proper government restraint, on really useful railroad work, and had no absurd expense been incurred in ornamenting stations,[2] we might already have had,—what ultimately it will be found we must have,—quadruple rails, two for passengers, and two for traffic, on every great line; and we might have been carried in swift safety, and watched and warded by

[1] [The original essay here adds:—

"Or if the iron bottoms were to bring us home nothing better than ivory and peacocks, instead of martial glory, we might at least have gayer suppers, and doors of the right material for dreams after them."

Here, as in some other places, Ruskin's memory of the passage in Homer (*Odyssey*, xix. 562) is at fault, for it is *false* dreams that come through the ivory gates: compare Vol. XIV. p. 330.]

[2] [On this subject, compare *Time and Tide*, § 83 (below, p. 390), and Vol. VIII. p. 160 and *n*. See also pp. 528, 535.]

well-paid pointsmen, for half the present fares.[1] [For, of course, a railroad company is merely an association of turnpike-keepers, who make the tolls as high as they can, not to mend the roads with, but to pocket. The public will in time discover this, and do away with turnpikes on railroads, as on all other public-ways.][2]

129.[3] Suppose it should thus turn out, finally, that a true government set to true work, instead of being a costly engine, was a paying one? that your government, rightly organized, instead of itself subsisting by an income-tax, would produce its subjects some subsistence in the shape of an income dividend?—police, and judges duly paid besides, only with less work than the state at present provides for them.

A true government set to true work!—Not easily to be imagined, still less obtained; but not beyond human hope or ingenuity. Only you will have to alter your election systems somewhat, first. Not by universal suffrage, nor by votes purchaseable with beer, is such government to be had. That is to say, not by universal *equal* suffrage.[4] Every man upwards of twenty, who had been convicted of no legal crime, should have his say in this matter; but afterwards a louder voice, as he grows older, and approves himself wiser. If he has one vote at twenty, he should have two at thirty, four at forty, ten at fifty. For every single vote which he has with an income of a hundred a year, he should have ten with an income of a thousand, (provided you first see to it that wealth is, as nature intended it to be, the reward of sagacity and industry—not of good luck in a scramble or a lottery). For every single vote which

[1] [See the letters on Railroad Management; below, pp. 528, 535.]

[2] [The passage enclosed in square brackets here was thus added by the author in 1872.]

[3] [The original essay here had :—

"ὦ Δημίδιον, ὁρᾷς τὰ λαγῷ' ἃ σοι φέρω?"

The line is 1199 in the *Knights* of Aristophanes ("oh, my dear little Demos, do you see what dainties I am bringing you?"]

[4] [Here Ruskin develops ideas which he had sketched out twelve years before in some letters of 1851 intended for the *Times*: see Vol. XII. pp. lxxxiii., 600-602.]

he had as subordinate in any business, he should have two when he became a master; and every office and authority nationally bestowed, implying trustworthiness and intellect, should have its known proportional number of votes attached to it. But into the detail and working of a true system in these matters we cannot now enter; we are concerned as yet with definitions only, and statements of first principles, which will be established now sufficiently for our purposes when we have examined the nature of that form of government last on the list in § 105,—the purely "Magistral," exciting at present its full share of public notice, under its ambiguous title of "slavery."

130. I have not, however, been able to ascertain in definite terms, from the declaimers against slavery, what they understand by it.[1] If they mean only the imprisonment or compulsion of one person by another, such imprisonment or compulsion being in many cases highly expedient, slavery, so defined, would be no evil in itself, but only in its abuse; that is, when men are slaves, who should not be, or masters, who should not be, or even the fittest characters for either state, placed in it under conditions which should not be. It is not, for instance, a necessary condition of slavery, nor a desirable one, that parents should be separated from children, or husbands from wives; but the institution of war, against which people declaim with less violence, effects such separations, — not unfrequently in a very permanent manner. To press a sailor, seize a white youth by conscription for a soldier, or carry off a black one for a labourer, may all be right acts or all wrong ones, according to needs and circumstances. It is wrong to scourge

[1] [Ruskin, it should be observed, was no defender of negro slavery, in the common sense of that term (see *Time and Tide*, § 149; below, p. 438). As against the doctrine of "natural equality," he held that there was such a thing as "natural slavery"; and for the rest, he reminded his readers that there is white slavery, as well as black; and that men could not compound for their indulgence in economic slavery at home by declaiming against negro slavery abroad. See on these points, *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. (Vol. X. p. 193); *Time and Tide*, § 105 (below, p. 403); *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 119; *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 55; and the letters below, pp. 518, 521.]

a man unnecessarily. So it is to shoot him. Both must be done on occasion; and it is better and kinder to flog a man to his work, than to leave him idle till he robs, and flog him afterwards. The essential thing for all creatures is to be made to do right; how they are made to do it—by pleasant promises, or hard necessities, pathetic oratory, or the whip—is comparatively immaterial.* To be deceived is perhaps as incompatible with human dignity as to be whipped; and I suspect the last method to be not the worst, for the help of many individuals. The Jewish nation throve under it, in the hand of a monarch reputed not unwise; it is only the change of whip for scorpion[1] which is inexpedient; and that change is as likely to come to pass on the side of license as of law. For the true scorpion whips are those of the nation's pleasant vices,[2] which are to it as St. John's locusts—crown on the head, ravin in the mouth, and sting in the tail.[3] If it will not bear the rule of Athena and Apollo, who shepherd without smiting (*οὐ πληγῇ νέμοντες*[4]), Athena at last calls no more in the corners of the streets; and then follows the rule of Tisiphone,[5] who smites without shepherding.

131. If, however, by slavery, instead of absolute compulsion, is meant *the purchase, by money, of the right of compulsion*, such purchase is necessarily made whenever a portion

* (Permit me to enforce and reinforce this statement, with all earnestness. It is the sum of what needs most to be understood, in the matter of education.)

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[1] [See 1 Kings xii. 11.]

[2] [*King Lear*, v. 3, lines 170–171 :—

"The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to plague us."]

[3] [See Revelation ix. 3–10.]

[4] [See Plato's *Critias*, 109 B. : "In former ages the gods had the whole earth distributed among them by allotment. . . . Each of them obtained righteously by lot what they wanted, and peopled their own districts; and when they had peopled them, they tended us human beings who belonged to them as shepherds tend their flocks, excepting only that they did not use bodily force, like shepherds driving their flocks afield with a blow, but govern us like pilots from the stern of a vessel, which is an easy way of guiding animals by the rudder of persuasion."]

[5] [See *Unto this Last*, §§ 70, 73; above, pp. 95, 99.]

of any territory is transferred, for money, from one monarch to another: which has happened frequently enough in history, without its being supposed that the inhabitants of the districts so transferred became therefore slaves. In this, as in the former case, the dispute seems about the fashion of the thing, rather than the fact of it. There are two rocks in mid-sea, on each of which, neglected equally by instructive and commercial powers, a handful of inhabitants live as they may. Two merchants bid for the two properties, but not in the same terms. One bids for the people, buys *them*, and sets them to work, under pain of scourge; the other bids for the rock, buys *it*, and throws the inhabitants into the sea. The former is the American, the latter the English method, of slavery; much is to be said for, and something against, both, which I hope to say in due time and place.*

132. If, however, slavery mean not merely the purchase of the right of compulsion, but *the purchase of the body and soul of the creature itself for money*, it is not, I think, among the black races that purchases of this kind are most extensively made, or that separate souls of a fine make fetch the highest price. This branch of the inquiry we shall have occasion also to follow out at some length,[1] for in the worst instances of the selling of souls, we are apt to get, when we ask if the sale is valid, only Pyrrhon's answer †—"None can know."

133. The fact is that slavery is not a political institution at all, *but an inherent, natural, and eternal inheritance* of a large portion of the human race—to whom, the more you give of their own free will, the more slaves they will make themselves. In common parlance, we idly confuse captivity

* (A pregnant paragraph, meant against English and Scotch landlords who drive their people off the land.)

† (In Lucian's dialogue, "The sale of lives."[2])

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[1] [See the note on p. 254.]

[2] [The original essay reads: "in the worst instances of the 'Βίων πρᾶσις' we are apt to get only Pyrrhon's answer, τί φῄς;—ἐπριάμην σε; Ἄδηλον." See § 27 (towards the end of the dialogue).]

with slavery, and are always thinking of the difference between pine-trunks (Ariel in the pine), and cowslip-bells ("in the cowslip-bell I lie"[1]), or between carrying wood and drinking (Caliban's slavery and freedom), instead of noting the far more serious differences between Ariel and Caliban themselves, and the means by which, practically, that difference may be brought about or diminished.

134.* Plato's slave, in the *Polity*, who, well dressed and washed, aspires to the hand of his master's daughter, corresponds curiously to Caliban attacking Prospero's cell; and there is an undercurrent of meaning throughout, in the *Tempest* as well as in the *Merchant of Venice;* referring in this case to government, as in that to commerce. Miranda † ("the wonderful," so addressed first by Ferdinand,

* (I raise this analysis of the *Tempest* into my text; but it is nothing but a hurried note, which I may never have time to expand. I have retouched it here and there a little, however.[2])

† Of Shakspeare's names I will afterwards speak at more length:[3] they are curiously—often barbarously—much by Providence,—but assuredly not without Shakspeare's cunning purpose—mixed out of the various traditions he confusedly adopted, and languages which he imperfectly knew.[4] Three of the clearest in meaning have been already noticed. Desdemona, "δυσδαιμονία," "miserable fortune," is also plain enough. Othello is, I believe, "the careful"; all the calamity of the tragedy arising from the single flaw and error in his magnificently collected strength. Ophelia, "serviceableness,"

[1] [*Tempest*, v. 1; and for Caliban's song of freedom, see ii. 2.]

[2] [In the original essay the note began thus: "The passage of Plato, referred to in note, p. 442 [see above, § 109 *n.*], in its context, respecting the slave . . ." Plato's "context" likens a man escaping from the slavery of base occupations to philosophy to "a bald little tinker who has just got out of durance and come into a fortune; he washes the dirt off him and has a new coat, and is decked out as a bridegroom going to marry his master's daughter" (Jowett's version).]

[3] [This Ruskin does not do, although he refers incidentally to the subject in *Val d'Arno*, § 213, and *Fiction, Fair and Foul*, § 114.]

[4] [This note, as it originally appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, was criticised by Matthew Arnold in an article entitled "The Literary Influence of Academies" in the *Cornhill Magazine*, August 1864 (reprinted in his *Essays in Criticism*). The criticism is referred to in the Introduction; above, p. lxiv. In revising the passage in 1872, Ruskin introduced the following qualifications (lines 3, 4): "much by Providence . . . purpose," "he confusedly adopted," and "which he imperfectly knew." The "three of the clearest" names already mentioned are Perdita, Cordelia, and Portia (§ 100 and *n.*). The suggested derivation of Ophelia is from ὄφελος, "help" (for Ruskin's quotation, see *Hamlet*, v. 1, line 228); and that of Othello is from ὀθη, "care"; it is generally supposed that Shakespeare obtained the name (as also Iago) from Reynold's *God's Revenge against Adultery*. The name "Desdemona" occurs in the Italian tale (1565)—Cinthio's *Un Capitano Moro*—from which the poet adapted his plot.]

"Oh, you wonder!") corresponds to Homer's Arete:[1] Ariel and Caliban are respectively the spirits of faithful and imaginative labour, opposed to rebellious, hurtful, and slavish labour. Prospero ("for hope"), a true governor, is opposed to Sycorax, the mother of slavery, her name "Swine-raven" indicating at once brutality and deathfulness; hence the line—

"As wicked dew as e'er my mother brushed with *raven's feather*,"—etc.[2]

For all these dreams of Shakspeare, as those of true and strong men must be, are "*φαντάσματα θεῖα, καὶ σκιαὶ τῶν ὄντων*"[3] —divine phantasms, and shadows of things that are. We hardly tell our children, willingly, a fable with no purport in it; yet we think God sends His best messengers only to sing fairy tales to us, fond and empty. The *Tempest* is just like a grotesque in a rich missal, "clasped where paynims pray."[4] Ariel is the spirit of generous and free-hearted

the true lost wife of Hamlet, is marked as having a Greek name by that of her brother, Laertes; and its signification is once exquisitely alluded to in that brother's last word of her, where her gentle preciousness is opposed to the uselessness of the churlish clergy—"A *ministering* angel shall my sister be, when thou liest howling." Hamlet is, I believe, connected in some way with "homely," the entire event of the tragedy turning on betrayal of home duty. Hermione (*ἕρμα*), "pillar-like" (*ἦ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης*[5]). Titania (*τιτήνη*), "the queen"; Benedict and Beatrice, "blessed and blessing"; Valentine and Proteus, enduring (or strong), (valens), and changeful. Iago and Iachimo have evidently the same root—probably the Spanish Iago, Jacob, "the supplanter." Leonatus, and other such names, are interpreted, or played with, in the plays themselves.[6] For the interpretation of Sycorax, and reference to her raven's feather, I am indebted to Mr. John R. Wise.[7]

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[1] [For Homer's Arete, see above, § 101 *n.*, p. 226.]

[2] [*Tempest*, i. 2, line 322. Compare Vol. XV. p. 271, where the line is also referred to. Ruskin, it will be seen, derives the name from *Σύς* and *κόραξ*; for other conjectures see W. Aldis Wright's edition of *The Tempest*, p. 91 (Clarendon Press Series, 1874).]

[3] [Plato: *Republic*, vii. 532 C.]

[4] ["Clasp'd like a missal where swart Paynims pray" (Keats: *Eve of St. Agnes*, xxvii.).]

[5] [From Homer's description of Hermione (daughter of Helen), "who has the form of golden Aphrodite" (*Odyssey*, iv. 14).]

[6] [For "the sur-addition Leonatus," see *Cymbeline*, i. 1, line 32.]

[7] [John Richard de Capel Wise (1831–1890). A friend of Ruskin and his father; author of some pamphlets on Shakespeare, and of *The New Forest: its History and Scenery*.]

service, in early stages of human society oppressed by ignorance and wild tyranny: "venting groans as fast as mill-wheels strike";[1] in shipwreck of states, dreadful; so that "all but mariners plunge in the brine, and quit the vessel, then all afire with *me*," yet having in itself the will and sweetness of truest peace, whence that is especially called "Ariel's" song, "Come unto these yellow sands,[2] and there, *take hands*, courtesied when you have, and kissed, the wild waves whist": (mind, it is "cortesia," not "curtsey,") and read "quiet" for "whist," if you want the full sense. Then you may indeed foot it featly, and sweet spirits bear the burden for you—with watch in the night, and call in early morning. The *vis viva* in elemental transformation follows—"Full fathom five thy father lies, of his bones are coral made." Then, giving rest *after* labour, it "fetches dew from the still vext Bermoöthes," and, "with a charm joined to their suffered labour," leaves men asleep. Snatching away the feast of the cruel, it seems to them as a harpy; followed by the utterly vile, who cannot see it in any shape, but to whom it is "the picture of nobody," it still gives shrill harmony to their false and mocking catch, "Thought is free"; but leads them into briars and foul places, and at last hollas the hounds upon them. Minister of fate against the great criminal, it joins itself with the

[1] [*Tempest*, i. 2, lines 281–282. For the following passages quoted, see *ibid.*, lines 210–212, 376–381, 396–397, 229–232; iii. 2, lines 123, 120; iii. 3, lines 74, 63–65; v. 1, line 88.]

[2] [The original essay here adds:—

> "'Come unto these yellow sands'—(fenceless and countless, changing with the sweep of the sea—'vaga arena.' Compare Horace's opposition of the sea-sand to the dust of the grave: 'numero carentis'—'exigui'; and again compare 'animo rotundum percurrisse' with 'put a girdle round the earth')—and there . . .'"

The references are to *Odes*, i. 28. For the former one (indicative of the title, "Munera Pulveris"), see above, Introduction, pp. lxv. *seq.* After the passage there translated, the Ode continues: "nor does it profit you aught to have scaled the homes of the sky and *in spirit to have ranged through the round heaven*, you that had still to die"—with which Ruskin compares *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1, lines 175–176. For other references by Ruskin to the words "Come unto these yellow sands," see *Two Paths*, § 146 (Vol. XVI. p. 379), and a lecture in the same volume, p. 444.]

"incensed seas and shores"—the sword that layeth at it cannot hold,[1] and may "with bemocked-at stabs as soon kill the still-closing waters, as diminish one dowle that is in its plume." As the guide and aid of true love, it is always called by Prospero "fine" (the French "fine," not the English), or "delicate"—another long note would be needed to explain all the meaning in this word. Lastly, its work done, and war, it resolves itself into the elements. The intense significance of the last song, "Where the bee sucks," I will examine in its due place.[2]

The types of slavery in Caliban are more palpable, and need not be dwelt on now: though I will notice them also, severally, in their proper places;[3]—the heart of his slavery is in his worship: "That's a brave god, and bears celestial —liquor."[4] But, in illustration of the sense in which the Latin "benignus" and "malignus" are to be coupled with Eleutheria and Douleia, note that Caliban's torment is always the physical reflection of his own nature—"cramps" and "side stitches that shall pen thy breath up; thou shalt be pinched, as thick as honeycombs": the whole nature of slavery being one cramp and cretinous contraction. Fancy this of Ariel! You may fetter him, but you set no mark on him; you may put him to hard work and far journey, but you cannot give him a cramp.

135. I should dwell, even in these prefatory papers, at more length on this subject of slavery, had not all I would say been said already, in vain, (not, as I hope, ultimately in vain,) by Carlyle, in the first of the *Latter-day Pamphlets*, which I commend to the reader's gravest reading; together with that as much neglected, and still more immediately needed, on model prisons, and with the great

[1] [Psalms xli. 26.]

[2] [Another reference to the intended, but unwritten, sequel. Ruskin found the opportunity to note the significance of the song in *Time and Tide*, §§ 167, 168 (below, pp. 453–454). See also *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 51.]

[3] [See, again, *Time and Tide*, §§ 167, 168; and compare *Lectures on Art*, § 81, and *Ariadne Florentina*, § 256.]

[4] [*Tempest*, ii. 2, line 106; the following reference is to i. 2, lines 326–327.]

chapter on "Permanence" (fifth of the last section of *Past and Present*), which sums what is known, and foreshadows, or rather forelights, all that is to be learned of National Discipline. I have only here farther to examine the nature of one world-wide and everlasting form of slavery, wholesome in use, as deadly in abuse;—the service of the rich by the poor.

CHAPTER VI

MASTERSHIP[1]

136. As in all previous discussions of our subject, we must study the relation of the commanding rich to the obeying poor in its simplest elements, in order to reach its first principles.

The simplest state of it, then, is this:* a wise and provident person works much, consumes little, and lays by a store; an improvident person works little, consumes all his produce, and lays by no store.[2] Accident interrupts the daily work, or renders it less productive; the idle person must then starve or be supported by the provident one, who, having him thus at his mercy, may either refuse to maintain him altogether, or, which will evidently be more to his own interest, say to him, "I will maintain you, indeed, but you shall now work hard, instead of indolently, and instead of being allowed to lay by what you save, as you might have done, had you remained independent, *I* will take all the surplus. You would not lay it up for yourself; it is wholly your own fault that has thrown you into my power, and I will force you to work, or starve; yet you shall have no profit of your work, only your daily bread for

* In the present general examination I concede so much to ordinary economists as to ignore all *innocent* poverty. I adapt my reasoning, for once, to the modern English practical mind, by assuming poverty to be always criminal;[3] the conceivable exceptions we will examine afterwards.

[1] [This chapter was the continuation of the fourth essay in the *Magazine*. The headlines to the portion of the essay contained in the present chapter were: "The Source of Riches.—The Cost of Riches.—Application of Labour.—Temperance in Riches.—This Epitaph or That."]

[2] [With this reduction of the problem to its simplest terms, compare *Unto this Last*, §§ 33–34, pp. 48–49.]

[3] [Compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 1 (Vol. XVI. p. 15).]

it; [and competition shall determine how much of that *]."[1] This mode of treatment has now become so universal that it is supposed to be the only natural—nay, the only possible—one; and the market wages are calmly defined by economists as "the sum which will maintain the labourer."[2]

137. The power of the provident person to do this is only checked by the correlative power of some neighbour of similarly frugal habits, who says to the labourer—"I will give you a little more than this other provident person: come and work for me."

The power of the provident over the improvident depends thus, primarily, on their relative numbers; secondarily, on the modes of agreement of the adverse parties with each other. The accidental level of wages is a variable function of the number of provident and idle persons in the world, of the enmity between them as classes, and of the agreement between those of the same class. *It depends, from beginning to end, on moral conditions.*

138. Supposing the rich to be entirely selfish, *it is always for their interest that the poor should be as numerous as they can employ, and restrain.* For, granting that the entire population is no larger than the ground can easily maintain—that the classes are stringently divided—and that there is sense or strength of hand enough with the rich to secure obedience; then, if nine-tenths of a nation are poor, the remaining tenth have the service of nine persons each;† but, if eight-tenths are poor, only of four each; if

* (I have no terms of English, and can find none in Greek nor Latin, nor in any other strong language known to me, contemptuous enough to attack the bestial idiotism of the modern theory that wages are to be measured by competition.)

† I say nothing yet of the quality of the servants, which, nevertheless, is the gist of the business. Will you have Paul Veronese to paint your ceiling, or the plumber from over the way? Both will work for the same money; Paul, if anything, a little the cheaper of the two, if you keep him in good humour; only you have to discern him first, which will need eyes.

[1] [The square brackets here were inserted, with the words between them, by the author in 1872.]

[2] [See Ricardo's statement, quoted above, p. 108 (*Unto this Last*, § 80).]

seven-tenths are poor, of two and a third each; if six-tenths are poor, of one and a half each; and if five-tenths are poor, of only one each. But, practically, if the rich strive always to obtain more power over the poor, instead of to raise them — and if, on the other hand, the poor become continually more vicious and numerous, through neglect and oppression,—though the *range* of the power of the rich increases, its *tenure* becomes less secure; until, at last, the measure of iniquity being full, revolution, civil war, or the subjection of the state to a healthier or stronger one, closes the moral corruption, and industrial disease. *

139. It is rarely, however, that things come to this extremity. Kind persons among the rich, and wise among the poor, modify the connexion of the classes; the efforts made to raise and relieve on the one side, and the success of honest toil on the other, bind and blend the orders of society into the confused tissue of half-felt obligation, sullenly-rendered obedience, and variously-directed, or misdirected, toil, which form the warp of daily life. But this great law rules all the wild design: that success (while society is guided by laws of competition) *signifies always so much victory over your neighbour* as to obtain the direction of his work, and to take the profits of it. *This is the real source of all great riches.* No man can become largely rich[1] by his personal toil.† The work of his own hands, wisely directed, will indeed always maintain himself and his family, and make fitting provision for his age. ***But it is only by the discovery of some method of taxing the labour of others that he can become opulent.*** Every increase of his capital enables him to extend this taxation more widely; that

* (I have not altered a syllable in these three paragraphs, 137, 138, 139, on revision; but have much italicised: the principles stated being as vital, as they are little known.)

† By his art he may; but only when its produce, or the sight or hearing of it, becomes a subject of dispute, so as to enable the artist to tax the labour of multitudes highly, in exchange for his own.

[1] [Compare *Home, and its Economies*, § 17 (below, p. 564), where this passage is referred to; also *Time and Tide*, § 81, p. 388.]

is, to invest larger funds in the maintenance of labourers,—to direct, accordingly, vaster and yet vaster masses of labour, and to appropriate its profits.

140. There is much confusion of idea on the subject of this appropriation. It is, of course, the interest of the employer to disguise it from the persons employed; and, for his own comfort and complacency, he often desires no less to disguise it from himself. And it is matter of much doubt with me, how far the foul and foolish arguments used habitually on this subject are indeed the honest expression of foul and foolish convictions;—or rather (as I am sometimes forced to conclude from the irritation with which they are advanced) are resolutely dishonest, wilful, and malicious sophisms, arranged so as to mask, to the last moment, the real laws of economy, and future duties of men.[1] By taking a simple example, and working it thoroughly out, the subject may be rescued from all but such determined misrepresentation.

141. Let us imagine a society of peasants, living on a river-shore, exposed to destructive inundation at somewhat extended intervals; and that each peasant possesses of this good, but imperilled, ground, more than he needs to cultivate for immediate subsistence. We will assume farther (and with too great probability of justice), that the greater part of them indolently keep in tillage just as much land as supplies them with daily food;—that they leave their children idle, and take no precautions against the rise of the stream. But one of them, (we will say but one, for the sake of greater clearness) cultivates carefully *all* the ground of his estate; makes his children work hard and healthily; uses his spare time and theirs in building a rampart against the river; and, at the end of some years, has in his store-houses large reserves of food and clothing,—in his stables a well-tended breed of cattle, and around his fields a wedge of wall against flood.

The torrent rises at last—sweeps away the harvests, and

[1] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 22, where this passage is referred to.]

half the cottages of the careless peasants, and leaves them destitute. They naturally come for help to the provident one, whose fields are unwasted, and whose granaries are full. He has the right to refuse it to them: no one disputes this right.* But he will probably *not* refuse it; it is not his interest to do so, even were he entirely selfish and cruel. The only question with him will be on what terms his aid is to be granted.

142. Clearly, not on terms of mere charity. To maintain his neighbours in idleness would be not only his ruin, but theirs. He will require work from them, in exchange for their maintenance; and, whether in kindness or cruelty, all the work they can give. Not now the three or four hours they were wont to spend on their own land, but the eight or ten hours they ought to have spent.† But how will he apply this labour? The men are now his slaves;—nothing less, and nothing more. On pain of starvation, he can force them to work in the manner, and to the end, he chooses. And it is by his wisdom in this choice that the worthiness of his mastership is proved, or its unworthiness. Evidently, he must first set them to bank out the water in some temporary way, and to get their ground cleansed and resown; else, in any case, their continued maintenance will be impossible. That done, and while he has still to feed them, suppose he makes them raise a secure rampart for their own ground against all future flood, and rebuild their houses in safer places, with the best material they can find; being allowed time out of their working hours to fetch such material from a distance. And for the food and clothing advanced, he takes security in land that as much shall be returned at a convenient period.

143. We may conceive this security to be redeemed, and the debt paid at the end of a few years. The prudent

* (Observe this; the legal right to keep what you have worked for, and use it as you please, is the corner-stone of all economy: compare the end of Chap. II.)

† (I should now put the time of necessary labour rather under than over the third of the day.)

peasant has sustained no loss; *but is no richer than he was, and has had all his trouble for nothing.* But he has enriched his neighbours materially; bettered their houses, secured their land, and rendered them, in worldly matters, equal to himself. In all rational and final sense, he has been throughout their true Lord and King.

144. We will next trace his probable line of conduct, presuming his object to be exclusively the increase of his own fortune. After roughly recovering and cleansing the ground, he allows the ruined peasantry only to build huts upon it, such as he thinks protective enough from the weather to keep them in working health. The rest of their time he occupies, first in pulling down, and rebuilding on a magnificent scale, his own house, and in adding large dependencies to it. This done,[1] in exchange for his continued supply of corn, he buys as much of his neighbours' land as he thinks he can superintend the management of; and makes the former owners securely embank and protect the ceded portion. By this arrangement, he leaves to a certain number of the peasantry only as much ground as will just maintain them in their existing numbers; as the population increases, he takes the extra hands, who cannot be maintained on the narrowed estates, for his own servants; employs some to cultivate the ground he has bought, giving them of its produce merely enough for subsistence; with the surplus, which, under his energetic and careful superintendence, will be large, he maintains a train of servants for state, and a body of workmen, whom he educates in ornamental arts. He now can splendidly decorate his house, lay out its ground magnificently, and richly supply his table, and that of his household and retinue. And thus, without any abuse of right, we should find established

[1] [Here the original essay adds:—
"... he follows the example of the first great Hebrew financier; in exchange ..."
See Genesis xlvii. 20. "And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them."]

all the phenomena of poverty and riches, which (it is supposed necessarily) accompany modern civilization. In one part of the district, we should have unhealthy land, miserable dwellings, and half-starved poor; in another, a well-ordered estate, well-fed servants, and refined conditions of highly-educated and luxurious life.

145. I have put the two cases in simplicity, and to some extremity. But though in more complex and qualified operation, all the relations of society are but the expansion of these two typical sequences of conduct and result. I do not say, observe, that the first procedure is entirely recommendable; or even entirely right; still less, that the second is wholly wrong. Servants, and artists, and splendour of habitation and retinue, have all their use, propriety, and office. But I am determined that the reader shall understand clearly what they cost; and see that the condition of having them is the subjection to us of a certain number of imprudent or unfortunate persons (or, it may be, more fortunate than their masters), over whose destinies we exercise a boundless control. "Riches" mean eternally and essentially this; and God send at last a time when those words of our best-reputed economist shall be true, and we *shall* indeed "all know what it is to be rich";* that it is to be slave-master over farthest earth, and over all ways and thoughts of men. Every operative you employ is your true servant: distant or near, subject to your immediate orders, or ministering to your widely-communicated caprice,—for the pay he stipulates, or the price he tempts,—all are alike under this great dominion of the gold. The milliner who makes the dress is as much a servant (more so, in that she uses more intelligence in the service) as the maid who puts it on; the carpenter who smooths the door, as the footman who opens it; the tradesmen who supply the table, as the labourers and sailors who supply the tradesmen. Why speak of these lower services? Painters and singers (whether of note or rhyme),

* (See Preface to *Unto this Last*) [above, p. 18].

jesters and story-tellers, moralists, historians, priests,—so far as these, in any degree, paint, or sing, or tell their tale, or charm their charm, or "perform" their rite, *for pay*,[1]—in so far, they are all slaves; abject utterly, if the service be for pay only; abject less and less in proportion to the degrees of love and of wisdom which enter into their duty, or *can* enter into it, according as their function is to do the bidding and the work of a manly people;—or to amuse, tempt, and deceive, a childish one.

146. There is always, in such amusement and temptation, to a certain extent, a government of the rich by the poor, as of the poor by the rich; but the latter is the prevailing and necessary one, and it consists, when it is honourable, in the collection of the profits of labour from those who would have misused them, and the administration of those profits for the service either of the same persons in future, or of others; and when it is dishonourable, as is more frequently the case in modern times, it consists in the collection of the profits of labour from those who would have rightly used them, and their appropriation to the service of the collector himself.

147. The examination of these various modes of collection and use of riches will form the third branch of our future inquiries;[2] but the key to the whole subject lies in the clear understanding of the difference between selfish and unselfish expenditure. It is not easy, by any course of reasoning, to enforce this on the generally unwilling hearer; yet the definition of unselfish expenditure is brief and simple. It is expenditure which, if you are a capitalist, does not pay *you*, but pays somebody else; and if you are a consumer, does not please *you*, but pleases somebody else. Take one special instance, in further illustration of the general type given above. I did not invent that type, but spoke of a real river, and of real peasantry, the languid and sickly race which inhabits, or haunts—for they are

[1] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 22 (above, p. 40).]
[2] [A reference to the intended sequel.]

often more like spectres than living men—the thorny desolation of the banks of the Arve in Savoy.[1] Some years ago, a society, formed at Geneva, offered to embank the river for the ground which would have been recovered by the operation; but the offer was refused by the (then Sardinian) government. The capitalists saw that this expenditure would have "paid" if the ground saved from the river was to be theirs. But if, when the offer that had this aspect of profit was refused, they had nevertheless persisted in the plan, and merely taking security for the return of their outlay, lent the funds for the work, and thus saved a whole race of human souls from perishing in a pestiferous fen (as, I presume, some among them would, at personal risk, have dragged any one drowning creature out of the current of the stream, and not expected payment therefor), such expenditure would have precisely corresponded to the use of his power made, in the first instance, by our supposed richer peasant—it would have been the king's, of grace, instead of the usurer's, for gain.[2]

148. "Impossible, absurd, Utopian!" exclaim nine-tenths of the few readers whom these words may find.

No, good reader, *this* is not Utopian: but I will tell you what would have seemed, if we had not seen it, Utopian on the side of evil instead of good; that ever men should have come to value their money so much more than their lives, that if you call upon them to become soldiers, and take chance of a bullet through their heart, and of wife and children being left desolate, for their pride's sake, they will do it gaily, without thinking twice; but if you

[1] [In a letter to Dr. John Brown from Lausanne (August 6, 1860) Ruskin had written :—

> "The annexation of Savoy to France will be an immense benefit to Savoy. Already some stir is being made in the cretinous torpor of the country, and French engineers are surveying the Arve banks. The river has flowed just where it chose these thousand years, on one side of the valley to-day, on the other to-morrow. A few millions of francs judiciously spent will gain to Savoy as many millions of acres of fruitfullest land and healthy air instead of miasma."

On the subject of inundations, see *Unto this Last*, § 72 *n.* (above, p. 97).]

[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78, where this passage and § 152 are referred to.]

ask them, for their country's sake, to spend a hundred pounds without security of getting back a hundred-and-five,* they will laugh in your face.

149. Not but that also this game of life-giving and taking is, in the end, somewhat more costly than other forms of play might be. Rifle practice is, indeed, a not unhealthy pastime, and a feather on the top of the head is a pleasing appendage; but while learning the stops and fingering of the sweet instrument, does no one ever calculate the cost

* I have not hitherto touched on the subject of interest of money;[1] it is too complex, and must be reserved for its proper place in the body of the work.[2] The definition of interest (apart from compensation for risk) is, "the exponent of the comfort of accomplished labour, separated from its power"; the power being what is lent: and the French economists who have maintained the entire illegality of interest are wrong; yet by no means so curiously or wildly wrong as the English and French ones opposed to them, whose opinions have been collected by Dr. Whewell at page 41 of his *Lectures;*[3] it never seeming to occur to the mind of the compiler, any more than to the writers whom he quotes, that it is quite possible, and even (according to Jewish proverb[4]) prudent, for men to hoard as ants and mice do, for use, not usury; and lay by something for winter nights, in the expectation of rather sharing than lending the scrapings. My Savoyard squirrels would pass a pleasant time of it under the snow-laden pine-branches, if they always declined to economize because no one would pay them interest on nuts.

(I leave this note as it stood: but, as I have above stated,[5] should now side wholly with the French economists spoken of, in asserting the absolute illegality of interest.)

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[1] [On this subject, see above, § 98 *n.* (p. 220).]

[2] [The original essay here inserted:—

"(I should be glad if a writer, who sent me some valuable notes on this subject, and asked me to return a letter which I still keep at his service, would send me his address.)"]

[3] [*Six Lectures on Political Economy delivered at Cambridge in Michaelmas Term, 1861.* Cambridge: printed at the University Press, 1862. An octavo volume, pp. 102. The lectures were delivered to the Prince of Wales and a few other students; the volume was not published, but Whewell distributed copies to his friends—to Ruskin among the number. A passage from his letter in acknowledging the author's gift has been published:—

"Like all other books I ever opened, from Adam Smith downwards, written by clever men on this subject, it fills me with wonder. . . . You know (I suppose by your sending me the book) that I am entirely opposed to all the modern views on this subject."

(Isaac Todhunter: *William Whewell, an Account of his Writings,* 1876, vol. i. pp. 234, 237).]

[4] [Proverbs vi. 6–8: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; . . . which provideth her meat in the summer."]

[5] [See p. 220, author's note of 1872.]

of an overture? What melody does Tityrus meditate on his tenderly spiral pipe?[1] The leaden seed of it, broad-cast, true conical "Dents de Lion" seed—needing less allowance for the wind than is usual with that kind of herb—what crop are you likely to have of it? Suppose, instead of this volunteer marching and counter-marching, you were to do a little volunteer ploughing and counter-ploughing?[2] It is more difficult to do it straight: the dust of the earth, so disturbed, is more grateful than for merely rhythmic footsteps. Golden cups, also, given for good ploughing, would be more suitable in colour: (ruby glass, for the wine which "giveth his colour"[3] on the ground, might be fitter for the rifle prize in ladies' hands). Or, conceive a little volunteer exercise with the spade, other than such as is needed for moat and breastwork, or even for the burial of the fruit of the laden avena-seed, subject to the shrill Lemures' criticism—

Wer hat das Haus so schlecht gebaut?[4]

If you were to embank Lincolnshire more stoutly against the sea? or strip the peat of Solway, or plant Plinlimmon

[1] [The reference is of course to Virgil (*Ecl.* i. 1, whence Tennyson calls him "Poet of the happy Tityrus piping underneath his beechen bowers"); Ruskin then plays on the term "dandelion" (called lion's tooth from the toothed outline of the leaves), comparing the cannon shell to some peaked "Dent du Lion" in the Alps—and thinking, perhaps, in his allusion to the allowance for the wind in shooting, of Wordsworth's lines (in *Vandracour and Julia*): "a tuft of wingèd seed That, from the dandelion's naked stalk, . . . Driven by the autumnal whirlwind to and fro."]

[2] [See above, p. 74 and *n.*]

[3] [Proverbs xxiii. 31.]

[4] [Ruskin explained this passage in a letter to his father (Annecy, April 12, 1863):—

"The 'Wer hat das Haus so schlecht gebaut' is from the phantom chorus digging the grave of Faust in the second part of *Faust*. It is entirely grand and simple:—

Ghost (Solo). 'Who has built the house so badly,
With shovel and spade?'
Ghosts (Chorus). 'For thee—guest in grey robe
It is built too finely.'
Ghost (Solo). 'Who has furnished the room so ill,
With neither table nor chair?'
Ghosts (Chorus). 'It was hired only for a little while,
The creditors are so many.'"

For other allusions by Ruskin to the second part of *Faust*, see *Aratra Pentelici*, § 12, and *Eagle's Nest*, § 62.]

moors with larch—then, in due season, some amateur reaping and threshing?

"Nay, we reap and thresh by steam, in these advanced days."

I know it, my wise and economical friends. The stout arms God gave you to win your bread by, you would fain shoot your neighbours, and God's sweet singers with; * then you invoke the fiends to your farm-service; and—

> When young and old come forth to play
> On a sulphurous holiday,
> Tell how the darkling goblin sweat
> (His feast of cinders duly set),
> And, belching night, where breathed the morn,
> His shadowy flail hath threshed the corn
> That ten day-labourers could not end.[1]

150. Going back to the matter in hand we will press the example closer. On a green knoll above that plain of the Arve, between Cluse and Bonneville, there was, in the year 1860,[2] a cottage, inhabited by a well-doing family

* Compare Chaucer's feeling respecting birds (from Canace's falcon, to the nightingale, singing, "Domine, labia—" to the Lord of Love[3]) with the usual modern British sentiments on this subject. Or even Cowley's:—

> "What prince's choir of music can excel
> That which within this shade does dwell,
> To which we nothing pay, or give?
> They, like all other poets, live
> Without reward, or thanks for their obliging pains!
> 'Tis well if they become not prey."

Yes; it is better than well; particularly since the seed sown by the wayside[4] has been protected by the peculiar appropriation of part of the

[1] [Ruskin here re-writes Milton: see *L'Allegro*, 97–109.]

[2] [Mr. Allen's recollection of the incident here related is that it belongs to a rather later date—that of Ruskin's residence at Mornex in 1862–1863. The cottage was in a village at the foot of the Brezon.]

[3] [For Canace's falcon, see *The Squieres Tale*, lines 411 *seq.*, and for another reference to Canace, see *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. (Vol. V. p. 274); for "Domine, labia" (from the verse in the Psalms with which matins began), see *The Court of Love*. For other references to the birds of Chaucer, see *Harbours of England*, § 12 (Vol. XIII. p. 23); *Eagle's Nest*, § 56, where several stanzas are quoted from *The Cuckow and the Nightingale*; and *Love's Meinie*, §§ 35–38, where Ruskin quotes the company of birds in *The Romaunt of the Rose*. The passage from Cowley is in his piece called "The Garden," line 60, etc.]

[4] [Matthew xiii. 4.]

—man and wife, three children, and the grandmother. I call it a cottage, but in truth, it was a large chimney on the ground, wide at the bottom, so that the family might live round the fire; lighted by one small broken window, and entered by an unclosing door. The family, I say, was "well-doing"; at least, it was hopeful and cheerful; the wife healthy, the children, for Savoyards, pretty and active, but the husband threatened with decline, from exposure under the cliffs of the Mont Vergi by day, and to draughts between every plank of his chimney in the frosty nights.

"Why could he not plaster the chinks?" asks the practical reader. For the same reason that your child cannot wash its face and hands till you have washed them many a day for it, and will not wash them when it can, till you force it.

151. I passed this cottage often in my walks, had its window and door mended; sometimes mended also a little the meal of sour bread and broth, and generally got kind greeting and smile from the face of young or old; which greeting, this year, narrowed itself into the half-recognising stare of the elder child, and the old woman's tears; for the father and mother were both dead,—one of sickness, the other of sorrow. It happened that I passed not alone, but

church-rates in our country parishes. See the remonstrance from a "Country Parson," in *The Times* of June 4th (or 5th; the letter is dated June 3rd), 1862:—"I have heard at a vestry meeting a good deal of higgling over a few shillings' outlay in cleaning the church; but I have never heard any dissatisfaction expressed on account of that part of the rate which is invested in 50 or 100 dozens of birds' heads."[1]

(If we could trace the innermost of all causes of modern war, I believe it would be found, not in the avarice nor ambition of nations, but in the mere idleness of the upper classes. They have nothing to do but to teach the peasantry to kill each other.)[2]

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[1] ["You have noticed, I suppose," wrote Ruskin to his father, with reference to this passage (Annecy, April 12, 1863) "the bye-meaning in the reference (of church rates being paid for by birds' heads) to protection of seed by the wayside—'Some fell by the wayside, and the fowls came and devoured them up.'"]

[2] [Compare Ruskin's Introduction to R. G. Sillar's *Usury*, § 6 (reprinted in a later volume of this edition), where this note is referred to.]

with a companion, a practised English joiner,[1] who, while these people were dying of cold, had been employed from six in the morning to six in the evening, for two months, in fitting, without nails, the panels of a single door in a large house in London. Three days of his work taken, at the right time, from fastening the oak panels with useless precision, and applied to fasten the larch timbers with decent strength, would have saved these Savoyards' lives. *He* would have been maintained equally; (I suppose him equally paid for his work by the owner of the greater house, only the work not consumed selfishly on his own walls;) and the two peasants, and eventually, probably their children, saved.

152. There are, therefore,—let me finally enforce, and leave with the reader, this broad conclusion,—three things to be considered in employing any poor person. It is not enough to give him employment. You must employ him first to produce useful things; secondly, of the several (suppose equally useful) things he can equally well produce, you must set him to make that which will cause him to lead the healthiest life; lastly, of the things produced, it remains a question of wisdom and conscience how much you are to take yourself, and how much to leave to others. A large quantity, remember, unless you destroy it, *must* always be so left at one time or another; the only questions you have to decide are, not *what* you will give, but *when*, and *how*, and to *whom*, you will give. The natural law of human life is, of course, that in youth a man shall labour and lay by store for his old age, and when age comes, shall use what he has laid by, gradually slackening his toil, and allowing himself more

[1] [Mr. George Allen. For three and a half years, before becoming one of Ruskin's assistants, Mr. Allen had been employed as a joiner in the interior of Dorchester House, Park Lane. Upon the particular door, here mentioned, he and another workman were employed for seventy-nine days; it was a door, in walnut and oak, leading from the Library to the Grand Lobby. Ruskin had been much interested in the work, and Mr. Allen remembers taking a model of the door to Denmark Hill for Ruskin to show to M. Domecq as a specimen of English craftsmanship.]

frank use of his store; taking care always to leave himself as much as will surely suffice for him beyond any possible length of life.[1] What he has gained, or by tranquil and unanxious toil continues to gain, more than is enough for his own need, he ought so to administer, while he yet lives, as to see the good of it again beginning, in other hands; for thus he has himself the greatest sum of pleasure from it, and faithfully uses his sagacity in its control. Whereas most men, it appears, dislike the sight of their fortunes going out into service again, and say to themselves,—"I can indeed nowise prevent this money from falling at last into the hands of others, nor hinder the good of it from becoming theirs, not mine; but at least let a merciful death save me from being a witness of their satisfaction; and may God so far be gracious to me as to let no good come of any of this money of mine before my eyes."[2]

153. Supposing this feeling unconquerable, the safest way of rationally indulging it would be for the capitalist at once to spend all his fortune on himself, which might actually, in many cases, be quite the rightest as well as the pleasantest thing to do, if he had just tastes and worthy passions. But, whether for himself only, or through the hands, and for the sake of others also, the law of wise life is, that the maker of the money should also be the spender of it, and spend it, approximately, all, before he dies; so that his true ambition as an economist should be, to die, not as rich, but as poor, as possible,* calculating the ebb

* (See the *Life of Fénelon*.[3] "The labouring peasantry were at all times the objects of his tenderest care; his palace at Cambray, with all his books and writings, being consumed by fire, he bore the misfortune with unruffled calmness, and said it was better his palace should be burnt than the cottage of a poor peasant." (These thoroughly good men always go too far, and lose their power over the mass.) He died exemplifying the mean he had always observed between prodigality and avarice, leaving neither debts nor money.)

[1] [Compare *Time and Tide*, § 7 (below, p. 321).]

[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78, where this passage and § 147 are referred to.]

[3] [*The Life of Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray*, by Charles Butler, Baltimore, 1811, pp. 196, 229.]

tide of possession in true and calm proportion to the ebb tide of life. Which law, checking the wing of accumulative desire in the mid-volley,* and leading to peace of possession and fulness of fruition in old age, is also wholesome in that by the freedom of gift, together with present help and counsel, it at once endears and dignifies age in the sight of youth, which then no longer strips the bodies of the dead, but receives the grace of the living. Its chief use would (or will be, for men are indeed capable of attaining to this much use of their reason), that some temperance and measure will be put to the acquisitiveness of commerce.† For as things stand, a man holds it his duty to be temperate in his food, and of his body, but for no duty to be temperate in his riches, and of his mind. He sees that he ought not to waste his youth and his flesh for luxury; but he will waste his age, and his soul, for money, and think he does no wrong, nor know the *delirium tremens* of the intellect for disease. But the law of life is, that a man should fix the sum he desires to make annually, as the food he desires to eat daily; and stay when he has

* καὶ πενίαν ἡγουμένους εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν πλείω. "And thinking (wisely) that poverty consists not in making one's possessions less, but one's avarice more."—*Laws*, v. 8. Read the context, and compare. "He who spends for all that is noble, and gains by nothing but what is just, will hardly be notably wealthy, or distressfully poor."—*Laws*, v. 12.[1]

† The fury of modern trade arises chiefly out of the possibility of making sudden fortunes by largeness of transaction, and accident of discovery or contrivance. I have no doubt that the final interest of every nation is to check the action of these commercial lotteries; and that all great accidental gains or losses should be national,—not individual. But speculation absolute, unconnected with commercial effort, is an unmitigated evil in a state, and the root of countless evils beside.

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[1] [The references here are 736 E. and 743 C. In the former place Plato is dwelling on the danger of the division of lands and abolition of debts—evils which neither should be allowed to continue indefinitely nor can wisely be altered by legislation. "We must have recourse to prayers, as men say, and hope that a slight change may be cautiously effected in a length of time. And such a change can be accomplished by those who have abundance of land, and having also many debtors, are willing, in a kindly spirit, to share with those who are in want—remitting some and dividing some, holding fast in a path of moderation, and thinking . . ."]

reached the limit, refusing increase of business, and leaving it to others, so obtaining due freedom of time for better thoughts.* How the gluttony of business is punished, a bill of health for the principals of the richest city houses, issued annually, would show in a sufficiently impressive manner.

154. I know, of course, that these statements will be received by the modern merchant as an active border rider of the sixteenth century would have heard of its being proper for men of the Marches to get their living by the spade, instead of the spur. But my business is only to state veracities and necessities; I neither look for the acceptance of the one, nor hope for the nearness of the other. Near or distant, the day *will* assuredly come when the merchants of a state shall be its true ministers of exchange, its porters, in the double sense of carriers and gate-keepers, bringing all lands into frank and faithful communication, and knowing for their master of guild, Hermes the herald, instead of Mercury the gain-guarder.

155. And now, finally, for immediate rule to all who will accept it.

The distress of any population means that they need food, house-room, clothes, and fuel. You can never, therefore, be wrong in employing any labourer to produce food, house-room, clothes, or fuel; but you are *always* wrong if you employ him to produce nothing, (for then some other labourer must be worked double time to feed him); and you are generally wrong, at present, if you employ him (unless he can do nothing else) to produce works of art or luxuries; because modern art is mostly on a false basis, and modern luxury[1] is criminally great.†

* (I desire in the strongest terms to reinforce all that is contained in this paragraph.)

† It is especially necessary that the reader should keep his mind fixed on the methods of consumption and destruction, as the true sources of national

[1] [For attacks on modern luxury, see *Two Paths*, § 189 (Vol. XVI. p. 406); *Unto this Last*, § 85 (above, p. 114); *Sesame and Lilies*, § 32; *Queen of the Air*, § 125; *Lectures on Art*, §§ 64, 81.]

156. The way to produce more food is mainly to bring in fresh ground, and increase facilities of carriage;—to break rock, exchange earth, drain the moist, and water the dry, to mend roads, and build harbours of refuge.[1] Taxation thus spent will annihilate taxation, but spent in war, it annihilates revenue.

157. The way to produce house-room is to apply your force first to the humblest dwellings. When your bricklayers are out of employ, do not build splendid new streets, but better the old ones; send your paviours and slaters to the poorest villages, and see that your poor are healthily lodged, before you try your hand on stately architecture. You will find its stateliness rise better under the trowel afterwards; and we do not yet build so well that we need hasten to display our skill to future ages. Had the labour which has decorated the Houses of Parliament filled, instead, rents in walls and roofs throughout the county of Middlesex; and our deputies met to talk within massive

poverty. Men are apt to call every exchange "expenditure," but it is only consumption which IS expenditure. A large number of the purchases made by the richer classes are mere forms of interchange of unused property, wholly without effect on national prosperity. It matters nothing to the state whether, if a china pipkin be rated as worth a hundred pounds, A has the pipkin and B the pounds, or A the pounds and B the pipkin. But if the pipkin is pretty, and A or B breaks it, there is national loss, not otherwise. So again, when the loss has really taken place, no shifting of the shoulders that bear it will do away with the reality of it. There is an intensely ludicrous notion in the public mind respecting the abolishment of debt by denying it. When a debt is denied, the lender loses instead of the borrower, that is all; the loss is precisely, accurately, everlastingly the same. The Americans borrow money to spend in blowing up their own houses. They deny their debt, by one third already [1863],[2] gold being at fifty premium; and they will probably deny it wholly. That merely means that the holders of the notes are to be the losers instead of the issuers. The quantity of loss is precisely equal, and irrevocable; it is the quantity of human industry spent in effecting the explosion, plus the quantity of goods exploded. Honour only decides *who* shall pay the sum lost, not whether it is to be paid or not. Paid it must be, and to the uttermost farthing.

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[1] [On these points, see the "Notes on Employment" (below, p. 545).]
[2] ["[1863]" inserted by the author in 1872.]

walls that would have needed no stucco for five hundred years,—the decoration might have been better afterwards, and the talk now. And touching even our highly conscientious church building, it may be well to remember that in the best days of church plans, their masons called themselves "logeurs du bon Dieu"; and that since, according to the most trusted reports, God spends a good deal of His time in cottages as well as in churches, He might perhaps like to be a little better lodged there also.

158. The way to get more clothes is—not, necessarily, to get more cotton. There were words written twenty years ago * which would have saved many of us some shivering, had they been minded in time. Shall we read them again?

"The Continental people, it would seem, are importing our machinery, beginning to spin cotton, and manufacture for themselves; to cut us out of this market, and then out of that! Sad news, indeed; but irremediable;—by no means the saddest news. The saddest news, is that we should find our National Existence, as I sometimes hear it said, depend on selling manufactured cotton at a farthing an ell cheaper than any other People. A most narrow stand for a great Nation to base itself on! A stand which, with all the Corn-Law Abrogations conceivable, I do not think will be capable of enduring.

"My friends, suppose we quitted that stand; suppose we came honestly down from it and said—'This is our minimum of cotton-prices. We care not, for the present, to make cotton any cheaper. Do you, if it seem so blessed

* (*Past and Present,* Chap. IX. of Third Section.[1] To think that for these twenty—now twenty-six—years, this one voice of Carlyle's has been the only faithful and useful utterance in all England, and has sounded through all these years in vain! See *Fors Clavigera,* Letter X.)

[1] [For another quotation from the same chapter, see above, § 124, p. 247. *Past and Present* was published in 1843. In the first line of the quotation here given Ruskin makes a desirable correction of "importing" for "exporting." In this edition the passage has been corrected in typographical matters in accordance with Carlyle's text, and the misprint of "fur" for "fuzz" corrected; dots have also been introduced where Ruskin omitted words.]

to you, make cotton cheaper. Fill your lungs with cotton-fuzz, your hearts with copperas-fumes, with rage and mutiny; become ye the general gnomes of Europe, slaves of the lamp!'—I admire a nation which fancies it will die if it do not undersell all other Nations to the end of the world. Brothers, we will cease to *under*sell them; we will be content to *equal*-sell them; to be happy selling equally with them! I do not see the use of underselling them. Cotton-cloth is already two-pence a yard or lower; and yet bare backs were never more numerous among us. Let inventive men cease to spend their existence incessantly contriving how cotton can be made cheaper; and try to invent, a little, how cotton at its present cheapness could be somewhat justlier divided among us. Let inventive men consider, Whether the Secret of this Universe . . . does after all consist in making money. . . . With a Hell which means—'Failing to make money,' I do not think there is any Heaven possible that would suit one well. . . . In brief, all this Mammon-Gospel, of Supply-and-demand, Competition, *Laissez-faire*, and Devil take the hindmost" (foremost, is it not, rather, Mr. Carlyle?), "begins to be one of the shabbiest Gospels ever preached."[1]

159. The way to produce more fuel * is first to make your coal mines safer, by sinking more shafts; then set all your convicts to work in them, and if, as is to be hoped, you succeed in diminishing the supply of that sort of labourer, consider what means there may be, first, of growing forest where its growth will improve climate; secondly, of splintering the forests which now make continents of fruitful land pathless and poisonous, into faggots for fire;—so gaining at once dominion icewards and sunwards. Your steam power has been given (you will find eventually) for

* (We don't want to produce more fuel just now, but much less; and to use what we get for cooking and warming ourselves, instead of for running from place to place.)

[1] [The original essay here adds: "(In the matter of clothes, decidedly").]

work such as that: and not for excursion trains, to give the labourer a moment's breath, at the peril of his breath for ever, from amidst the cities which it has crushed into masses of corruption. When you know how to build cities, and how to rule them, you will be able to breathe in their streets, and the "excursion" will be the afternoon's walk or game in the fields round them.[1]

160. "But nothing of this work will pay?"

No; no more than it pays to dust your rooms, or wash your doorsteps. It will pay; not at first in currency, but in that which is the end and the source of currency,—in life; (and in currency richly afterwards). It will pay in that which is more than life,—in[2] light, whose true price has not yet been reckoned in any currency, and yet into the image of which, all wealth, one way or other, must be cast. For your riches must either be as the lightning, which,

> Begot but in a cloud,
> Though shining bright, and speaking loud,
> Whilst it begins, concludes its violent race;
> And, where it gilds, it wounds the place;[3]—

or else, as the lightning of the sacred sign, which shines from one part of the heaven to the other. There is no other choice; you must either take dust for deity, spectre

[1] [The original essay here added:—

> "Long ago, Claudian's peasant of Verona knew, and we must yet learn, in his fashion, the difference between *via* and *vita*."

The reference is to the second epigram of Claudian—*De sene Veronensi, qui suburbium nunquam egressus est*—in which the poet sings the happiness of a simple rustic, to whom even the neighbouring Verona is an unknown city, and contrasts his life with that of some restless traveller:—

> "Erret, et extremos alter scrutetur Iberos;
> Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ."

A version of Claudian's piece is among the poems of Cowley, ending,

> "About the spacious world let others roam,
> The voyage life is longest made at home."

With the passage in the text above, compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 10, where it is referred to.]

[2] [The original essay reads: ". . . in 'God's first creature, which was light,' whose true . . .": the quotation is from Bacon's *New Atlantis*.]

[3] [From one of the "Fragments" of Abraham Cowley, on "The Shortness of Life, and Uncertainty of Riches."]

for possession, fettered dream for life, and for epitaph, this reversed verse of the great Hebrew hymn of economy (Psalm cxii.): — "He hath gathered together, he hath stripped the poor, his iniquity remaineth for ever:"—or else, having the sun of justice[1] to shine on you, and the sincere substance of good in your possession, and the pure law and liberty of life within you, leave men to write this better legend over your grave:—

"He hath dispersed abroad. He hath given to the poor. His righteousness remaineth for ever."[2]

[1] [Malachi iv. 2; and see *Unto this Last*, § 44 (above, p. 59 *n.*).]

[2] [2 Corinthians ix. 9, quoting Psalms cxii. 9. For the terminal note which followed the last paper in *Fraser's Magazine*, see below, p. 290.]

APPENDICES

(I HAVE brought together in these last pages a few notes, which were not properly to be incorporated with the text, and which, at the bottom of pages, checked the reader's attention to the main argument. They contain, however, several statements to which I wish to be able to refer, or have already referred, in other of my books, so that I think right to preserve them.)

APPENDIX I.—(p. 150)[1]

THE greatest of all economists are those most opposed to the doctrine of "laissez faire,"[2] namely, the fortifying virtues, which the wisest men of all time have arranged under the general heads of Prudence, or Discretion (the spirit which discerns and adopts rightly); Justice (the spirit which rules and divides rightly); Fortitude (the spirit which persists and endures rightly); and Temperance (the spirit which stops and refuses rightly). These cardinal and sentinel virtues are not only the means of protecting and prolonging life itself, but they are the chief guards, or sources, of the material means of life, and the governing powers and princes of economy. Thus, precisely according to the number of just men in a nation, is their power of avoiding either intestine or foreign war. All disputes may be peaceably settled, if a sufficient number of persons have been trained to submit to the principles of justice, while the necessity for war is in direct ratio to the number of unjust persons who are incapable of determining a quarrel but by violence. Whether the injustice take the form of the desire of dominion, or of refusal to submit to it, or of lust of territory, or lust of money, or of mere irregular passion and wanton will, the result is

[1] [This Appendix was in the original essay a footnote to § 8: see above, p. 150. The note there began thus:—

> "It may be observed, in anticipation of some of our future results, that while some conditions of the affections are aimed at by the economist as final, others are necessary to him as his own instruments: as he obtains them in greater or less degree his own farther work becomes more or less possible. Such, for instance, are the fortifying virtues, . . ."

In line 3, ", with more or less distinctness," was inserted before "arranged"; and at the end of line 6 the note continued: ". . . rightly); or in shorter terms still, the virtues which teach how to consist, assist, persist, and desist." In the next line the note has "outermost" for "cardinal and sentinel." In line 10 it adds, after "Thus," "(reserving detailed statements for the sequel)": for the statements in question, see pp. 251 *seq.*]

[2] [For Ruskin's objections to this doctrine, see Vol. XVI. p. 26.]

economically the same ;—loss of the quantity of power and life consumed in repressing the injustice added to the material and moral destruction caused by the fact of war. The early civil wars of England, and the existing * war in America, are curious examples—these under monarchical, this under republican, institutions—of the results on large masses of nations of the want of education in principles of justice.[1] But the mere dread of distrust resulting from the want of the inner virtues of Faith and Charity prove often no less costly than war itself. The fear which France and England have of each other costs each nation about fifteen millions sterling annually, besides various paralyses of commerce ;[2] that sum being spent in the manufacture of means of destruction instead of means of production. There is no more reason in the nature of things that France and England should be hostile to each other than that England and Scotland should be, or Lancashire and Yorkshire ; and the reciprocal terrors of the opposite sides of the English Channel are neither more necessary, more economical, nor more virtuous, than the old riding and reiving on the opposite flanks of the Cheviots, or than England's own weaving for herself of crowns of thorn, from the stems of her Red and White Roses.

* (Written in 1862. I little thought that when I next corrected my type, the "existing" war best illustrative of the sentence, would be between Frenchmen in the Elysian Fields of Paris.)

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[1] [Here the original essay adds :—

"This latter war, especially, may perhaps at last serve for some visible, or if that be impossible (for the Greeks told us that Plutus was blind, as Dante that he was speechless), some feelable proof that true political economy is an ethical, and by no means a commercial business. The Americans imagined themselves to know somewhat of money-making ; bowed low before their Dollar, expecting Divine help from it ; more than potent—even omnipotent. Yet all the while this apparently tangible was indeed an imaginary Deity ;—and had they shown the substance of him to any true economist, or even true mineralogist, they would have been told, long years ago,—'Alas, gentlemen, this that you are gaining is not gold—not a particle of it. It is yellow, and glittering, and like enough to the real metal,—but see—it is *brittle*, cat-gold, "iron firestone." Out of this, heap it as high as you will, you will get so much steel and brimstone—nothing else ; and in a year or two, when (had you known but a little of right economy) you might have had quiet roof-trees over your heads, and a fair account at your banker's, you shall have instead to sleep a-field, under red tapestries, costliest, yet comfortless ; and at your banker's find deficit at compound interest.' But the mere dread . . ."

For the blind Plutus, see above, p. 210 ; and for the speechless Pluto of Dante, *Unto this Last*, § 74 *n.* (above, p. 101). The "omnipotence" of the dollar is in reference to the expression, "Almighty Dollar," first used by Washington Irving in his *Wolfert's Roost, Creole Village*, p. 40 (1837) : "The almighty dollar, that great object of universal devotion throughout our land." "Cat-gold" (*German* katzengold) is a yellowish variety of mica ; "firestone," a popular term for iron pyrites. For further references to the American War, see below, pp. 474 *seq.*]

[2] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 76 *n.* (above, p. 104 *n.*).]

APPENDIX II.—(p. 165)

Few passages of the book which at least some part of the nations at present most advanced in civilisation accept as an expression of final truth, have been more distorted than those bearing on Idolatry.[1] For the idolatry there denounced is neither sculpture, nor veneration of sculpture. It is simply the substitution of an "Eidolon," phantasm, or imagination of Good, for that which is real and enduring; from the Highest Living Good, which gives life, to the lowest material good which ministers to it. The Creator, and the things created, which He is said to have "seen good" in creating,[2] are in this their eternal goodness appointed always to be "worshipped,"—*i.e.*, to have goodness and worth ascribed to them from the heart;[3] and the sweep and range of idolatry extend to the rejection of any or all of these, "calling evil good, and good evil,[4]—putting bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."* For in that rejection and substitution we betray the first of all Loyalties, to the fixed Law of life, and with resolute opposite loyalty serve our own imagination of good, which is the law, not of the House, but of the Grave (otherwise called the law of[5] "mark missing," which we translate "law of Sin"[6]); these "two masters," between whose services we have to choose, being otherwise distinguished as God and Mammon,[7] which Mammon, though we narrowly take it as the power of money only, is in truth the great evil Spirit of false and fond desire, or "Covetousness, which is Idolatry." So that Iconoclasm—*image*-breaking—is easy; but an Idol cannot be broken—it must be forsaken; and this is not so easy, either to do, or persuade to doing. For men may readily be convinced of the weakness of an image; but not of the emptiness of an imagination.

APPENDIX III.—(p. 168)

I have not attempted to support, by the authority of other writers, any of the statements made in these papers; indeed, if such authorities were rightly collected, there would be no occasion for my writing at all. Even in the scattered passages referring to this subject in three books of Carlyle's—*Sartor Resartus, Past and Present,* and the *Latter Day Pamphlets,*—all has been said that needs to be said, and far better than I shall ever say it again.

* Compare the close of the Fourth Lecture in *Aratra Pentelici.*

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[1] [Compare *Stones of Venice,* vol. ii. Appendix 10: "Proper Sense of the Word Idolatry" (Vol. X. p. 450), and *Aratra Pentelici,* Lecture ii. ("Idolatry").]

[2] [Genesis i. 31.]

[3] [In the note to the original essay: ". . . in their eternal goodness always called Helpful or Holy; and the sweep . . ." For "Helpful or Holy," compare *Modern Painters,* vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 206), and see above, p. 225 *n.*]

[4] [Isaiah v. 20.]

[5] [Here the note in the original essay reads: "the law of error, or 'mark-missing'"—for which translation of ἁμαρτία, see Vol. VII. p. 441.]

[6] [Romans vii. 23; Matthew vi. 24; Colossians iii. 5.]

[7] [On the subject of Mammon-worship, see *Time and Tide,* § 59 (below, p. 367).]

But the habit of the public mind at present is to require everything to be uttered diffusely, loudly, and a hundred times over, before it will listen; and it has revolted against these papers of mine as if they contained things daring and new, when there is not one assertion in them of which the truth has not been for ages known to the wisest, and proclaimed by the most eloquent of men. It would be [I had written *will* be; but have now reached a time of life for which there is but one mood—the conditional,][1] a far greater pleasure to me hereafter, to collect their words than to add to mine; Horace's clear rendering of the substance of the passages in the text may be found room for at once,

> Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
> Nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli;
> Si scalpra et formas non sutor; nautica vela,
> Aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
> Undique dicatur merito. Quî discrepat istis
> Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
> Compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum?[2]

[Which may be roughly thus translated:—

"Were anybody to buy fiddles, and collect a number, being in no wise given to fiddling, nor fond of music: or if, being no cobbler, he collected awls and lasts, or, having no mind for sea-adventure, bought sails, every one would call him a madman, and deservedly. But what difference is there between such a man and one who lays by coins and gold, and does not know how to use, when he has got them?"]

With which it is perhaps desirable also to give Xenophon's statement, it being clearer than any English one can be, owing to the power of the general Greek term for wealth, "useable things."

[I have cut out the Greek because I can't be troubled to correct the accents, and am always nervous about them; here it is in English, as well as I can do it:—

"This being so, it follows that things are only property to the man who knows how to use them; as flutes, for instance, are property to the man who can pipe upon them respectably; but to one who knows not how to pipe, they are no property, unless he can get rid of them advantageously. . . . For if they are not sold, the flutes are no property (being serviceable for nothing); but, sold, they become property. To which Socrates made answer,—'and only then if he knows how to sell them, for if he sell them to another man who cannot play on them, still they are no property.'"[3]]

[1] [The square brackets here and below, in this Appendix, with the words within them, were inserted by the author in 1872.]

[2] [*Satires*, ii. 3, 104.]

[3] [The passage quoted in the original essay is as follows:—

> Ταὐτὰ ἄρα ὄντα, τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ χρῆσθαι αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις χρήματά ἐστι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ χρῆσθαι οὐ χρήματα· ὥσπερ γε αὐλοὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ ἀξίως λόγου αὐλεῖν χρήματά εἰσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ, ἐπισταμένῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄχρηστοι λίθοι, εἰ μὴ ἀποδιδοῖτό γε αὐτούς. . . . Μὴ πωλούμενοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ χρήματά εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοί· οὐδὲν γὰρ χρήσιμοί εἰσι· πωλούμενοι δὲ χρήματα. Πρὸς ταῦτα δ' ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν, Ἢν ἐπίστηταί γε πωλεῖν· εἰ δὲ πωλοίη αὖ πρὸς τοῦτον ὃς μὴ ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ πωλούμενοι εἰσι χρήματα.

This passage (from the *Economist*, i. 10–12) was printed in the magazine, cut up into lengths as if it were verse (see Ruskin's note, below, p. 290).]

APPENDIX IV.—(p. 171)

The reader is to include here in the idea of "Government," any branch of the Executive, or even any body of private persons, entrusted with the practical management of public interests unconnected directly with their own personal ones. In theoretical discussions of legislative interference with political economy, it is usually, and of course unnecessarily, assumed that Government must be always of that form and force in which we have been accustomed to see it;—that its abuses can never be less, nor its wisdom greater, nor its powers more numerous. But, practically, the custom in most civilized countries is, for every man to deprecate the interference of Government as long as things tell for his personal advantage, and to call for it when they cease to do so. The request of the Manchester Economists to be supplied with cotton by Government (the system of supply and demand having, for the time, fallen sorrowfully short of the expectations of scientific persons from it), is an interesting case in point.[1] It were to be wished that less wide and bitter suffering, suffering, too, of the innocent, had been needed to force the nation, or some part of it, to ask itself why a body of men, already confessedly capable of managing matters both military and divine, should not be permitted, or even requested, at need, to provide in some wise for sustenance as well as for defence; and secure, if it might be,—(and it might, I think, even the *rather* be),—purity of bodily, as well as of spiritual, aliment? Why, having made many roads for the passage of armies, may they not make a few for the conveyance of food; and after organising, with applause, various schemes of theological instruction for the Public, organise, moreover, some methods of bodily nourishment for them? Or is the soul so much less trustworthy in its instincts than the stomach, that legislation is necessary for the one, but inapplicable to the other?[2]

[1] [Ruskin's reference is explained by a letter to his father from Milan (July 6, 1862): "That's a nice article in Thursday's *Times* about the Manchester people wanting *Government* interference in cotton, now that the 'let alone' system is coming to grief." Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 34 *n.* (Vol. XVIII. p. 88).]

[2] [The original note continued thus:—

"There is a strange fallacy running at this time through all the talk about free-trade. It is continually assumed that every kind of Government interference takes away liberty of trade. Whereas liberty is lost only when interference hinders, not when it helps. You do not take away a man's freedom by showing him his road—nor by making it smoother for him (not that it is always desirable to do so, but it may be); nor even by fencing it for him, if there is an open ditch at the side of it. The real mode in which protection interferes with liberty, and the real evil of it, is not in its 'protecting' one person, but in its hindering another; a form of interference which invariably does most mischief to the person it is intended to serve, which the Northern Americans are about uncomfortably to discover, unless they think better of it.

"There is also a ludicrous confusion in many persons' minds between protection and encouragement; they differ materially. 'Protection' is saying to the commercial schoolboy, 'Nobody shall hit you.' Encouragement is saying to him, 'That's the way to hit.'"]

APPENDIX V.—(p. 215)[1]

I DEBATED with myself whether to make the note on Homer longer by examining the typical meaning of the shipwreck of Ulysses, and his escape from Charybdis by help of her fig-tree; but as I should have had to go on to the lovely myth of Leucothea's veil, and did not care to spoil this by a

[1] [The fifth and sixth Appendices formed—with the alterations here noted below the text or in the list of "Variæ" (p. 128)—parts of a final note to the last of the essays in *Fraser's Magazine*. The note was as follows:—

"The present paper completes the definitions necessary for future service. The next in order will be the first chapter of the body of the work.

"These introductory essays are as yet in imperfect form; I suffer them to appear, though they were not intended for immediate publication, for the sake of such chance service as may be found in them. But hoping afterwards to enlarge and illustrate them with fuller notes, I have too much spared at present the labour, always very irksome to me, of press correction; some amusing arrangements of type have resulted, such as the rare Greek metre in which Xenophon—sent as I thought in unmistakeable manuscript, but without sufficient warning of his prosaic character—appears in p. 268 [see above, p. 288 *n.*]. 'Phantasm, or of wealth' for 'or phantasm of wealth,' in the second column of the same page [p. 288, § 37 (line 9)]; 'learning' for 'leaning,' said of Shylock's speech, p. 754 [p. 224, line 6]; 'toccarien' for 'soccorrien,' p. 749 [p. 210, line 1] (I forgot to compare Virgil's 'quæ maxima turba' with Dante's 'gente troppa,' quoted just before); and '*ἀναγόμεναι*' for '*ὠνομακέναι*,' p. 755 [p. 227 *n.*], are perhaps worth note for correction. 'Taking daguerreotypes,' instead of 'daguerreotyping,' in p. 745, line 2 from bottom [p. 200 *n.*], will make the sentence grammar; and I ought to have written 'drachma' instead of 'stater' two lines before; for though Aristophanes, in the celebrated passage of the *Clouds*, which best illustrates the point in question, speaks of gold, the Attic silver was the true standard when the state was prospering. The first note in p. 755 is misplaced [p. 225]; it belongs to the tenth line from the bottom of the second column in that page, and it requires a word or two in further illustration. 'The derivation of words . . . When that she gave, and said, "Have this."' [Here follows what is now Appendix VI.]

"Again; the first root of the word faith being far away in *πειθω* (compare my note on this force of it in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. p. 255), the Latins, as proved by Cicero's derivation of the word, got their '*facio*' also involved in the idea; and so the word, and the world with it, gradually lose themselves in an arachnoid web of disputation concerning faith and works, no one ever taking the pains to limit the meaning of the term: which in earliest Scriptural use is as nearly as possible our English 'obedience.' Then the Latin '*fides*,' a quite different word, alternatively active and passive in different uses, runs into '*foi*'; '*facere*,' through '*-ficare*,' into '*fier*,' at the end of words; and '*fidere*' into '*fier*,' absolute; and out of this endless reticulation of thought and word rise still more finely reticulated theories concerning salvation by faith—the things which the populace expected to be saved from, being indeed carved for them in a very graphic manner in their cathedral porches—but the things they were expected to believe being carved for them not so clearly.

"Lastly, 'I debated with myself . . . had no meaning.'" [This final passage is now Appendix V.]

The misprints, etc., mentioned in this note have been enumerated in the list of "Variæ Lectiones" (above, pp. 123 *seq.*). On the subject of the etymology of *πειθω*,

hurried account of it, I left it for future examination;[1] and, three days after the paper was published, observed that the reviewers, with their customary helpfulness, were endeavouring to throw the whole subject back into confusion by dwelling on the single (as they imagined) oversight.[2] I omitted also a note on the sense of the word λυγρὸν, with respect to the pharmacy of Circe, and herb-fields of Helen (compare its use in *Odyssey*, xvii., 473, etc.), which would farther have illustrated the nature of the Circean power.[3] But, not to be led too far into the subtleties of these myths, observe respecting them all, that even in very simple parables, it is not always easy to attach indisputable meaning to every part of them. I recollect some years ago, throwing an assembly of learned persons who had met to delight themselves with interpretations of the parable of the prodigal son, (interpretations which had up to that moment gone very smoothly), into mute indignation, by inadvertently asking who the *un*prodigal son was, and what was to be learned by *his* example. The leading divine of the company, Mr. Molyneux,[4] at last explained to me that the unprodigal son was a lay figure, put in for dramatic effect, to make the story prettier, and that no note was to be taken of him. Without, however, admitting that Homer put in the last escape of Ulysses merely to make his story prettier, this is nevertheless true of all Greek myths, that they have many opposite lights and shades; they are as changeful as opal, and like opal, usually have one colour by reflected, and another by transmitted light. But they are true jewels for all that, and full of noble enchantment for those who can use them; for those who cannot, I am content to repeat the words I wrote four years ago, in the appendix to the *Two Paths*[5]—

"The entire purpose of a great thinker may be difficult to fathom, and we may be over and over again more or less mistaken in guessing at his meaning; but the real, profound, nay, quite bottomless and unredeemable mistake, is the fool's thought, that he had *no* meaning."

etc., compare § 81 *n.*, above, p. 204. The reference in *Modern Painters* is to Vol. VII. p. 326. "Cicero's derivation" is in the *De Off.*, bk. i. c. 7, § 23: "Quamquam hoc videbitur fortasse cuipiam durius, tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta credamusque quia fiat, quod dictum est, appellatam fidem."]

[1] [For the escape of Ulysses from Charybdis by help of the fig-tree, see the end of *Odyssey*, book xii.; for the story of Leucothea's veil, *ibid.*, book v. 333 *seq.* Ruskin's "future examination" was not published; but for allusions to Leucothea, "the 'white lady' of the sea," see *Queen of the Air*, § 12, and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 69 and 78.]

[2] [The reference is to an article in the *Weekly Review* of December 6, 1862, in which the writer said: "Mr. Ruskin finds in the fig-tree which grew over the whirlpool of Charybdis a moral type akin to that of the barren fig-tree of the Gospels. We recollect, however, that it was by clinging to this fig-tree that Ulysses was rescued from the greatest peril which ever threatened him, and we demur, therefore, to regarding it as cursed."]

[3] [For the baneful (λυγρὰ) herbs of Helen, see *Odyssey*, iv. 230; and for the same word, in the case of Circe's drugs, *ibid.*, x. 236.]

[4] [In the original note the name of Mr. Molyneux was not given, the passage reading: "The leading divine of the company (still one of our great popular preachers) at last . . ." The Rev. Capel Molyneux was Incumbent of St. Paul's, Onslow Square. Ruskin refers to him at greater length in the humorous account of this evangelical "séance" given in *Præterita*, iii. ch. i. § 16.]

[5] [Appendix i. (Vol. XVI. p. 416).]

APPENDIX VI.—(p. 225)

THE derivation of words is like that of rivers;[1] there is one real source, usually small, unlikely, and difficult to find, far up among the hills; then, as the word flows on and comes into service, it takes in the force of other words from other sources, and becomes quite another word—often much more than one word, after the junction—a word as it were of many waters, sometimes both sweet and bitter. Thus the whole force of our English "charity" depends on the guttural in "charis" getting confused with the c of the Latin "carus"; thenceforward throughout the Middle Ages, the two ideas ran on together, and both got confused with St. Paul's ἀγάπη, which expresses a different idea in all sorts of ways; our "charity" having not only brought in the entirely foreign sense of almsgiving, but lost the essential sense of contentment, and lost much more in getting too far away from the "charis" of the final gospel benedictions. For truly it is fine Christianity we have come to, which, professing to expect the perpetual grace or charity of its Founder, has not itself grace or charity enough to hinder it from overreaching its friends in sixpenny bargains; and which, supplicating evening and morning the forgiveness of its own debts, goes forth at noon to take its fellow-servants by the throat, saying,—not merely "Pay me that thou owest,"[2] but "Pay me that thou owest me *not*."

It is true that we sometimes wear Ophelia's rue with a difference, and call it "Herb o' grace o' Sundays,"[3] taking consolation out of the offertory with—"Look, what he layeth out, it shall be paid him again."[4] Comfortable words indeed, and good to set against the old royalty of Largesse—

> Whose moste joie was, I wis,
> When that she gave, and said, "Have this."[5]

(I am glad to end, for this time, with these lovely words of Chaucer.

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 19.]

[2] [Matthew xviii. 28.]

[3] [This passage in the text was explained by Ruskin in a letter to his father:—

> "MORNEX, *March* 29, 1863.— . . . That bit about Ophelia, just at the end of my paper in small print, needs ever so much note to make it intelligible. Rue, the Latin *ruta* (Greek ῥυτὴ), means the plant of 'deliverance' or of redemption; hence the grace of salvation, its bitterness being the type of purging or purification. Therefore Ophelia calls it 'herb of grace' (and, before, gives rosemary for remembrance). Perdita as exquisitely—
>
> > "'For you there's rosemary and rue; these keep
> > Seeming and savour all the winter long:
> > *Grace* and *remembrance* to you both.'
>
> In my use of it I have a double meaning—referring to the idea of purchased salvation at the offertory—'You may wear your rue with a difference.'"

For the references to Shakespeare, see *Hamlet*, iv. 5, line 180; and *The Winter's Tale*, iv. 3, line 73.]

[4] [Proverbs xix. 17.]

[5] [*The Romaunt of the Rose*, 1142.]

We have heard only too much lately of "Indiscriminate charity,"[1] with implied reproval, not of the Indiscrimination merely, but of the Charity also. We have partly succeeded in enforcing on the minds of the poor the idea that it is disgraceful to receive; and are likely, without much difficulty, to succeed in persuading not a few of the rich that it is disgraceful to give. But the political economy of a great state makes both giving and receiving graceful; and the political economy of true religion interprets the saying that "it is more blessed to give than to receive,"[2] not as the promise of reward in another life for mortified selfishness in this, but as pledge of bestowal upon us of that sweet and better nature, which does not mortify itself in giving.)

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON,
5th October, 1871.

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 136; *Queen of the Air*, § 132; and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 93.]
[2] [Acts xx. 35.]

III

TIME AND TIDE

(1867)

TIME AND TIDE,

BY WEARE AND TYNE.

TWENTY-FIVE LETTERS

TO A

WORKING MAN OF SUNDERLAND

ON THE

LAWS OF WORK.

BY

JOHN RUSKIN, LL.D.

HONORARY STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHURCH, OXON.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., LONDON.
1867.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

[*Bibliographical Note.*—The Letters collected in *Time and Tide* originally appeared in newspapers, as follows :—

Letter i. appeared originally in the *Scotsman*, February 27, 1867, and Letter ii. in the same paper, March 4. But no more letters appeared in that paper.

The Letters appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* on the following dates in 1867 :—

Letter i. . .	March 1	Letters xii., xiii. .	March 30
,, ii. . .	(Omitted)	,, xiv., xv. .	April 6
Letters iii., iv., and vi. . .	March 6	,, xvi., xvii. .	,, 13
Letter v. . . .	,, 4	,, xviii., xix., xx. . .	,, 20
,, vii. . .	,, 12	,, xxi.–xxii. .	,, 27
Letters viii., ix. .	,, 16	,, xxiii., xxiv., xxv. . .	May 4
,, x., xi. . .	,, 23		

The Letters also appeared in the *Manchester Daily Examiner and Times* on the following dates in 1867 :—

Letter i. . . .	March 1	Letters xvi., xvii. .	April 13
Letters ii.–vi. . .	,, 5	,, xviii., xix., xx. . .	,, 27
Letter vii. . .	,, 12	,, xxi., xxii. .	,, 30
Letters viii., ix. .	,, 16	,, xxiii., xxiv. .	May 4
,, x., xi. . .	,, 23	Letter xxv. . .	,, 7
,, xii., xiii. .	,, 30		
,, xiv., xv. .	April 6		

Letter V. appeared also in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 1, 1867 (see below, p. 333).

After their publication in this form, Ruskin revised the Letters very considerably and collected them in a volume, of which there have been the following editions:—

First Edition (1867).—The title-page is as shown here, on the preceding leaf.

Foolscap 8vo, pp. viii.+199. Contents (here pp. 309–311), pp. iii.–v.; List of Appendices, p. vi.; Preface (here pp. 313–314), pp. vii.–viii.; Text of the Letters, pp. 1–180; Appendices, pp. 181–199. The imprint—"London: Printed by Smith, Elder and Co., Old Bailey, E.C."—appears in the centre of the reverse of p. 199. The headlines are "Time and Tide" on the left-hand pages; and on the right-hand pages "Letter I. *Co-operation*," and so forth, except that the pages containing the "Appendices" were so headed on the left-hand as well as on the right. Issued

on December 19,[1] 1867, in a dark brownish-purple cloth, lettered up the back: "Time and Tide, by Weare and Tyne. Ruskin"; and "The Laws of Work" on the front cover. Price 1s. 6d.

Second Edition (1868).—This is an exact reprint of the first, except for the alteration of date and for the addition of the words "Second Edition" on the title-page. Issued on January 23, 1868.

Collected "Works" Edition (1872).—This was the fifth volume in the "Works" series, the general title-page being:—

> The | Works of John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christ Church, Oxford. | Volume V. | Time and Tide, | By Weare and Tyne. | [*Rose.*] | London: Printed for the Author | by Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place; | and sold by | Mr. G. Allen, Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent. | 1872.

This title-page (with blank reverse) occupied pp. iii.–iv.; followed by the particular title-page:—

> Time and Tide, | by | Weare and Tyne. | Twenty-five Letters to | a Working Man of Sunderland | on | The Laws of Work. | By John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Slade Professor of Fine Art. | London: Printed for the Author | by Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place; | and sold by | Mr. G. Allen, Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent. | 1872.

Octavo, pp. xii. + 211. Contents, pp. vii.–x.; Preface, pp. xi.–xii.; Text of the Letters, pp. 1–196; Appendices, pp. 197–211. Imprint (in the centre of the last page)—"London: Printed by Smith, Elder and Co., Old Bailey, E.C. Headlines as in the First Edition.

Issued on December 20, 1872, in purple calf, with gilt edges, tooled after an ecclesiastical fashion, and lettered across the back: "Ruskin. | Works. | Vol. | V. | Time | & Tide." Price 9s. 6d.; increased on January 1, 1874, to 18s. In July 1882 copies were put up in mottled-grey paper boards, with white paper labels, and sold at 13s.

In this edition the paragraphs were numbered; the text was again revised; insertions and additional notes were introduced; and three of the Appendices in the previous editions (6, 7, and 9) were omitted.

Collected "Works" Edition—Second Thousand (1882).—This was an exact reprint of its predecessor, except that the title-pages were different, and that the imprint was now "Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Printers, London and Aylesbury." The publisher's imprint on the general title-page was altered to "George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1882." On the particular title-page the author was described as "Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Honorary Fellow of | Corpus Christi College, Oxford." "Second Thousand" was added; the publisher's imprint was changed as on the general title-page, and below the date were the words "[*All rights Reserved*]."

Issued in December, 1882, in mottled-grey paper boards, with white paper back-label, which reads: "Ruskin. | Works. | Vol. V. | Time | and | Tide."

[1] So stated in the *Bibliography* by Wise and Smart; but the date seems doubtful, as the author added a note on December 16 (see below, p. 444).

Price 13s. This edition is still current. The price was reduced in 1900 to 7s. 6d.

Small Edition (1886).—Of this, the fifth issue, the title-page was as follows:—

> Time and Tide | by | Weare and Tyne. | Twenty-five Letters to | a Working Man of Sunderland | on | The Laws of Work. | By John Ruskin, | Honorary Student of Christchurch, and Honorary Fellow of | Corpus Christi College, Oxford. | George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1886. | [*All Rights Reserved.*]

Small crown 8vo, pp. xi.+253. Contents, pp. v.–viii.; Preface, pp. ix.–xi.; Text of the Letters, pp. 1–234; Appendices, pp. 235–253. Imprint (at the foot of the reverse of the title-page and of the last page)—"Printed by Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury." Headlines as in the previous editions.

Issued in April 1886, both in chocolate and in dark green coloured cloth, lettered across the back: "Ruskin. | Time | and | Tide." Price 5s. 3000 copies. The text follows that of the Collected "Works" Edition, but one or two trifling corrections were made.

Re-issues of the Small Edition were made in April 1891 (2000 copies)—the publisher's imprint now gave the address of "8 Bell Yard"; the printers were still Messrs. Hazell, Watson, and Viney; in December 1894 (2000)—publisher's address, "156 Charing Cross Road"; this edition was printed by Messrs. Ballantyne, and was the first to include an Index (pp. 236–261), compiled by Mr. Wedderburn; in December 1897 (1000); in May 1899, "13th Thousand"; in June 1900, "14th Thousand"; in July 1901, "15th Thousand"; in June 1903, "16th Thousand." The price was reduced in January 1904 to 3s. 6d.

Pocket Edition (1904).—Of this edition, uniform in all respects with the Pocket Edition of *The Elements of Drawing* already described (Vol. XV. p. 6), the title-page is:—

> Time and Tide | By | John Ruskin | London: George Allen.

Issued in March 1904. Price 2s. 6d. cloth, 3s. 6d. limp leather. 3000 copies. Except for the title-page this edition is a page to page reprint of the "Small Edition," being printed from the same electrotype plates. It was reprinted in April 1904 (3000 copies, completing the "22nd Thousand" of the work).

Unauthorised American Editions of *Time and Tide* have appeared in various forms.

An *authorised American* ("Brantwood") *Edition* was issued in 1891, by Charles E. Merrill & Co., New York, with an introduction (pp. v.–x.) by Charles Eliot Norton.

Reviews of the book appeared in the *Saturday Review*, March 14, 1868; the *Athenæum*, April 15, 1868, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, June 1868, vol. 103, pp. 675–691: an article entitled "The Latest Lawgiver."

Variæ Lectiones.—The main variations are those between the letters, as originally published in the newspapers, and the letters as revised for publication in book form. As explained in the Introduction (p. cxiv.), the collation is with the *Leeds Mercury*, but a few misprints, etc., in the *Manchester Examiner and Times* are also noted. In the following list the different readings are, unless otherwise specified, those in the newspapers as compared with the present text; that is to say, a reader desiring to reconstruct the letters as originally published would have to make the corrections given in the list. But the text was again revised by the author in 1872. He indicated most of these revisions by the insertion of brackets in the text, and such revisions are not included in this list; other revisions, made at the same time but not thus indicated in the text, are here included. In the newspapers there were no author's footnotes; unless otherwise specified, these were added in 1867. The more interesting and important variations are now given in editorial footnotes to the text (except some which are now collected in an Appendix: see pp. 474–482); in such cases a reference to them is alone given here. Otherwise the following list gives every variation (differences of paragraphing, spelling, punctuation, and italicising alone excepted):—

Contents (*Letter xvi.*).—The words "(*Gentleness and Justice*)" were first added in 1872.

The list of *Appendices* in eds. 1 and 2 was different after No. V. It continued: "VI. Law of Property" (omitted in later editions.); "VII. Ambition of Bishops" (omitted); "VIII. Regulations of Trade" (VI. in later editions); "IX. Greatness Coal-begotten" (omitted); "X. Letter to the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*" (VII. in later editions).

Letter i.—The beginning was "My Dear D——," and so in all the letters. § 1, lines 1–8, see p. 315 *n.* § 2, last line, "mercantile" is here altered to "manufacturing" in accordance with a correction in Ruskin's copy. § 3, as originally published in the *Leeds Mercury*, the letter ended with "Believe me, my dear D——, J. Ruskin."

Letter ii.—§ 4, line 3, "and" before "in practice." § 7, line 7, "shall" for "should"; line 14, "shall be" before "sufficient." § 8, line 20, "for the attainment" after "conditions"; line 28, "worldly" omitted before "success." § 8, the letter ended with "Always truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter iii.—The address "Denmark Hill" was given, and the letter began "I have not . . ." § 9, line 2, see p. 324 *n.* § 10, line 14, "Englishmen" for "Englishman." § 14, the letter ended, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter iv.—The address "Denmark Hill" was given. § 15, lines 10, 11, "as I will show you presently" for "and the rest for shop's sake." § 16, line 1, "This last passage I wish you to notice with respect to what I said in my letter of the day before yesterday, as to . . ." § 17, line 16, "not in reality for art at all, but for the excitement and shop . . ."; last lines, the passage "You practical English! . . . state chambers" was not in the original letter, which ended with "Ever truly yours, J. R."

Letter v.—§ 18, lines 26 and 27, as originally published, "And that again depends on what you *do* want; and a great deal more than that depends, besides, on 'what you want.' If you want only drink . . ." The edition of 1867 reads the same. The passage was altered, as in the present text,

in 1872. § 19, line 3, "air" for "breathing." § 20, line 5, the original letter and edition of 1867 read "his dexterous and changeless duty"; line 16, "such" before "spectacle" omitted. § 22, lines 3 and 4, ". . . due course, for I have to go and see the Japanese jugglers first, and to take you with me, as best I can, before I can fully explain . . ."; line 6, "pantomime" for "play." § 23, line 4, "for one thing" for "in speciality." § 24, the letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter vi.—§ 26, line 6, "I rarely see gymnastic performances, but I have seen . . ."; line 30, "enabling them" omitted. § 28, lines 8 and 9, "which is . . . noble book is" omitted; the letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter vii.—§ 29, line 11, "—I suppose 12 or 14"; line 12, "of" for "in"; line 21, "unintended aimless" in all editions hitherto; the former word is struck out in Ruskin's copy for revision. § 30, line 2, see p. 344 *n.*; line 6, "for" before "there"; line 12, "some" omitted; line 17, "following" omitted; line 25, "for" omitted. § 31, line 8, "graciousness" for "grace"; the letter ends, ". . . leisure, and remain ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter viii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is added. § 32, lines 11 and 12, "and on their . . . secured" omitted; line 14, in the newspapers "quiet" was misprinted, in all editions of the book, "great"; Ruskin wrote "quite." § 33, line 15, "that" for "which"; line 17, "dishonest" for "dishonoured." § 35, line 3, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "comparatively" before "illiterate"; line 4, "people" for "world"; line 30, "most" for "many"; line 32, "this" for "the"; line 36, "no more trustworthy than" for "only trustworthy as"; line 42, the words "a portion, divinely appointed, of" do not appear in the newspapers or in the edition of 1867; line 47, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "leading" for "soundest." § 36, two last lines, see p. 350 *n.* § 37, line 5, the words "(the first being impossible to educated persons)" are added after "stated"; line 6, "tolerably" for "statedly," the former word being probably a mis-reading of a copyist; lines 13–15, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "for in the actual fact, strange as it may seem, no persons . . . not to their liking, as those . . ." § 38, third line from end, "nearly" inserted before "every." § 39, line 7, see p. 351 *n.* The letter ends, "Truly yours always, J. Ruskin."

Letter ix.—§ 42, line 9, "corrupted" for "corrupt." § 43, line 24, "v" has here been altered, for the sake of clearness, to "verse." § 44, line 23, "its" for "their"; line 24, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read correctly, but all later editions hitherto misprint "processional" "professional." § 45, line 3, "the" omitted; line 17, "evangelical" omitted; lines 20, 21, the words "(the Uri . . . sense)" omitted; fourth line from end, "Tees" for "Weare." § 47, line 21, "to God" inserted after "thanksgiving"; line 24, "got" inserted before "illustrated" (in the *Manchester Examiner*, "got" was misprinted "not"). § 48, line 3, "joylessness" for "failure of joy"; line 6, "There is such a thing" in all previous editions, altered here as marked by Ruskin in his copy for revision to "There are such things"; line 10, "there being" for "as there was"; last line, see p. 358 *n.*, the letter in the newspapers ending, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter x.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given; for an additional passage at the beginning, see p. 359 *n.* § 49, line 3, "as" for "for"; line 4,

"as" for "so"; line 9, for an additional passage, see p. 359 *n.*; line 13, "of" omitted before "his place"; line 14, "And" for "While"; author's footnote, see p. 360 *n.* § 51, line 1, "being whipped" for "hell"; line 3, "is" for "was," and "fears" for "terrors"; line 4, "the" for "this"; line 6, "elbow" for "side"; line 9, "see him" omitted; line 14, "but" for "whereas." § 53, in line 9 of the quotation from Patmore, "I ne'er would blend" is here altered to "I'd never blend," and in line 12, "would" is here altered to "I'd" in accordance with the poet's text of 1863. § 54, line 1, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "Take those" for "You have thus." § 55, line 2, "informing" for "telling to"; line 3, "of the truths" for "the truth." § 57, line 11, the newspapers misprinted "torn" for "born." § 58, line 3, "care for" for "desire"; line 28, "sure, that" omitted; line 31, "instant end, unredeemable, of lives . . ."; line 33, "unquestionable" for "unquestionably," and "this" omitted; line 35, "industrious" for "working"; the letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xi.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 59, line 2, "were" for "mere"; line 3, "cold and" before "accurate," and "and instant" before "facts"; line 7, "held" for "called"; line 10, "at once" for "next." § 60, line 1, "Now this" for "This"; line 5, "spoken of as" for "called," and "is spoken of as" before "His Adversary"; line 9, "Now therefore" for "Therefore"; last line, "kinds" for "kind." § 61, line 22, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "which often, if not most frequently, haunts . . ." § 62, lines 1 and 2, the newspapers read "This is the final fact I have to insist upon . . ."; line 9, "he, the elder son" for "he"; line 12, "finally" for "ultimately"; author's footnote, added in 1872; the letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xii.—§ 63, line 9, see p. 370 *n.*; "suffered" for "warped"; line 11, "to be warped" after "sorrow"; line 12, "and be spent" after "spend them"; line 13, see p. 370 *n.* § 66, line 3, "in reality" after "differ only"; line 5, "nor shade" after "point"; line 33, "nation" for "realm"; line 37, "never will touch" for "never touches." § 67, line 4, "at last verily" for "some day," and so in the edition of 1867; line 7, "consolation" for "comfort"; line 9, "nettles and thistles" for "darnel," and so in the edition of 1867; both the newspapers and that edition omit "and cockle instead of barley." § 68, line 2, "absence of" after "in"; line 9, the newspapers and edition of 1867 read "essay in" for "chapter of," and see p. 375 *n.*; line 15, "ordination" for "ordinance." The letter ends, "Ever sincerely yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xiii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 69, line 5, "don't" for "do not." § 70, line 1, "laws of" for "statutes"; line 5, in the newspapers and the edition of 1867 the reference to the original edition of *Stones of Venice* was given, "(p. 212)"; in the edition of 1872 this was omitted, but a footnote was added—"Now in the Appendix to vol. vi. of this series," *i.e.*, the volume which was to contain *The Crown of Wild Olive;* when, however, Ruskin came to arrange that volume he put a different Appendix altogether; in the 1882 and 1886 editions of *Time and Tide,* however, the misleading footnote still remained; in later editions it has been removed. § 72, line 1, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "the forty-fifth and forty-sixth pages of *Sesame and Lilies*"; and the latter adds a footnote, "* Appendix 7," where the passage in question was reprinted; line 6, the newspapers and edition of 1867 read ". . . there said. That a . . .";

line 9, they also read "get" for "*give*"; and in line 16, for "(more or less)" they read "(or some not much greater number)"; line 21, the newspapers read "shall" for "may"; line 34, "being" before "laid up." § 74, lines 2 and 3, "supervision" and "help" transposed; lines 5 and 6, "and circumstances" and "their" omitted; line 10, "(as you will hear presently)" after "general law being." § 75, line 14, "fear" omitted; the letter ends, "Ever faithfully yours, J. Ruskin." *P.S.*, "wave" for "raised."

Letter xiv.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 76, lines 22 and 23, "and injure . . . ways" omitted, and "—perhaps at my utmost need" added after "expect it." § 77, line 8, "let us all" before "be assured"; line 9, "every" for "all"; lines 11–13, "Set your laws, then, I say, first of all, to secure this, both by inspection and penalty. As for punishment, you cannot make it too sharp on subtle knavery. Keep no terms with . . ."; line 21, "you shall hear presently" for "we will in time consider." § 78, line 2, "such a right" omitted, and "strong enough to" for "as could"; line 5, "business" for "matter"; line 9, "commonly" before "sold"; last line but one, "as absolutely forbidden as making any other . . ." § 79, line 5, "to their hearts' content" for "as they chose"; line 21, "contracted" for "conducted"; last line, and line one of § 80, see p. 386 *n.* § 80, line 1, "guilds" for "guild"; line 3, "traders" for "trade"; line 4, "workmen's" for "workman's," and "profit" for "profits"; line 6, "and" for "yet"; line 9, "necessarily" omitted; line 15, "its" before "inspection" and before "guidance." The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xv.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given, and the year "1867." § 81, line 1, "method" for "methods"; line 2, "and by debt" omitted; line 3, "is" for "are"; line 4, "it" for "them," and "second" for "third"; line 7, "deadening" for "restraining," and "others" for "other"; line 11, "it may (or may not—I do not at present say which) be expedient . . ."; line 12, "large substance and" for "great wealth or"; line 16, "as I shall" for "I will." § 82, line 6, "large" before "multitudes"; lines 9 and 10, "under circumstances putting them in our own exclusive power"; line 11, "By speculation, or trick of commercial gain"; line 12, "two first," and so in the edition of 1867; line 14, "deadly" for "detrimental"; line 17, "pecuniarily zero"; line 18, "and" before "besides," and "disadvantages" for "disadvantage"; line 23, "of gain" after "chance." § 83, line 5, "the supply of" omitted; lines 8 and 9, "and thus the outside public injured as well as the shareholders"; line 19, "once" after "being"; line 35, "in" omitted; line 38, "noble" for "frequent"; line 42, "girders" for "cockades." § 84, line 18, "which holds society together?" § 85, line 8, "way of" after "any"; line 10, "person" for "law"; lines 20 and 21, see p. 392 *n.*; line 24, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 omit "acts or," and see p. 392 *n.*; line 29, the newspapers omit "as willingly as ever." § 86, line 9, see p. 392 *n.* The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xvi.—Heading and footnote, see p. 394 *n.* The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 90, line 6, see p. 395 *n.* § 91, line 10, "always" omitted. § 93, line 13, "methods of" omitted. § 94, line 4, "element" for "elements." § 96, line 7, "at all events" for "yet." § 97, last line, for an additional passage, see p. 474. § 98, line 2, see p. 399 *n.*; line 16, "and" before "then"; line 19, "lies" and "lie" for "rests" and "rest." § 99, line 9, "that it may have the virtue . . . association to fasten." § 100, lines 1–3, "Then the principal subjects of education to be natural history

and mathematics"; line 10, "the studies" for "study"; line 12, ", chiefly" after "history." § 101, line 2, "you" before "observe." The letter ends, "Always truly yours, J. Ruskin." *P.S.*, lines 14 and 15, "theatrical bêtises" omitted.

Letter xvii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 103, line 3, the small editions have in error omitted "as" before "I do myself"; line 17, "the same contempt for these useful occupations which I dread . . ." § 106, lines 3 and 4, "at this part of my scheme" after "make workmen of"; lines 7 and 8, "of the roughest ones" omitted; lines 15 and 16, "of the kind that live by talking" omitted; line 17, "for" comes after "respect" instead of before "doctors"; line 30, for an additional passage, see p. 475; last line, "road" for "matter." The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xviii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 107, line 1, "I've" for "I have"; line 10, "plush" for "uniform"; line 23, "clime" for "climate"; line 27, "back" for "black." § 108, line 12, "have no fear of getting" for "am at no loss for." § 109, lines 1 and 2, "The fact is, my dear ——, there are a great number of quite necessary employments which are . . ."; line 3, "degrading" for "they sink a man"; line 46, "of the" for "such"; line 49, "cushion" for "cushions." § 110, line 26, "comes" for "comes in." The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xix.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 111, line 3, "of" omitted in error. § 112, line 5, "amusement; but hardly . . ."; line 8, "all at last in" omitted. § 113, line 4, see p. 411 *n.*; line 10, "accordingly" omitted; line 11, "now you" for "thereafter"; line 27, "uselessly" for "without doing any service." § 114, line 5, "one of the first" for "the twelfth." § 115, line 2, "what I was saying above of" before "the way"; line 15, "Latow" misprinted for "Latour." § 116, line. 14, "at least" omitted; line 28, "can recognize" for "deeply care for." § 117, line 2, "complain" (with no "of") for "regret"; line 7, "peremptorily" omitted; line 22, "if within my reach of industry" omitted; lines 32 and 33, "and with our days" omitted. The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xx.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 118, line 3, "I was urging" after "inquiry"; line 7, see p. 417 *n.*; line 16, "peas" for "pease"; line 18, "own" before "counsels." § 120, line 9, "led by these I have come to two conclusions" for "from which . . . on my mind"; line 17, "apparent" before "nearly total"; line 20, "none" for "hardly one"; last line, see p. 419 *n.* § 121, line 6, "on which this Christ Hospital applicant's letter arrived" after "10th April." § 122, this section has hitherto commenced at "In the nature of things"; the alteration here made was indicated by Ruskin in his copy for revision; line 18, "and care" after "parental duty"; last line, "that of" omitted. § 123, lines 8 and 9, see p. 420 *n.* § 124, line 3, "there follow on the laws which" for "those following are laws such as." § 125, lines 7–10, the sentence "I do not . . . to marry" omitted; last line, see p. 421 *n.* The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xxi.—§ 127, line 3, "and others" omitted; line 7, ". . . at all events, I have no doubt on the subject myself, and I suppose few general readers will have any"; the author's footnote was first added in 1867. § 128, line 5, "extinguishing" is here italicised in accordance with Ruskin's

instructions in his copy for revision. § 129, line 6, "body" for "one"; line 16, "tread" is here italicised in accordance with Ruskin's copy; line 20, "want" for "need"; line 23, "finding you in" for "furnishing you with." § 131, line 2, "not" is here italicised in accordance with Ruskin's copy for revision; line 7, "accounts" for "account"; line 16, "that is" after "a person"; line 17 and author's footnote, see p. 425 *n.* § 133, last line, "business" after "upholstery." § 135, line 6, "porterage" for "transport," and "by" omitted; last line, ". . . to be done, which I must certainly defer, being no light inquiry, to another letter. Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xxii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 138, the letters "(A)," "(B)," "(C)" are omitted, and there are no paragraphs; line 3, "emancipating" for "releasing"; line 6, "the second, that is to say, those . . ."; lines 7 and 8, "the foolish and weak and idle"; line 13, "and the third . . ."; line 17, "they" for "those inferiors"; last line, for an additional passage, see p. 475. § 139, line 12, "they" for "these serfs"; lines 13 and 14, "or themselves fall into through neglect and want of guidance." § 140, line 15, "old, old" for "old," and "which is" before "hardly"; line 16, "for it" after "substitution," and "better" for "worthier." § 141, line 12, for an additional passage, see p. 476; line 24, for another passage, see p. 479. § 143, line 26, see p. 434 *n.* § 145, line 7, "ascertain" for "consider." The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin."

Letter xxiii.—The address "Denmark Hill" is given. § 146, line 12, no break here, and ", which . . ." for ". Such . . ." § 148, line 28, "in the comfort of the tenant" omitted. § 150, lines 3 and 4, the words "these being . . . bodies and souls" were first added in 1872. § 151, line 18, "ministerial" for "administered." § 152, lines 2 and 3, the newspapers and the edition of 1867 read "being kept over great part of it." § 153, line 13, the newspaper and the edition of 1867 read "are to" for "would"; line 22, in the newspapers "be" follows "should" in line 20. § 155, line 17, see p. 442 *n.*; line 21, "true" before "resistance"; line 23, "am only going" for "intend." The letter ends, "Ever truly yours, J. Ruskin." *P.S.*, § 157, line 6, "mere" before "absolute"; line 10, "warped" for "obscure"; line 11, "Thus I call his 'Essay on Liberty' the foolishest book extant by a man of disciplined powers—because it only takes . . ." (the reference here is to the passage given on p. 478); line 16, "he had been" after "if," "he" in the next line being accordingly omitted; last line, for an additional passage, see p. 445 *n.*

Letter xxiv.—§ 158, line 1, "In the outset of this closing letter I must . . ."; line 4, "absolutely" before "positive," and (in the *Manchester Examiner*) "with" was misprinted "without"; line 20, "stickle" for "contend"; line 21, ", as far as I can see, are" for "seem to me"; line 22, ", working, and relation among each other" after "extent." § 159, line 1, there was no fresh paragraph here, nor any numbers or italics; the passage reads ". . . that is to say, first of an . . ."; and so lower down, "of a," and so on throughout; line 7, "and won't pay" after "wanted"; line 9, "will pay" for "*are* wanted"; line 10, "shall" for "will"; line 15, "of a decisive and deliberate power, which . . ." § 160, line 18, "very" omitted; line 24, "respecting" for "having clue to"; line 27, "Hours" was misprinted "Home" in the newspapers; line 37,

"does" for "do." § 162, line 9, "its" omitted; § 163, line 4, "been" in all previous editions is here altered to "done" in accordance with Ruskin's copy for revision. § 165, line 18, "as" after "so small," in all previous editions, is here omitted for the same reason. § 167, line 2, see p. 453 *n.* § 168, line 29, "they" for "soldiers"; lines 30, 31, for an additional passage, etc., see p. 480.

Letter xxv.—For an additional introductory passage, and for variations in § 169, lines 1–7, see p. 480. § 169, line 28, "D——" for "friend"; line 39, "this" in editions of 1867 and 1872; "the" in later editions; last lines, for a different passage in the original letter, see p. 482. § 170, lines 1–4, see p. 456 *n.*; line 6, "that it was to" before "be." § 171, line 14, "all" for ", every one." § 173, line 16, the *Manchester Examiner* misread "inequality" for "equality"; line 17, the words "blessed and strengthening" are here inserted from Ruskin's copy for revision. § 174, line 6, ". . . left directions about money to vulgar persons; and himself"; line 15, "recognises" is here substituted for "recognised" in accordance with Ruskin's correction in his own copy. § 175, line 10, "wild" for "sensual"; line 17, "enough and to spare, even" omitted. § 176, line 13, "and purging of Heart, and seeing of God" omitted; line 20, "of" omitted in error before "that." § 177, line 2, "(when the letter is made generally readable)" after "edge"; line 4, "let him know" after "ready"; line 6, "of" omitted after "as," and so in line 8; line 14, "them" for "that sense." § 180, lines 11–14, the sentence "No one . . . base desire" was first inserted in the edition of 1867. The letter ended, "And, so, my friend, for a little while, farewell.—Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin."

Appendix iii., last lines, see p. 469 *n.*

Appendix v., line 20, the misprint "unbottoned" occurred in the editions of 1867 and 1872.

In the edition of 1867 Appendix vi., "Law of Property," is a reprint of a part of § 67 of *Munera Pulveris* ("The first necessity of all economical government . . . from the baker's"): for the passage, see above, pp. 192–193; for the reason of its withdrawal in the edition of 1872, see below, p. 375. Appendix vii., "Ambition of Bishops," was similarly a reprint of a part of § 22 of *Sesame and Lilies* ("Nearly all the evils . . . meaning into their words"): for the passage see Vol. XVIII. pp. 72–73. The present Appendix vi. was thus Appendix viii. Appendix ix., "Greatness Coal-begotten," in the edition of 1867 was a passage from the *Crown of Wild Olive:* see below, pp. 425–426 *n.* The present Appendix vii. was Appendix x. in the edition of 1867.

Appendix vii., see p. 473 *n.* The following are the differences in the letter as it was printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Arrows of the Chace:* line 1, "In the course of your . . ."; line 5, after "labour," "(I should have written 'price' not 'value,' but it is no matter)—. . ."; line 7, "eventually losing" for "losing actually"; line 11, "contributor" for "contributors"; line 13, ". . . any half-dozen London physicians of recognised standing . . ."; line 18, "Let" for "And let"; line 19, "space of" before "lodging"; lines 19 and 20, "the market wages" for "such wages as the market may offer"; line 20, "specified" before "number"; line 23, "any" omitted. The signature was, "I am, Sir, with sentiments of great respect, Your . . ."; and the date was added, "Denmark Hill, April 30, 1867."]

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PREFACE

THE following Letters were written to Mr. Thomas Dixon, a working corkcutter of Sunderland,[1] during the agitation for Reform in the spring of the present year. They contain, in the plainest terms I could use, the substance of what I then desired to say to our English workmen, which was briefly this:—"The reform you desire may give you more influence in Parliament; but your influence there will of course be useless to you,—perhaps worse than useless, —until you have wisely made up your minds what you wish Parliament to do for you; and when you *have* made up your minds about that, you will find, not only that you can do it for yourselves, without the intervention of Parliament; but that eventually nobody *but* yourselves can do it. And to help you, as far as one of your old friends may, in so making up your minds, such and such things are what it seems to me you should ask for, and, moreover, strive for with your heart and might."

The letters now published relate only to one division of the laws which I desired to recommend to the consideration of our operatives,—those, namely, bearing upon honesty of work, and honesty of exchange. I hope in the course of next year that I may be able to complete the second part of the series, [I could not; but *Fors Clavigera* is now (1872) answering the same end:][2] which will relate to the possible comforts and wholesome laws, of familiar household life, and the share which a labouring nation may attain in the skill, and the treasures, of the higher arts.

[1] [For particulars about Mr. Dixon, see the Introduction; above, pp. lxxviii.–lxxix.]

[2] [The square brackets with the words they contain were thus added by the author in 1872.]

The letters are republished as they were written, with, here and there, correction of a phrase, and omission of one or two passages of merely personal or temporary interest; the headings only are added, in order to give the reader some clue to the general aim of necessarily desultory discussion; and the portions of Mr. Dixon's letters in reply, referred to in the text, are added in the Appendix, and will be found well deserving of attention.

DENMARK HILL,
December 14, 1867.

TIME AND TIDE,

BY WEARE AND TYNE

LETTER I

The two kinds of Co-operation.—In its highest sense it is not yet thought of

DENMARK HILL, *February* 4, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,[1]

1. You have now everything I have yet published on political economy; but there are several points in these books of mine which I intended to add notes to, and it seems little likely I shall get that soon done. So I think the best way of making up for the want of these is to write you a few simple letters, which you can read to other people, or send to be printed, if you like, in any of your journals where you think they may be useful.

I especially want you, for one thing, to understand the

[1] [The letter as originally printed opened as follows:—

"My dear D——, I have sent you the four papers I wrote for *Fraser's Magazine* bound together; and you now have everything I have yet published on political economy. I told you I was writing something that would interest you; it was about strikes and co-operation; but I am too ill at present to do any serious work rightly, and the thing has come to a stand-still, which I am sorry for; and, besides, there are several points in these books of mine which I intended to add notes to, and it seems little likely I shall get that done, either. So I think the best thing I can now do is to write you a few simple letters, which will not fret me as it does to write carefully. In one way or another I shall thus get what I want most to say said to you; then you can read it to other people, or send it to be printed, if you like, in any of your journals where you think it may be useful."

The papers for *Fraser's Magazine* are now *Munera Pulveris*. "Something about strikes and co-operation" does not appear to have been published. For Ruskin's ill-health in 1867, see above, Introduction, p. lxxx.]

sense in which the word "co-operation" is used in my books. You will find I am always pleading for it; and yet I don't at all mean the co-operation of partnership (as opposed to the system of wages) which is now so gradually extending itself among our great firms. I am glad to see it doing so, yet not altogether glad: for none of you who are engaged in the immediate struggle between the system of co-operation and the system of mastership know how much the dispute involves; and none of us know the results to which it may finally lead. For the alternative is not, in reality, only between two modes of conducting business—it is between two different states of society. It is not the question whether an amount of wages, no greater in the end than that at present received by the men, may be paid to them in a way which shall give them share in the risks, and interest in the prosperity, of the business. The question is, really, whether the profits which are at present taken, as his own right, by the person whose capital, or energy, or ingenuity, has made him head of the firm, are not in some proportion to be divided among the subordinates of it.

2. I do not wish, for the moment, to enter into any inquiry as to the just claims of capital, or as to the proportions in which profits ought to be, or are in actually existing firms, divided. I merely take the one assured and essential condition, that a somewhat larger income will be in co-operative firms secured to the subordinates, by the diminution of the income of the chief. And the general tendency of such a system is to increase the facilities of advancement among the subordinates; to stimulate their ambition; to enable them to lay by, if they are provident, more ample and more early provision for declining years; and to form in the end a vast class of persons wholly different from the existing operative:—members of society, possessing each a moderate competence; able to procure, therefore, not indeed many of the luxuries, but all the comforts of life; and to devote some leisure to the attainments of liberal education, and to the other objects of free

life. On the other hand, by the exact sum which is divided among them, more than their present wages, the fortune of the man who, under the present system, takes all the profits of the business, will be diminished; and the acquirement of large private fortune by regular means, and all the conditions of life belonging to such fortune, will be rendered impossible in the manufacturing community.

3. Now, the magnitude of the social change hereby involved, and the consequent differences in the moral relations between individuals, have not as yet been thought of,—much less estimated,—by any of your writers on commercial subjects; and it is because I do not yet feel able to grapple with them that I have left untouched, in the books I send you, the question of co-operative labour. When I use the word "co-operation,"[1] it is not meant to refer to these new constitutions of firms at all. I use the word in a far wider sense, as opposed, not to masterhood, but to *competition*. I do not mean, for instance, by co-operation, that all the master bakers in a town are to give a share of their profits to the men who go out with the bread; but that the masters are not to try to undersell each other, nor seek each to get the other's business, but are all to form one society, selling to the public under a common law of severe penalty for unjust dealing, and at an established price. I do not mean that all bankers' clerks should be partners in the bank; but I do mean that all bankers should be members of a great national body, answerable as a society for all deposits; and that the private business of speculating with other people's money should take another name than that of "banking." And, for final instance, I mean by "co-operation" not only fellowships between trading *firms*, but between trading *nations;* so that it shall no more be thought (as it is now, with ludicrous and vain selfishness) an advantage for one nation to undersell another; and take its occupation away from it; but that the primal and

[1] [See, for instance, *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. pp. 207–208); *Unto this Last*, § 54 (above, p. 75); and *Ethics of the Dust*, § 229.]

eternal law of vital commerce shall be of all men understood—namely, that every nation is fitted by its character, and the nature of its territories, for some particular employments or manufactures; and that it is the true interest of every other nation to encourage it in such speciality, and by no means to interfere with, but in all ways forward and protect, its efforts, ceasing all rivalship with it, so soon as it is strong enough to occupy its proper place. You see, therefore, that the idea of co-operation, in the sense in which I employ it, has hardly yet entered into the minds of political inquirers; and I will not pursue it at present; but return to that system which is beginning to obtain credence and practice among us. This, however, must be in a following letter.

LETTER II

Co-operation, as hitherto understood, is perhaps not expedient

February 4, 1867.

4. LIMITING the inquiry, then, for the present, as proposed in the close of my last letter, to the form of co-operation which is now upon its trial in practice, I would beg of you to observe that the points at issue, in the comparison of this system with that of mastership, are by no means hitherto frankly stated; still less can they as yet be fairly brought to test. For all mastership is not alike in principle; there are just and unjust masterships; and while, on the one hand, there can be no question but that co-operation is better than unjust and tyrannous mastership, there is very great room for doubt whether it be better than a just and benignant mastership.

5. At present you—every one of you—speak, and act, as if there were only one alternative; namely, between a system in which profits shall be divided in due proportion among all; and the present one, in which the workman is paid the least wages he will take, under the pressure of competition in the labour-market.[1] But an intermediate method is conceivable; a method which appears to me more prudent, and in its ultimate results more just, than the co-operative one. An arrangement may be supposed, and I have good hope also may one day be effected, by which every subordinate shall be paid sufficient and regular wages, according to his rank; by which due provision shall be made out of the profits of the business for sick and superannuated workers; and by which the master, *being held*

[1] [For which system see *Unto this Last*, § 53 (above, p. 71); *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 12, and § 136 and *n.* (pp. 137, 263).]

responsible, as a minor king or governor, for the conduct as well as the comfort of all those under his rule, shall, on that condition, be permitted to retain to his own use the surplus profits of the business which the fact of his being its master may be assumed to prove that he has organised by superior intellect and energy. And I think this principle of regular wage-paying, whether it be in the abstract more just, or not, is at all events the more prudent; for this reason mainly, that in spite of all the cant which is continually talked by cruel, foolish, or designing persons about "the duty of remaining content in the position in which Providence has placed you," there is a root of the very deepest and holiest truth in the saying, which gives to it such power as it still retains, even uttered by unkind and unwise lips, and received into doubtful and embittered hearts.[1]

6. If, indeed, no effort be made to discover, in the course of their early training, for what services the youths of a nation are individually qualified; nor any care taken to place those who have unquestionably proved their fitness for certain functions, in the offices they could best fulfil,—then, to call the confused wreck of social order and life brought about by malicious collision and competition, an arrangement of Providence, is quite one of the most insolent and wicked ways in which it is possible to take the name of God in vain. But if, at the proper time, some earnest effort be made to place youths, according to their capacities, in the occupations for which they are fitted, I think the system of organisation will be finally found the best, which gives the least encouragement to thoughts of any great future advance in social life.

[1] [The "holiest truth," and the perversion, of the saying are alike often noticed by Ruskin. It is a true saying, because "the most helpful and sacred work, which can at present be done for humanity, is to teach people not how 'to better themselves,' but how to 'satisfy themselves'" (Vol. VII. p. 426; and compare Vol. XVI. p. 474). The saying is perverted, *first,* when it is used to excuse indifference to the hard conditions of the poor (see *Unto this Last,* § 79 and *n.* (above, p. 107); *Time and Tide,* § 139 (below, p. 430); and *Crown of Wild Olive,* § 40); *secondly,* when the supposed duty of maintaining "station in life" is used as an excuse for shirking useful toil (see *Pre-Raphaelitism,* § 2, Vol. XII. p. 343; *Sesame and Lilies,* § 135; and *Fors Clavigera,* Letter 30. See also *Unto this Last,* Preface, § 21 (above, p. 112).]

7. The healthy sense of progress, which is necessary to the strength and happiness of men, does not consist in the anxiety of a struggle to attain higher place, or rank, but in gradually perfecting the manner, and accomplishing the ends, of the life which we have chosen, or which circumstances have determined for us. Thus, I think the object of a workman's ambition should not be to become a master; but to attain daily more subtle and exemplary skill in his own craft, to save from his wages enough to enrich and complete his home gradually with more delicate and substantial comforts; and to lay by such store as shall be sufficient for the happy maintenance of his old age (rendering him independent of the help provided for the sick and indigent by the arrangement pre-supposed),[1] and sufficient also for the starting of his children in a rank of life equal to his own. If his wages are not enough to enable him to do this, they are unjustly low; if they are once raised to this adequate standard, I do not think that by the possible increase of his gains under contingencies of trade, or by divisions of profits with his master, he should be enticed into feverish hope of an entire change of condition; and as an almost necessary consequence, pass his days in an anxious discontent with immediate circumstances, and a comfortless scorn of his daily life, for which no subsequent success could indemnify him. And I am the more confident in this belief, because, even supposing a gradual rise in social rank possible for all well-conducted persons, my experience does not lead me to think the elevation itself, when attained, would be conducive to their happiness.

8. The grounds of this opinion I will give you in a future letter;[2] in the present one, I must pass to a more important point—namely, that if this stability of condition be indeed desirable for those in whom existing circumstances might seem to justify discontent, much more must it be good and

[1] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 152 (above, p. 275).]
[2] [Not specifically dealt with; but see §§ 93, 170 (pp. 396, 456).]

desirable for those who already possess everything which can be conceived necessary to happiness. It is the merest insolence of selfishness to preach contentment to a labourer who gets thirty shillings a week, while we suppose an active and plotting covetousness to be meritorious in a man who has three thousand a year. In this, as in all other points of mental discipline, it is the duty of the upper classes to set an example to the lower; and to recommend and justify the restraint of the ambition of their inferiors, chiefly by severe and timely limitation of their own. And, without at present inquiring into the greater or less convenience of the possible methods of accomplishing such an object, (every detail in suggestions of this kind necessarily furnishing separate matter of dispute,) I will merely state my long-fixed conviction, that one of the most important conditions of a healthful system of social economy, would be the restraint of the properties and incomes of the upper classes within certain fixed limits.[1] The temptation to use every energy in the accumulation of wealth being thus removed, another, and a higher ideal of the duties of advanced life would be necessarily created in the national mind; by withdrawal of those who had attained the prescribed limits of wealth from commercial competition, earlier worldly success, and earlier marriage, with all its beneficent moral results, would become possible to the young; while the older men of active intellect, whose sagacity is now lost or warped in the furtherance of their own meanest interests, would be induced unselfishly to occupy themselves in the superintendence of public institutions, or furtherance of public advantage. And out of this class it would be found natural and prudent always to choose the members of the legislative body of the Commons; and to attach to the order also some peculiar honours, in the possession of which such complacency would be felt as would more than replace the unworthy

[1] [See below, §§ 126, 146 (pp. 421, 436); and compare *Sesame and Lilies*, note to § 30.]

satisfaction of being supposed richer than others, which to many men is the principal charm of their wealth. And although no law of this purport would ever be imposed on themselves by the actual upper classes, there is no hindrance to its being gradually brought into force from beneath, without any violent or impatient proceedings; and this I will endeavour to show you in my next letter.

LETTER III

Of True Legislation.—That every Man may be a Law to himself

February 17, 1867.

9. No, I have not been much worse in health; but I was asked by a friend to look over some work in which you will[1] all be deeply interested one day, so that I could not write again till now. I was the more sorry, because there were several things I wished to note in your last letter; one especially leads me directly to what I in any case was desirous of urging upon you. You say, "In vol. 6th of 'Frederick the Great' I find a great deal that I feel quite certain, if our Queen or Government could make law, thousands of our English workmen would hail with a shout of joy and gladness."[2] I do not remember to what you especially allude, but whatever the rules you speak of may be, unless there be anything in them contrary to the rights of present English property, why should you care whether the Government makes them law or not? Can you not, you thousands of English workmen, simply make them a law to yourselves, by practising them?

It is now some five or six years since I first had occasion to speak to the members of the London Working Men's College on the subject of Reform,[3] and the substance

[1] [The original letter said: "in which he was deeply interested, so that . . ." Neither letters nor diaries enable the editors to explain the reference.]

[2] [Carlyle had published vols. v. and vi. of his *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, in 1865. The sixth volume in the original edition included vol. vii. in the present arrangement. See for a further reference to this matter, § 25 below, and Mr. Dixon's letters in Appendix ii. (p. 466).]

[3] [This address was given on Saturday evening, November 29, 1862, as a farewell lecture previous to Ruskin's departure for the Continent (see above, Introduction, pp. lix.–lxx.). The following brief account of it appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 1, 1862, and has not hitherto been reprinted: "The large room of the

of what I said to them was this: "You are all agape, my friends, for this mighty privilege of having your opinions represented in Parliament. The concession might be desirable, — at all events courteous, — if only it were quite certain you had got any opinions to represent. But have you? Are you agreed on any single thing you systematically want? Less work and more wages, of course; but how much lessening of work do you suppose is possible? Do you think the time will ever come for everybody to have *no* work and *all* wages? Or have you yet taken the trouble so much as to think out the nature of the true connection between wages and work, and to determine, even approximately, the real quantity of the one, that can, according to the laws of God and nature, be given for the other; for, rely on it, make what laws you like, that quantity only can you at last get.

10. "Do you know how many mouths can be fed on an acre of land, or how fast those mouths multiply? and have

college was completely filled, and the earnest attention with which the eminent lecturer was listened to, and the continual bursts of applause which greeted his simply chosen, but frequently eloquent, remarks, testified to the respect and esteem in which he is held, not only by the pupils of his own particular class, but also by the masters and students generally." Mr. Ruskin was put through a kind of cross-examination by several of those present, who were anxious for a few words of guidance touching the course of reading to be adopted by men wishing to study standard authors, but whose time for so desirable a pursuit was naturally extremely limited. In fiction Mr. Ruskin recommended the earnest perusal of Le Sage, Scott, and Balzac; while in the drama he advised his pupils to study the works of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Molière.

"On the subject of art the lecturer was peculiarly diffuse, and in many of his similes and illustrations was singularly happy. He cautioned the drawing students against the too attractive charms of colouring, and strenuously advised them to cultivate the breadth and freedom only to be obtainable by outline drawing and sketching from Nature herself.

"In reply to a question touching upon the present distress in the manufacturing districts, and the best means for ameliorating the same, the lecturer launched forth into lucid explanation of his own views upon political economy; and, returning to the subject of the question, gave it as his opinion that in all sudden cases of national calamity, the best means for assuaging the sufferings of one's fellow-creatures 'were those which were the most feasible at the time.'" According to an article in the *Morning Star* of December 4, 1862 (which, however, did "not give these as Mr. Ruskin's exact words"), "he observed that he himself had been long endeavouring to teach the true principles of political economy to the manufacturers and employees of Lancashire, and he thought it hard that if they would not learn he should now be invited to put his hand in his pocket and pay for the consequences of their wilful ignorance."]

you considered what is to be done finally with unfeedable mouths? 'Send them to be fed elsewhere,' do you say? Have you, then, formed any opinion as to the time at which emigration should begin, or the countries to which it should preferably take place, or the kind of population which should be left at home? Have you planned the permanent state which you would wish England to hold, emigrating over her edges, like a full well, constantly? How full would you have her be of people, first? and of what sort of people? Do you want her to be nothing but a large workshop and forge, so that the name of 'Englishman' shall be synonymous with 'ironmonger,' all over the world?[1] or would you like to keep some of your lords and landed gentry still, and a few green fields and trees?

11. "You know well enough that there is not one of these questions, I do not say which you can answer, but which you have ever *thought* of answering; and yet you want to have voices in Parliament! Your voices are not worth a rat's squeak,[2] either in Parliament or out of it, till you have some ideas to utter with them; and when you

[1] [Compare Vol. VII. p. 425, and *Unto this Last*, § 81 (above, p. 110).]

[2] [The following letter, written to Mr. Clair J. Grece, LL.D., refers to this passage:—

"DENMARK HILL, S.E., *September* 20, 1869.

"MY DEAR SIR,—My cousin, Mr. Richardson, brought me this morning your pamphlet on negative voting, and showed me your letter. I have looked at the pamphlet with attention; but I am sorry to tell you I take no interest in its subject. I hardly know why you wished me to look at it. If you have read any of my late works (any of my political works at all, lately or long since written) you must have seen that they all speak with supreme contempt of the 'British Constitution,' of elections and popular opinion, and, above all, of 'Liberty.' In *Time and Tide* I have told my working-men friends frankly that their opinions, or voices, are 'not worth a rat's squeak.' How should I care for the methods of their registering?

"As far as I can judge, there are several very true remarks and useful suggestions in what you have advanced in this pamphlet, but the wisest system of voting that human brains could devise would be of no use as long as the majority of the voters were fools, which is manifestly as yet the fact.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, very truly yours,
"J. RUSKIN."

This letter was published in the *Times*, January 24, 1900. The pamphlet referred to is entitled *Upon Negative Votes: a Contribution towards the Discussion of the Means of Perfecting the Electoral System* (1869).]

have the thoughts, you will not want to utter them, for you will see that your way to the fulfilling of them does not lie through speech. You think such matters need debating about? By all means debate about them; but debate among yourselves, and with such honest helpers of your thoughts as you can find; if by that way you cannot get at the truth, do you suppose you could get at it sooner in the House of Commons, where the only aim of many of the members would be to refute every word uttered in your favour; and where the settlement of any question whatever depends merely on the perturbations of the balance of conflicting interests?"

12. That was, in main particulars, what I then said to the men of the Working Men's College; and in this recurrent agitation about Reform, that is what I would steadfastly say again. Do you think it is only under the lacquered splendours of Westminster,—you working men of England,—that your affairs can be rationally talked over? You have perfect liberty and power to talk over, and establish for yourselves, whatever laws you please; so long as you do not interfere with other people's liberties or properties. Elect a parliament of your own. Choose the best men among you, the best at least you can find, by whatever system of election you think likeliest to secure such desirable result. Invite trustworthy persons of other classes to join your council; appoint time and place for its stated sittings, and let this parliament,[1] chosen after your own hearts, deliberate upon the possible modes of the regulation of industry, and advisablest schemes for helpful discipline of life; and so lay before you the best laws they can devise, which such of you as were wise might submit to, and teach their children to obey. And if any of the laws thus determined appear to be inconsistent with the present circumstances or customs of trade, do not make a

[1] [The Trade Union Congress, often described as "The Parliament of Labour," first assembled in the year after this passage was written (at Manchester in 1868).]

noise about them, nor try to enforce them suddenly on others, nor embroider them on flags, nor call meetings in parks about them, in spite of railings and police; but keep them in your thoughts and sight, as objects of patient purpose and future achievement by peaceful strength.

13. For you need not think that even if you obtained a majority of representatives in the existing parliament, you could immediately compel any system of business, broadly contrary to that now established by custom. If you could pass laws to-morrow, wholly favourable to yourselves, as you might think, because unfavourable to your masters, and to the upper classes of society,—the only result would be that the riches of the country would at once leave it, and you would perish in riot and famine. Be assured that no great change for the better can ever be easily accomplished, or quickly; nor by impulsive, ill-regulated effort, nor by bad men; nor even by good men, without much suffering. The suffering must, indeed, come, one way or another, in all greatly critical periods; the only question, for us, is whether we will reach our ends (if we ever reach them) through a chain of involuntary miseries, many of them useless, and all ignoble; or whether we will know the worst at once, and deal with it by the wisely sharp methods of Godsped courage.

14. This, I repeat to you, it is wholly in your own power to do, but it is in your power on one condition only, that of steadfast truth to yourselves, and to all men. If there is not, in the sum of it, honesty enough among you to teach you to frame, and strengthen you to obey, *just* laws of trade, there is no hope left for you. No political constitution can ennoble knaves; no privileges can assist them; no possessions enrich them. Their gains are occult curses; comfortless loss their truest blessing; failure and pain Nature's only mercy to them. Look to it, therefore, first, that you get some wholesome honesty for the foundation of all things. Without the resolution in your hearts to do good work, so long as your right hands have motion in

them; and to do it whether the issue be that you die or live, no life worthy the name will ever be possible to you, while, in once forming the resolution that your work is to be well done, life is really won, here and for ever. And to make your children capable of such resolution, is the beginning of all true education, of which I have more to say in a future letter.[1]

[1] [See below, Letter xvi.; and on the ethical basis of education, compare the Preface to *Unto this Last* (above, p. 21 *n.*).]

LETTER IV

The Expenses for Art and for War

February 19, 1867.

15. In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of yesterday, second column of second page, you will find, close to each other, two sentences which bear closely on matters in hand. The first of these is the statement, that in the debate on the grant for the Blacas collection,[1] "Mr. Bernal Osborne got an assenting cheer, when he said that 'whenever science and art were mentioned it was a sign to look after the national pockets.'" I want you to notice this fact, *i.e.*, (the debate in question being on a *total* grant of £164,000, of which £48,000 only were truly for art's sake, and the rest for shop's sake,) in illustration of a passage in my *Sesame and Lilies*,[2] pp. 81 and 82,* to which I shall have again to refer you, with some further comments, in the sequel of these letters.[3] The second passage is to the effect that "The Trades' Union Bill was read a second time,[4] after a claim from Mr. Hadfield, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Samuelson, to

* Appendix I. [p. 465].

[1] [This famous collection of classical and early Christian antiquities, formed by successive Dukes of Blacas, was acquired by the Museum in 1867. It was especially rich in coins and gems. Ruskin, no doubt, was specially interested in the matter through his friend, C. T. Newton (Vol. VIII. p. 239 *n.*), who, as Keeper of the Department of the Museum principally concerned, had negotiated the purchase.]

[2] [Ruskin's references were to the first edition; see now § 33 (Vol. XVIII. p. 87).]

[3] [See § 72; below, p. 378.]

[4] [This was a Bill for facilitating the proceedings of the Commission appointed (in consequence of repeated outrages in connexion with labour disputes) "to inquire respecting trades unions and other associations of employers and workmen." The Bill was read a second time on February 18, and received the royal assent on April 5, 1867 (30 Vic. c. 8).]

admit working men into the commission; to which Mr. Watkin answered 'that the working men's friend was too conspicuous in the body'; and Mr. Roebuck, 'that when a butcher was tried for murder it was not necessary to have butchers on the jury.'"

16. Note this second passage with respect to what I said in my last letter, as to the impossibility of the laws of work being investigated in the House of Commons. What admixture of elements, think you, would avail to obtain so much as decent hearing (how should we then speak of impartial judgment?) of the cause of working men, in an assembly which permits to one of its principal members this insolent discourtesy of language, in dealing with a preliminary question of the highest importance; and permits it as so far expressive of the whole colour and tone of its own thoughts, that the sentence is quoted by one of the most temperate and accurate of our daily journals, as representing the total answer of the opposite side in the debate? No! be assured you can do nothing yet at Westminster. You must have your own parliament, and if you cannot detect enough honesty among you to constitute a justly minded one, for the present matters must take their course, and that will be, yet awhile, to the worse.

17. I meant to have continued this subject, but I see two other statements in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of to-day, with which, and a single remark upon them, I think it will be well to close my present letter.

(1) "The total sum asked for in the army estimates, published this morning, is £14,752,200, being an increase of £412,000 over the previous year."

(2) "Yesterday the annual account of the navy receipts and expenditure for the year ending 31st March, 1866, was issued from the Admiralty. The expenditure was £10,268,115, 7s."

Omitting the seven shillings, and even the odd hundred-thousands of pounds, the net annual expenditure for army and navy appears to be twenty-four millions.

The "grant in science and art," two-thirds of which was not in reality for either, but for amusement and shop interests in the Paris Exhibition—the grant which the House of Commons feels to be indicative of general danger to the national pockets—is, as above stated, £164,000. Now, I believe the three additional ciphers which turn thousands into millions produce on the intelligent English mind usually the effect of—three ciphers. But calculate the proportion of these two sums, and then imagine to yourself the beautiful state of rationality of any private gentleman, who, having regretfully spent £164 on pictures for his walls, paid willingly £24,000 annually to the policeman who looked after his shutters! You practical English!—will you ever unbar the shutters of your brains, and hang a picture or two in *those* state-chambers?

LETTER V[1]

The Corruption of Modern Pleasure.—(Covent Garden Pantomime)

February 25, 1867.[2]

18. THERE is this great advantage in the writing real letters, that the direct correspondence is a sufficient reason for saying, in or out of order, everything that the chances of the day bring into one's head, in connection with the matter in hand; and as such things very usually go out of one's head again, after they get tired of their lodging, they would otherwise never get said at all. And thus to-day, quite out of order, but in very close connection with another part of

[1] [This letter was also sent to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, where it appeared with the following covering letter on March 1, 1867:—

AT THE PLAY

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"

"SIR,—I am writing a series of private letters on matters of political economy to a working man in Newcastle, without objecting to his printing them, but writing just as I should if they were for his eye only. I necessarily take copies of them for reference, and the one I sent him last Monday seems to me not unlikely to interest some of your readers who care about modern drama. So I send you the copy of it to use if you like.
Truly yours, J. RUSKIN.

"DENMARK HILL, *Feb.* 28, 1867."

This covering letter was reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 270. Mr. Frederick Greenwood, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* at that time, quoted some passages from the following letter (those referring to the Japanese jugglers), in the course of an article entitled "The Makers of a New World," in *The Pilot* of March 5, 1904.]

[2] [The letter, as sent to Mr. Dixon, began as follows:—

"I have yours of the 22nd, and I think all you propose about printing, etc., very right; and I am heartily obliged to you for your kind offer to copy the passages here and there referred to, but it will not be necessary for you to do that work; as you wish to have them, I will get them copied here, and send them with the letters: sometimes there may be bits to be added from other places, or without harm omitted, which I can see to better than I can direct you what to take sentence by sentence.

"There is this great advantage . . . "]

our subject, I am going to tell you what I was thinking on Friday evening last, in Covent Garden Theatre, as I was looking, and not laughing, at the pantomime of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves."

When you begin seriously to consider the question referred to in my second letter, of the essential, and in the outcome inviolable, connection between quantity of wages, and quantity of work, you will see that "wages" in the full sense don't mean "pay" merely, but the reward, whatever it may be, of pleasure as well as profit, and of various other advantages, which a man is meant by Providence to get during life, for work well done. Even limiting the idea to "pay," the question is not so much what quantity of coin you get, as—what you can get for it when you have it. Whether a shilling a day be good pay or not, depends wholly on what a "shilling's worth" is; that is to say, what quantity of the things you want may be had for a shilling. And that again depends, and a great deal more than that depends, on what you *do* want. If only drink, and foul clothes, such and such pay may be enough for you; if you want good meat and good clothes, you must have larger wage; if clean rooms and fresh air, larger still, and so on. You say, perhaps, "every one wants these better things." So far from that, a wholesome taste for cleanliness and fresh air is one of the final attainments of humanity. There are now not many European gentlemen, even in the highest classes, who have a pure and right love of fresh air. They would put the filth of tobacco[1] even into the first breeze of a May morning.

19. But there are better things even than these, which one may want. Grant that one has good food, clothes, lodging, and breathing, is that all the pay one ought to have for one's work? Wholesome means of existence and

[1] [Ruskin regarded tobacco as "the worst natural curse of modern civilization" (*Queen of the Air*, § 76), and constantly inveighed against it—as destroying delicacy of perception of natural scents and leading to "filthy" habits (*Love's Meinie*, § 134, and *Proserpina*, i. ch. vi. § 5). See, for instance, *Munera Pulveris*, § 65 *n.* (above, p. 190); *Art of England*, § 198; and *Præterita*, i. § 57.]

nothing more? Enough, perhaps, you think, if everybody could get these. It may be so; I will not, at this moment, dispute it; nevertheless, I will boldly say that you should sometimes want more than these; and for one of many things more, you should want occasionally to be amused![1]

You know, the upper classes, most of them, want to be amused all day long. They think

> "One moment *un*amused a misery
> Not made for feeble men."[2]

Perhaps you have been in the habit of despising them for this; and thinking how much worthier and nobler it was to work all day, and care at night only for food and rest, than to do no useful thing all day, eat unearned food, and spend the evening, as the morning, in "change of follies and relays of joy."[3] No, my good friend, that is one of the fatallest deceptions. It is not a noble thing, in sum and issue of it, not to care to be amused. It is indeed a far higher *moral* state, but is a much lower *creature* state, than that of the upper classes.

20. Yonder poor horse,[4] calm slave in daily chains at the railroad siding, who drags the detached rear of the train to the front again, and slips aside so deftly as the buffers meet; and, within eighteen inches of death every ten minutes, fulfils his changeless duty all day long, content, for eternal reward, with his night's rest, and his champed mouthful of hay;—anything more earnestly moral and beautiful one cannot image—I never see the creature without a kind of worship. And yonder musician, who used the greatest power which (in the art he knew) the Father of spirits ever yet breathed into the clay of this world;[5]

[1] [On the need of recreation, see *Stones of Venice,* vol. iii. (Vol. XI. pp. 152 *seq.*).]
[2] [Young's *Night Thoughts,* ii. 246.]
[3] [*Ibid.,* ii. 250.]
[4] [On the pathos of the horse, compare *Modern Painters,* vol. iv. (Vol. VI. p. 415).]
[5] [For another passage in which Ruskin expresses his admiration for Mozart, see *Præterita,* iii. § 78 (Mozart "wrote the laws of melody for all the world irrevocably"); with which passage compare the incidental references in *Seven Lamps* (Vol. VIII. p. 163), *Elements of Drawing,* § 192 (Vol. XV. p. 163), and *Modern Painters,* vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 210). See also General Index.]

—who used it, I say, to follow and fit with perfect sound the words of the "Zauberflöte" and of "Don Giovanni"—foolishest and most monstrous of conceivable human words and subjects of thought—for the future "amusement" of his race!—No such spectacle of unconscious (and in that unconsciousness all the more fearful) moral degradation of the highest faculty to the lowest purpose can be found in history. But Mozart is nevertheless a nobler creature than the horse at the siding; nor would it be the least nearer the purpose of his Maker that he, and all his frivolous audiences, should evade the degradation of the profitless piping, only by living, like horses, in daily physical labour for daily bread.

21. There are three things to which man is born*—labour, and sorrow, and joy. Each of these three things has its baseness and its nobleness. There is base labour, and noble labour. There is base sorrow, and noble sorrow. There is base joy, and noble joy. But you must not think to avoid the corruption of these things by doing without the things themselves. Nor can any life be right that has not all three. Labour without joy is base. Labour without sorrow is base. Sorrow without labour is base. Joy without labour is base.

22. I dare say you think I am a long time in coming to the pantomime; I am not ready to come to it yet in due course, for we ought to go and see the Japanese jugglers first, in order to let me fully explain to you what I mean. But I can't write much more to-day; so I shall merely tell you what part of the play set me thinking of all this, and leave you to consider of it yourself, till I can send you another letter. The pantomime was, as I said, "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves." The forty thieves were girls. The forty thieves had forty companions, who were girls. The forty thieves and their forty companions were in some way mixed up with about four hundred and forty fairies, who

* I ask the reader's thoughtful attention to this paragraph, on which much of what else I have to say depends.

were girls. There was an Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, in which the Oxford and Cambridge men were girls. There was a transformation scene, with a forest, in which the flowers were girls, and a chandelier, in which the lamps were girls, and a great rainbow which was all of girls.

23. Mingled incongruously with these seraphic, and, as far as my boyish experience extends, novel, elements of pantomime, there were yet some of its old and fast-expiring elements. There were, in speciality, two thoroughly good pantomime actors—Mr. W. H. Payne and Mr. Frederick Payne.[1] All that these two did, was done admirably. There were two subordinate actors, who played, subordinately well, the fore and hind legs of a donkey. And there was a little actress of whom I have chiefly to speak, who played exquisitely the little part she had to play. The scene in which she appeared was the only one in the whole pantomime in which there was any dramatic effort, or, with a few rare exceptions, any dramatic possibility. It was the home scene, in which Ali Baba's wife, on washing day, is called upon by butcher, baker, and milkman, with unpaid bills; and in the extremity of her distress hears her husband's knock at the door, and opens it for him to drive in his donkey, laden with gold. The children who have been beaten instead of getting breakfast, presently share in the raptures of their father and mother; and the little lady I spoke of, eight or nine years old,—dances a *pas-de-deux* with the donkey.

24. She did it beautifully and simply, as a child ought to dance. She was not an infant prodigy; there was no evidence, in the finish or strength of her motion, that she had been put to continual torture through half her eight or nine years. She did nothing more than any child, well taught, but painlessly, might easily do. She caricatured no older person,—attempted no curious or fantastic skill. She was dressed decently,—she moved decently,—she looked and

[1] [William Henry Schofield Payne (1804–1878), a well-known actor and pantomimist, and his younger son, Frederick Payne (1841–1880). There is an account of both of them in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.]

behaved innocently,—and she danced her joyful dance with perfect grace, spirit, sweetness, and self-forgetfulness. And through all the vast theatre, full of English fathers and mothers and children, there was not one hand lifted to give her sign of praise but mine.

Presently after this, came on the forty thieves, who, as I told you, were girls; and, there being no thieving to be presently done, and time hanging heavy on their hands, arms, and legs, the forty thief-girls proceeded to light forty cigars. Whereupon the British public gave them a round of applause. Whereupon I fell a thinking; and saw little more of the piece, except as an ugly and disturbing dream.[1]

[1] [Compare *Præterita*, iii. § 84 *n.*, where Ruskin cites the present passage.]

LETTER VI

The Corruption of Modern Pleasure.—(The Japanese Jugglers)

February 28, 1867.

25. I HAVE your pleasant letter with references to Frederick. I will look at them carefully.* Mr. Carlyle himself will be pleased to hear this letter when he comes home. I heard from him last week at Mentone. He is well, and glad of the light and calm of Italy.[1] I must get back to the evil light and uncalm, of the places I was taking you through.

* Appendix 2 [p. 466].

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[1] [Mrs. Carlyle had died in 1866. At Christmas time Tyndall took him to the Riviera, where he spent some months in Lady Ashburton's villa at Mentone. The letter to Ruskin here referred to was as follows :—

"MENTONE, *February 15th*, 1867.

"DEAR RUSKIN,—If the few bits of letters I have written from this place had gone by the *natural* priority and sequence, this would have been the first, or among the very first :—and indeed it is essentially so,—the first that I have written except upon compulsion, or in answer to something written. My aversion to writing is at all times great. But I begin to feel a great want of hearing some news from you, at least of hearing that you are not fallen *unwell;* and there is no other method of arousing you to your duty.

"I have done passably well since getting out hither; and cannot but count it a kind of benefit that the impetuous Tyndall tore me out from the sleety mud-abysses of London, as if by the hair of the head; and dropped me here, on a shore where there is at least clean air to breathe, and a climate that is bright and cheerful to move about in,—and where, if frost did fall, and the streets became all of glass, people would *not* be 'fined for throwing ashes before their door,' and trying to *save* one's bones or brains from being broken if one ventured out! That is really hitherto the most unmanageable, or almost the one unmanageable point for me in the problem of my London Winter: compelled to take no exercise except under peril of life or limb:—'most thinking people,' was there ever the match of you for a power of 'common sense' especially!

"I dare say you have been here; and description of scenery, locality, etc., would be quite thrown away on you. From Antibes on the west to Bordighera on the east, a stretch of perhaps forty miles diameter, is a beautiful semicircular *alcove*, guarded by the maritime Alps from all bad winds; included in this *big* bay (or alcove) are five or six smaller ones,—of which *Mentone*, towards Bordighera, is the last but one:—no climate, you perceive, can have a better chance to be *good:* and indeed, ever since Christmas last, when I arrived, it has far surpassed all my expectations, or requirements in that particular—rather *too* hot for most part, and driving me into the olive woods and shaggy ravines, if the sun is still high. One's paths there are steep exceedingly and rough exceedingly (donkey paths for the country people, paved into dreadful *stairs* in the bad places), but they are silent, solitary; a walk there is soothing to one's sad thoughts instead of irritating, and does one good, though of a mournful kind. As to 'scenery,' you know me to care next to nothing for it; but I must own, these pinnacles that *stud* the back of *our* little Mentone 'alcove,' for example, are the strangest and grandest things of the mountain kind I ever saw; bare rocks, sharp as icicles, jagged as if hewn by lightning; most

(Parenthetically, did you see the article in the *Times* of yesterday on bribery,[1] and the conclusion of the commission—"No one sold any opinions, for no one had any opinions to sell"?)

Both on Thursday and Friday last I had been tormented by many things, and wanted to disturb my course of thought any way I could. I have told you what entertainment I got on Friday, first, for it was then that I began meditating over these letters; let me tell you now what entertainment I found on Thursday.

26. You may have heard that a company of Japanese jugglers has come over to exhibit in London. There has long been an increasing interest in Japanese art, which has been very harmful to many of our own painters, and I greatly desired to see what these people were, and what they did.[2] Well, I have seen Blondin, and various English and

grim, perilous, cruel: 'sitting there,' I sometimes say, 'like so many witches of Endor, *naked* to the waist, but therefrom with the amplest *petticoats* of dark or bright green' (for all is terraced, and covered with olives, or oranges and lemons, down almost to the sea),—a really fine scene, especially at morning and evening in light and shade, under a sky so clear and pure; scene which I never yet raise my eyes to without something of surprise and recognition.

"The worst of my existence here is that I am thoroughly idle,—for the 'work' I try at intervals is a mockery of work; and my real task is to walk about four or five miles every day, and to guard myself vigilantly from being bored by surrounding black heads. For we are about eight hundred here; and none of us has really anything to do. Patience, Vigilance,—and shirk off into the olive woods!

"Often I begin to think of my route home again, and what I shall next do there. Alas, all is abstruse and gloomy on that latter head; but surely something should and must be settled as to all that too; while the days are, and any remnant of strength is, one ought not to wander in mere sadness of soul doing nothing. The only point I look forward to with any fixed satisfaction yet, is that of having Ruskin again every Wednesday evening, and tasting a little human conversation once in the week, if oftener be not practicable! But the very time of my returning is uncertain, though I care not for your March tempests, and perhaps had better be at Chelsea even now: but there are grand speculations about seeing Rome first, Genoa at least and Florence first—and many attempts to awaken my appetite that way, hitherto without success perceptible. It is strange how one's love of travel perfects itself by simply sitting still, if one can do that long enough.

"Adieu, my Friend: I want a little Note from you *quam primum*. I send many regards to the good and dear old lady: and am ever,

"Yours gratefully,

"T. CARLYLE."]

[1] [A leading article on the Reports of the Yarmouth and Reigate Election Commissions; both boroughs were disfranchised on account of habitual and systematic bribery and corruption.]

[2] [At this time, it will be remembered (as Mr. Greenwood says in the article referred to on p. 333 *n.*), "although the deftness of Japanese art, the almost unaccountable touch of genius upon all manner of Japanese work, were a wondering excitement in European studios, there were no distinct conceptions of the people of Japan." For other references by Ruskin to Japanese art, see *Queen of the Air*, § 94 *n.*, where it is said that the pure colour-gift of the Japanese has stayed intellectual progress in their art; *Aratra Pentelici*, § 207, where the element of

French circus work, but never yet anything that surprised me so much as one of these men's exercises on a suspended pole. Its special character was a close approximation to the action and power of the monkey; even to the prehensile power in the foot; so that I asked a sculptor-friend who sat in front of me, whether he thought such a grasp could be acquired by practice, or indicated difference in race. He said he thought it might be got by practice. There was also much inconceivably dexterous work in spinning of tops, —making them pass in balanced motion along the edge of a sword, and along a level string, and the like;—the father performing in the presence of his two children, who encouraged him continually with short, sharp cries, like those of animals. Then there was some fairly good sleight-of-hand juggling of little interest; ending with a dance by the juggler, first as an animal, and then as a goblin. Now, there was this great difference between the Japanese masks used in this dance and our common pantomime masks for beasts and demons,—that our English masks are only stupidly and loathsomely ugly, by exaggeration of feature, or of defect of feature. But the Japanese masks (like the frequent monsters of Japanese art) were inventively frightful, like fearful dreams; and whatever power it is that acts on human minds, enabling them to invent such, appears to me not only to deserve the term "demoniacal," as the only word expressive of its character; but to be logically capable of no other definition.

27. The impression, therefore, produced upon me by the whole scene, was that of being in the presence of human creatures of a partially inferior race, but not without great human gentleness, domestic affection, and ingenious intellect; who were, nevertheless, as a nation, afflicted by an evil

cruelty is noted "in the intensely Daedal work of the Japanese." Compare *Art of England*, § 104; and *ibid.*, § 52, where the limitations of the "literally imitative dexterities of Japan" are noted. See also *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 65, *ad fin.*, where Ruskin records the acceptance for his Museum at Sheffield of some pieces of Japanese inlaid work "of quite unsurpassable beauty."]

spirit, and driven by it to recreate themselves in achieving, or beholding the achievement, through years of patience, of a certain correspondence with the nature of the lower animals.

28. These, then, were the two forms of diversion or recreation of my mind possible to me, in two days, when I needed such help, in this metropolis of England. I might, as a rich man, have had better music, if I had so chosen, though, even so, not rational or helpful; but a poor man could only have these, or worse than these, if he cared for any manner of spectacle. (I am not at present, observe, speaking of pure acting, which is a study, and recreative only as a noble book is; but of means of *mere* amusement.)

Now, lastly, in illustration of the effect of these and other such "amusements," and of the desire to obtain them, on the minds of our youth, read the *Times* correspondent's letter from Paris, in the tenth page of the paper, to-day;* and that will be quite enough for you to read, for the present, I believe.

* Appendix 3 [p. 468].

LETTER VII

Of the various Expressions of National Festivity

March 4, 1867.

29. THE subject which I want to bring before you is now branched, and worse than branched, reticulated, in so many directions, that I hardly know which shoot of it to trace, or which knot to lay hold of first.

I had intended to return to those Japanese jugglers, after a visit to a theatre in Paris; but I had better, perhaps, at once tell you the piece of the performance which, in connection with the scene in the English pantomime, bears most on matters in hand.

It was also a dance by a little girl—though one older than Ali Baba's daughter, (I suppose a girl of twelve or fourteen). A dance, so called, which consisted only in a series of short, sharp contractions and jerks of the body and limbs, resulting in attitudes of distorted and quaint ugliness, such as might be produced in a puppet by sharp twitching of strings at its joints: these movements being made to the sound of two instruments, which between them accomplished only a quick vibratory beating and strumming, in nearly the time of a hearth-cricket's song, but much harsher, and of course louder, and without any sweetness; only in the monotony and aimless construction of it, reminding one of various other insect and reptile cries or warnings: partly of the cicala's hiss; partly of the little melancholy German frog which says "Mu, mu, mu," all summer-day long, with its nose out of the pools by Dresden and Leipsic; and partly of the deadened quivering and intense continuousness of the alarm of the rattlesnake.

While this was going on, there was a Bible text repeating itself over and over again in my head, whether I would or no:—"And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances."[1] To which text and some others, I shall ask your attention presently;[2] but I must go to Paris first.

30. Not at once, however, to the theatre, but to a bookseller's shop,[3] No. 4, Rue Voltaire, where, in the year 1858, was published the fifth edition of Balzac's *Contes Drôlatiques*, illustrated by 425 designs by Gustave Doré.[4]

Both text and illustrations are as powerful as it is ever in the nature of evil things to be—(there is no *final* strength but in rightness). Nothing more witty, nor more inventively horrible, has yet been produced in the evil literature, or by the evil art, of man:[5] nor can I conceive it possible

[1] [Exodus xv. 20.]

[2] [See below, §§ 39, 40, pp. 351, 352.]

[3] [The letter, as originally published, adds "that of M. Adolphe de la Hays."]

[4] [The vogue of Gustave Doré was to Ruskin a sign and symptom of degradation in the taste of the time. Compare below, § 47, where Ruskin refers as a terrible sign of the times to the selection of Doré to illustrate the Bible; and § 102, where, in further reference to the *Contes Drôlatiques*, he criticises the same artist's illustrations to *Elaine*. See also *Sesame and Lilies*, § 122, where Doré's art is pronounced "enraging and polluting," and admiration of it fatal to "perception of pure or beautiful art." See also in Vol. XIX. *The Study of Architecture*, § 14, and *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 66; Epilogue to *Stones of Venice* (Vol. XI. p. 234); and *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 29, 34, 79.]

[5] [A mutilated quotation from this passage—namely, "'The illustrations to the *Contes Drôlatiques* are full of power and inventiveness. . . . Nothing more witty, nor more inventively horrible, has yet been produced.' John Ruskin in *Time and Tide by Weare and Tyne*"—in the catalogue of a firm of publishers who were issuing an edition of Doré's *Contes Drôlatiques*, caused Ruskin to write the following letters (which are here printed from copies of them preserved among his papers):—

"Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire,
12*th March*, 1874.

"Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

"Gentlemen,—My attention has been directed to a quotation from my *Time and Tide*, inserted in a recent catalogue of yours under the announcement of a translation of the *Contes Drôlatiques* of Balzac, illustrated by Gustave Doré.

"As your suppression of the context in that sentence is calculated to do much injury to me, and more to the public, I must beg you in your next catalogue to publish this letter, and either withdraw from your catalogue the mutilated quotation, or to complete it from the point where you have unjustifiably inserted a period, adding to the words you have used—namely,

to go beyond either in their specialities of corruption. The text is full of blasphemies, subtle, tremendous, hideous in shamelessness, some put into the mouths of priests; the illustrations are, in a word, one continuous revelry in the most loathsome and monstrous aspects of death and sin, enlarged into fantastic ghastliness of caricature, as if seen through the distortion and trembling of the hot smoke of the mouth of hell. Take this following for a general type of what they seek in death: one of the most laboured designs is of a

> "nothing more witty nor more inventively horrible has yet been produced" —the remainder of the clause, namely, "in the evil literature or by the art of man: nor can I conceive it possible to go beyond either in their specialities of corruption."
>
> "I am, Gentlemen,
> "Your obedient servant,
> "J. Ruskin."
>
> "Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire,
> 14*th March*, '74.
>
> "Messrs. Chatto & Windus.
>
> "Gentlemen,—I beg to acknowledge your favour of yesterday's date: but you take no notice in it of the requirement in my letter of the 12th, that you should publish that letter itself, word for word. I am compelled to insist upon this in the present case, as the enclosed copy of a letter, received to-day by the same post with your's from a Fellow of Merton College, may, sufficiently show you.*
>
> "In the event of your refusal I have no other course than to publish this correspondence in next month's *Fors Clavigera*, with such comments as may seem to me needful. And although in any case I must notice the matter in *Fors*, your own publication of my former letter will enable me to do so in a manner which would be more agreeable to myself; and which I am confident would make your compliance with my present request not ultimately injurious to you. In the event of your judging otherwise—all I can say is that I think you will regret it afterwards.
>
> "I am, Gentlemen,
> "Your obedient servant,
> "J. Ruskin.
>
> "*P.S.*—I am compelled to require that my letter should be printed in every catalogue you issue during the ensuing month, April. Even so, you will scarcely undo the mischief you have done by feigning my authority for praise of such a book as the *Contes Drôlatiques*.
>
> "And let me finally, in friendship to the second partner in your firm, recommend you, as respectable publishers, to *burn* every copy of the book you have printed. You would not ultimately lose by such an act of Honour."
>
> * This copy will be sent to-morrow.

The matter was not noticed in *Fors Clavigera;* so, presumably, the dispute was adjusted. The mutilated passage which had appeared in the publishers' advertisements in the *Athenæum* of March 7 and 14 was withdrawn in that of March 21; and in the catalogue of 1875 the book was no longer announced.]

man cut in two, downwards, by the sweep of a sword—one half of him falls towards the spectator; the other half is elaborately drawn in its section—giving the profile of the divided nose and lips; cleft jaw—breast—and entrails; and this is done with farther pollution and horror of intent in the circumstances, which I do not choose to describe—still less some other of the designs which seek for fantastic extreme of sin, as this for the utmost horror of death. But of all the 425, there is not one, which does not violate every instinct of decency and law of virtue or life, written in the human soul.

31. Now, my friend, among the many "Signs of the Times" the production of a book like this is a significant one: but it becomes more significant still when connected with the farther fact, that M. Gustave Doré, the designer of this series of plates, has just been received with loud acclaim by the British Evangelical Public, as the fittest and most able person whom they could at present find to illustrate, to their minds, and recommend with grace of sacred art, their hitherto unadorned Bible for them.[1]

Of which Bible, and of the use we at present make of it in England, having a grave word or two to say in my next letter (preparatory to the examination of that verse which haunted me through the Japanese juggling, and of some others also), I leave you first this sign of the public esteem of it to consider at your leisure.

[1] [*The Holy Bible, with Illustrations by Gustave Doré*, 2 vols.: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1866–1870; originally published in cheap monthly parts.]

LETTER VIII

The Four possible Theories respecting the Authority of the Bible

March 7, 1867.

32. I HAVE your yesterday's letter, but must not allow myself to be diverted from the business in hand for this once, for it is the most important of which I have to write to you.

You must have seen long ago that the essential difference between the political economy I am trying to teach, and the popular science, is, that mine is based on *presumably attainable honesty* in men, and conceivable respect in them for the interests of others, while the popular science founds itself wholly on their supposed constant regard for their own, and on their honesty only so far as thereby likely to be secured.

It becomes, therefore, for me, and for all who believe anything I say, a quite primal question on what this presumably attainable honesty is to be based.

33. "Is it to be based on religion?" you may ask. "Are we to be honest for fear of losing heaven if we are dishonest, or (to put it as generously as we may) for fear of displeasing God? Or, are we to be honest on speculation, because honesty is the best policy;[1] and to invest in virtue as in an undepreciable stock?"

And my answer is—not in any hesitating or diffident way (and you know, my friend, that whatever people may say of me, I often do speak diffidently;[2] though, when I am diffident of things, I like to avoid speaking of them, if it

[1] [See *Munera Pulveris*, § 104 (above, p. 228).]
[2] [Compare Vol. VII. p. 144.]

may be; but here I say with no shadow of doubt)—your honesty is *not* to be based either on religion or policy. Both your religion and policy must be based on *it*. Your honesty must be based, as the sun is, in vacant heaven; poised, as the lights in the firmament, which have rule over the day and over the night.[1] If you ask why you are to be honest—you are, in the question itself, dishonoured. "Because you are a man," is the only answer; and therefore I said in a former letter[2] that to make your children *capable of honesty* is the beginning of education. Make them men first, and religious men afterwards, and all will be sound; but a knave's religion is always the rottenest thing about him.

34. It is not, therefore, because I am endeavouring to lay down a foundation of religious concrete, on which to build piers of policy, that you so often find me quoting Bible texts in defence of this or that principle or assertion.[3] But the fact that such references are an offence, as I know them to be, to many of the readers of these political essays, is one among many others, which I would desire you to reflect upon (whether you are yourself one of the offended or not), as expressive of the singular position which the mind of the British public has at present taken with respect to its worshipped Book. The positions, honestly tenable, before I use any more of its texts, I must try to define for you.

35. All the theories possible to theological disputants respecting the Bible are resolvable into four, and four only.

(1.) The first is that of the illiterate modern religious world, that every word of the book known to them as "The Bible" was dictated by the Supreme Being, and is in every syllable of it His "Word."

This theory is of course tenable by no ordinarily well-educated person.

[1] [Genesis i. 16.]

[2] [See above, § 14, p. 329.]

[3] [See *Modern Painters*, vol. iv. (Vol. VI. p. 458); *Two Paths*, § 178 (Vol. XVI. p. 397); and *Unto this Last*, § 55 (above, p. 75).]

(2.) The second theory is, that, although admitting verbal error, the substance of the whole collection of books called the Bible is absolutely true, and furnished to man by Divine inspiration of the speakers and writers of it; and that every one who honestly and prayerfully seeks for such truth in it as is necessary for his salvation, will infallibly find it there.

This theory is that held by most of our good and upright clergymen, and the better class of the professedly religious laity.

(3.) The third theory is that the group of books which we call the Bible were neither written nor collected under any Divine guidance, securing them from substantial error; and that they contain, like all other human writings, false statements mixed with true, and erring thoughts mixed with just thoughts; but that they nevertheless relate, on the whole, faithfully, the dealings of the one God with the first races of man, and His dealings with them in aftertime through Christ: that they record true miracles, and bear true witness to the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

This is a theory held by many of the active leaders of modern thought.

(4.) The fourth, and last possible, theory is that the mass of religious Scripture contains merely the best efforts which we hitherto know to have been made by any of the races of men towards the discovery of some relations with the spiritual world; that they are only trustworthy as expressions of the enthusiastic visions or beliefs of earnest men oppressed by the world's darkness, and have no more authoritative claim on our faith than the religious speculations and histories of the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, and Indians; but are, in common with all these, to be reverently studied, as containing a portion, divinely appointed, of the best wisdom which human intellect, earnestly seeking for help from God, has hitherto been able to gather between birth and death.

This has been, for the last half-century, the theory of the soundest scholars and thinkers of Europe.

36. There is yet indeed one farther condition of incredulity attainable, and sorrowfully attained, by many men of powerful intellect—the incredulity, namely, of inspiration in any sense, or of help given by any Divine power to the thoughts of men.[1] But this form of infidelity merely indicates a natural incapacity for receiving certain emotions; though many honest and good men belong to this insentient class.[2]

37. The educated men, therefore, who may be seriously appealed to, in these days, on questions of moral responsibility, as modified by Scripture, are broadly divisible into three classes, severally holding the last three theories above stated.

Now, whatever power a passage from the statedly authoritative portions of the Bible may have over the mind of a person holding the fourth theory, it will have a proportionately greater over that of persons holding the third or the second. I, therefore, always imagine myself speaking to the fourth class of theorists. If I can persuade or influence *them*, I am logically sure of the others. I say "logically," for the actual fact, strange as it may seem, is that no persons are so little likely to submit to a passage of Scripture not to their fancy, as those who are most positive on the subject of its general inspiration.[3]

38. Addressing, then, this fourth class of thinkers, I would say to them, when asking them to enter on any subject of importance to national morals, or conduct, "This book, which has been the accepted guide of the moral intelligence of Europe for some fifteen hundred years, enforces certain simple laws of human conduct which you know have

[1] [On the theory of "the inspiration of all true members of the Church," see *Bible of Amiens*, iii. § 48.]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, reads:—

". . . certain emotions; and though . . . insentient class, they are not to be thought of except as more or less mechanical or animal forces, which must be dealt with by similar forces, not by reasoning."]

[3] [Here, again, compare *Bible of Amiens*, iii. § 41. See also *Ethics of the Dust*, § 59.]

also been agreed upon, in every main point, by all the religious, and by all the greatest profane writers, of every age and country. This book primarily forbids pride, lasciviousness, and covetousness; and you know that all great thinkers, in every nation of mankind, have similarly forbidden these mortal vices. This book enjoins truth, temperance, charity, and equity; and you know that every great Egyptian, Greek, and Indian, enjoins these also. You know besides, that through all the mysteries of human fate and history, this one great law of fate is written on the walls of cities or in their dust; written in letters of light, and letters of blood,—that where truth, temperance, and equity have been preserved, all strength, and peace, and joy have been preserved also;—that where lying, lasciviousness, and covetousness have been practised, there has followed an infallible, and, for centuries, irrecoverable ruin. And you know, lastly, that the observance of this common law of righteousness, commending itself to all the pure instincts of men, and fruitful in their temporal good, is by the religious writers of every nation, and chiefly in this venerated Scripture of ours, connected with some distinct hope of better life, and righteousness, to come.

39. "Let it not then offend you if, deducing principles of action first from the laws and facts of nature, I nevertheless fortify them also by appliance of the precepts, or suggestive and probable teachings of this Book, of which the authority is over many around you, more distinctly than over you, and which, confessing to be divine, *they*, at least, can only disobey at their mortal[1] peril."

On these grounds, and in this temper, I am in the habit of appealing to passages of Scripture in my writings on political economy; and in this temper I will ask you to consider with me some conclusions which appear to me derivable from that text about Miriam, which haunted me through the jugglery;[2] and from certain others.

[1] ["Mortal" in the newspapers; misprinted "moral" in all editions of the book.]

[2] [See above, § 29, p. 344.]

LETTER IX

The Use of Music and Dancing under the Jewish Theocracy, compared with their Use by the Modern French

March 10, 1867.

40. HAVING, I hope, made you now clearly understand with what feeling I would use the authority of the book which the British public, professing to consider sacred, have lately adorned for themselves with the work of the boldest violator of the instincts of human honour and decency known yet in art-history,[1] I will pursue by the help of that verse about Miriam, and some others, the subject which occupied my mind at both theatres, and to which, though in so apparently desultory manner, I have been nevertheless very earnestly endeavouring to lead you.

41. The going forth of the women of Israel after Miriam with timbrels and with dances,[2] was, as you doubtless remember, their expression of passionate triumph and thankfulness, after the full accomplishment of their deliverance from the Egyptians. That deliverance had been by the utter death of their enemies, and accompanied by stupendous miracle; no human creatures could in an hour of triumph be surrounded by circumstances more solemn. I am not going to try to excite your feelings about them. Consider only for yourself what that seeing of the Egyptians "dead upon the sea-shore"[3] meant to every soul that saw it. And then reflect that these intense emotions of mingled

[1] [The letter, as originally published, adds here:—
". . . art history (the meaning and further bearings of which fact I will endeavour presently to show you) . . ."
For this reference to Doré, see above, § 31, p. 346; and below, § 47, p. 357.]

[2] [Exodus xv. 20.]

[3] [Exodus xiv. 30, 31.]

horror, triumph, and gratitude were expressed, in the visible presence of the Deity, by music and dancing. If you answer that you do not believe the Egyptians so perished, or that God ever appeared in a pillar of cloud,[1] I reply, "Be it so—believe or disbelieve, as you choose;—This is yet assuredly the fact, that the author of the poem or fable of the Exodus supposed that, under such circumstances of Divine interposition as he had invented, the triumph of the Israelitish women would have been, and ought to have been, under the direction of a prophetess, expressed by music and dancing."

42. Nor was it possible that he should think otherwise, at whatever period he wrote; both music and dancing being, among all great ancient nations, an appointed and very principal part of the worship of the gods.[2]

And that very theatrical entertainment at which I sate thinking over these things for you—that pantomime, which depended throughout for its success on an appeal to the vices of the lower London populace, was, in itself, nothing but a corrupt remnant of the religious ceremonies which guided the most serious faiths of the Greek mind, and laid the foundation of their gravest moral and didactic—more forcibly so because at the same time dramatic—literature.

43. Returning to the Jewish history, you find soon afterwards this enthusiastic religious dance and song employed, in their more common and habitual manner, in the idolatries under Sinai;[3] but beautifully again and tenderly, after the triumph of Jephthah, "And behold his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances." Again, still more notably, at the triumph of David with Saul, "the women came out of all the cities of Israel,

[1] [Exodus xiii. 21; xiv. 19.]

[2] [On the place of music, in worship and education, see in Vol. XIX. *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 27, and *Queen of the Air*, § 42, and numerous passages in *Fors Clavigera* (see General Index). Similarly for dancing, see *Ethics of the Dust*, §§ 74–76; *Eagle's Nest*, §§ 13–14; *Love's Meinie*, § 24; *Præterita*, iii. § 84 *n.*; and, again, General Index.]

[3] [See Exodus xxxii. 18, 19; and for the following references, Judges xi. 34; 1 Samuel xviii. 6; 2 Samuel vi. 14; Luke xv. 25.]

singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music." And you have this joyful song and dance of the virgins of Israel not only incidentally alluded to in the most solemn passages of Hebrew religious poetry (as in Psalm lxviii. 24, 25, and Psalm cxlix. 2, 3), but approved, and the restoration of it promised as a sign of God's perfect blessing, most earnestly by the saddest of the Hebrew prophets, and in one of the most beautiful of all his sayings.

"The Lord hath appeared of old unto me, saying, 'Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love. Therefore, with loving-kindness have I drawn thee.—I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O Virgin of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and thou shalt go forth in dances with them that make merry,'" (Jer. xxxi. 3, 4; and compare verse 13). And finally, you have in two of quite the most important passages in the whole series of Scripture (one in the Old Testament, one in the New), the rejoicing in the repentance from, and remission of, sins, expressed by means of music and dancing, namely, in the rapturous dancing of David before the returning ark; and in the joy of the father's household at the repentance of the prodigal son.

44. I could put all this much better, and more convincingly, before you, if I were able to take any pains in writing at present; but I am not, as I told you; being weary and ill; neither do I much care now to use what, in the very truth, are but tricks of literary art, in dealing with this so grave subject. You see I write you my letter straightforward, and let you see all my scratchings out and puttings in; and if the way I say things shocks you, or any other reader of these letters, I cannot help it; this only I know, that what I tell you is true, and written more earnestly than anything I ever wrote with my best literary care; and that you will find it useful to think upon, however it be said. Now, therefore, to draw towards our conclusion. Supposing the Bible inspired, in any of

the senses above defined, you have in these passages a positively Divine authority for the use of song and dance, as a means of religious service, and expression of national thanksgiving. Supposing it not inspired, you have (taking the passages for as slightly authoritative as you choose) record in them, nevertheless, of a state of mind in a great nation, producing the most beautiful religious poetry and perfect moral law hitherto known to us, yet only expressible by them, to the fulfilment of their joyful passion, by means of processional dance and choral song.

45. Now I want you to contrast this state of religious rapture with some of our modern phases of mind in parallel circumstances. You see that the promise of Jeremiah's, "Thou shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry," is immediately followed by this, "Thou shalt yet *plant vines* upon the mountains of Samaria."[1] And again, at the yearly feast to the Lord in Shiloh, the dancing of the virgins was in the midst of the vineyards[2] (Judges xxi. 21), the feast of the vintage being in the south, as our harvest home in the north, a peculiar occasion of joy and thanksgiving. I happened to pass the autumn of 1863 in one of the great vine districts of Switzerland, under the slopes of the outlying branch of the Jura which limits the arable plain of the Canton Zurich, some fifteen miles north of Zurich itself. That city has always been a renowned stronghold of Swiss Protestantism, next in importance only to Geneva; and its evangelical zeal for the conversion of the Catholics of Uri, and endeavours to bring about that spiritual result by stopping the supplies of salt they needed to make their cheeses with, brought on (the Uri men reading their Matt. v. 13,[3] in a different sense) the battle of Keppel, and the death of the reformer Zwinglius.[4] The

[1] [Jeremiah xxxi. 4, 5.]

[2] [Compare *Unto this Last*, § 81; above, p. 110.]

[3] ["Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is therefore good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."]

[4] [Ruskin refers again to this incident in *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. vi. ch. ix. § 14; see the note on that passage (Vol. VII. p. 112).]

town itself shows the most gratifying signs of progress in all the modern arts and sciences of life. It is nearly as black as Newcastle—has a railroad station larger than the London terminus of the Chatham and Dover—fouls the stream of the Limmat as soon as it issues from the lake, so that you might even venture to compare the formerly simple and innocent Swiss river (I remember it thirty years ago—a current of pale green crystal) with the highly educated English streams of Weare or Tyne; and, finally, has as many French prints of dissolute tendency in its principal shop windows as if they had the privilege of opening on the Parisian Boulevards.

46. I was somewhat anxious to see what species of thanksgiving or exultation would be expressed at *their* vintage, by the peasantry in the neighbourhood of this much enlightened, evangelical, and commercial society. It consisted in two ceremonies only. During the day, the servants of the farms where the grapes had been gathered, collected in knots about the vineyards, and slowly fired horse-pistols, from morning to evening.[1] At night they got drunk, and staggered up and down the hill paths, uttering, at short intervals, yells and shrieks, differing only from the howling of wild animals by a certain intended and insolent discordance, only attainable by the malignity of debased human creatures.

47. I must not do the injustice to the Zurich peasantry of implying that this manner of festivity is peculiar to them. A year before, in 1862, I had formed the intention of living some years in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and had established myself experimentally on the eastern slope of the Mont Salève;[2] but I was forced to abandon my purpose at last, because I could not endure the rabid howling, on Sunday evenings, of the holiday-makers who came out from Geneva to get drunk in the mountain village. By the way, your last letter, with its extracts about our

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 35 (Vol. XVIII. p. 90), where Ruskin again refers to this incident.]

[2] [See the Introduction; above, p. lxxi.]

traffic in gin, is very valuable. I will come to that part of the business in a little while.[1] Meantime, my friend, note this, respecting what I have told you, that in the very centre of Europe, in a country which is visited for their chief pleasure by the most refined and thoughtful persons among all Christian nations—a country made by God's hand the most beautiful in the temperate regions of the earth, and inhabited by a race once capable of the sternest patriotism and simplest purity of life, your modern religion, in the very stronghold of it, has reduced the song and dance of ancient virginal thanksgiving to the howlings and staggerings of men betraying, in intoxication, a nature sunk more than half-way towards the beasts; and you will begin to understand why the Bible should have been "illustrated" by Gustave Doré.[2]

48. One word more is needful, though this letter is long already. The peculiar ghastliness of this Swiss mode of festivity is in its utter failure of joy; the paralysis and helplessness of a vice in which there is neither pleasure, nor art. But we are not, throughout Europe, wholly thus. There are such things, yet, as rapturous song and dance among us, though not indicative, by any means, of joy over repentant sinners. You must come back to Paris with me again. I had an evening to spare there, last summer, for investigation of theatres; and as there was nothing at any of them that I cared much about seeing, I asked a valet-de-place at Meurice's what people were generally going to. He said, "All the English went to see the *Lanterne Magique.*" I do not care to tell you what general entertainment I received in following, for once, the lead of my countrymen; but it closed with the representation of the characteristic dancing of all ages of the world; and the dance given as characteristic of modern time was the Cancan, which you will see alluded to in the extract

[1] [Dixon reverted to the subject in the course of subsequent correspondence and Ruskin answered him; see § 63 (below, p. 370).]

[2] [See above, p. 346.]

given in the note at page 92 of *Sesame and Lilies*.[1] "The ball terminated with a Devilish Chain and a Cancan of Hell, at seven in the morning." It was led by four principal dancers (who have since appeared in London in the *Huguenot Captain*), and it is many years since I have seen such perfect dancing, as far as finish and accuracy of art and fulness of animal power and fire are concerned. Nothing could be better done, in its own evil way; the object of the dance throughout being to express, in every gesture, the wildest fury of insolence and vicious passions possible to human creatures. So that you see, though, for the present, we find ourselves utterly incapable of a rapture of gladness or thanksgiving, the dance which is presented as characteristic of modern civilization is still rapturous enough —but it is with rapture of blasphemy.[2]

[1] [Ruskin's reference is to the first edition; see now § 36 *n*. For the cancan, see also *Munera Pulveris*, Preface, § 4 (above, p. 133), and *Bible of Amiens*, iv. § 41.]

[2] [The letter, as originally published in the newspapers, and the edition of 1867 add:—

> "Now, just read from the 17th to the 20th page of the Preface to *Sesame and Lilies*, and I will try to bring all these broken threads into some warp and woof, in my next two letters—if I cannot in one."

The reference was to the Preface added in the second (and retained in the third and in the fourth) edition. As in 1872 that Preface was no longer accessible, Ruskin withdrew the reference to it here; see now Vol. XVIII.]

LETTER X

The Meaning and Actual Operation of Satanic or Demoniacal Influence

March 16, 1867.

49.[1] You may gather from the facts given you in my last letter that, as the expression of true and holy gladness was in old time statedly offered up by men for a part of worship to God their Father, so the expression of false and unholy gladness is in modern times, with as much distinctness and plainness, asserted by them openly to be offered to another spirit: "Chain of the Devil," and "Cancan of Hell" being the names assigned to these modern forms of joyous procession.[2]

Now, you know that, among the best and wisest of our present religious teachers, there is a gradual tendency to disbelieve, and to preach their disbelief, in the commonly received ideas of the Devil, and of his place, and his work. While, among some of our equally well-meaning, but far less wise, religious teachers, there is, in consequence, a panic spreading in anticipation of the moral dangers which must follow on the loss of the help of the Devil. One of the last appearances in public of the author of the *Christian Year*

[1] [Here, again, the letter, as originally published, and the edition of 1867 have an additional passage :—

"I am afraid my weaving, after all, will be but rough work—and many ends of threads ill-knotted—but you'll see there's a pattern at last, meant by them all.

"You may gather . . . "]

[2] [Here the letter, as originally published (but not the edition of 1867), added :—

"It is true that this is said in wantonness, but no other form of saying it is possible to the persons concerned (and with what bitterness the words may be felt, you may gather if you look at the account of the suicide of one of the most celebrated dancers at these meetings only about a fortnight ago in Paris)."]

was at a conclave of clergymen assembled in defence of faith in damnation.* The sense of the meeting generally was, that there *must* be such a place as hell, because no one would ever behave decently upon earth unless they were kept in wholesome fear of the fires beneath it: and Mr. Keble, especially insisting on this view, related a story of an old woman who had a wicked son, and who, having lately heard with horror of the teaching of Mr. Maurice and others, exclaimed pathetically, "My son is bad enough as it is, and if he were not afraid of hell, what would become of him!" (I write from memory, and cannot answer for the words, but I can for their purport.)[1]

50. Now, my friend, I am afraid that I must incur the charge of such presumption as may be involved in variance from *both* these systems of teaching.

I do not merely *believe* there is such a place as hell. I *know* there is such a place; and I know also that when

* *Physical* damnation, I should have said. It is strange how seldom pain of *heart* is spoken of as a possible element of future, or as the worst of present pain.[2]

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[1] [Keble died in 1866; the speech here referred to was made at the Church Congress held at Bristol in October 1864. It was an echo of the controversy over *Essays and Reviews*, published in 1860. In consequence of that work, Mr. Wilson was prosecuted for denying the doctrine of eternal punishment, and was condemned in 1862 in the Arches Court. Dr. Williams had been prosecuted and condemned at the same time. The judgments were overthrown in 1864 on appeal to the Privy Council, the court consisting of four lay, and three spiritual, judges. Keble was indignant alike at the substance of the decisions and at the composition of the court, and took a prominent part in the subsequent protest. In the course of a paper on the subject which he read at the Church Congress, he said: "It was an all-important subject, even more important in its practical bearings perhaps than that most solemn subject of inspiration. Never was its practical aspect set before him more forcibly than when talking to an old woman in his country parish—a poor woman. She had a son who was a great trouble to her from his wicked habits. He (Mr. Keble) told her about this—about the awful doctrine of eternal punishment being called in question. He had told all what he thought of the matter to forewarn them. The poor woman was terribly alarmed to hear of any doubt on this solemn truth, and said, 'Oh, what an effect it will have, when my son hears it, on him. What will become of him?'" Keble sat down "amidst tremendous applause" (*Guardian*, October 19, 1864, p. 1019; and see W. Lock's *John Keble: a Biography*, 1893, pp. 179–182). For Ruskin's own views, at an earlier date, on the subject of eternal punishment, see *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. (Vol. XI. p. 165 *n.*).]

[2] [This footnote was first added in 1872; the word "*heart*" is now italicised in accordance with Ruskin's marking in his copy for revision.]

men have got to the point of believing virtue impossible but through dread of it, they have got *into* it.

I mean, that according to the distinctness with which they hold such a creed, the stain of nether fire has passed upon them. In the depth of his heart Mr. Keble could not have entertained the thought for an instant; and I believe it was only as a conspicuous sign to the religious world of the state into which they were sinking, that this creed, possible in its sincerity only to the basest of them, was nevertheless appointed to be uttered by the lips of the most tender, gracious, and beloved of their teachers.

51. "Virtue impossible but for fear of hell"—a lofty creed for your English youth—and a holy one! And yet, my friend, there was something of right in the terrors of this clerical conclave. For, though you should assuredly be able to hold your own in the straight ways of God, without always believing that the Devil is at your side, it is a state of mind much to be dreaded, that you should not *know* the Devil when you *see* him there.[1] For the probability is that when you do see him, the way you are walking in is not one of God's ways at all, but is leading you quite into other neighbourhoods than His. On His way, indeed, you may often, like Albert Dürer's Knight, see the Fiend behind you,[2] but you will find that he drops always farther and farther behind; whereas, if he jogs with you at your side, it is probably one of his own by-paths you are got on. And, in any case, it is a highly desirable matter that you should know him when you set eyes on him, which we are very far from doing in these days, having convinced ourselves that the graminivorous form of him, with horn and tail, is extant no longer. But in fearful truth, the Presence and Power of Him *is* here; in the world, with us, and within us, mock as you may; and the fight with him, for the time, sore, and widely unprosperous.

[1] [For Ruskin's views on the question of the personal existence of evil spirits, see *Eagle's Nest*, § 69; *An Oxford Lecture*, §§ 7, 18.]

[2] [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 310).]

Do not think I am speaking metaphorically or rhetorically, or with any other than literal and earnest meaning of words. Hear me, I pray you, therefore, for a little while, as earnestly as I speak.

52. Every faculty of man's soul, and every instinct of it by which he is meant to live, is exposed to its own special form of corruption: and whether within Man, or in the external world, there is a power or condition of temptation which is perpetually endeavouring to reduce every glory of his soul, and every power of his life, to such corruption as is possible to them. And the more beautiful they are, the more fearful is the death which is attached as penalty to their degradation.[1]

53. Take, for instance, that which, in its purity, is the source of the highest and purest mortal happiness—Love. Think of it first at its highest—as it may exist in the disciplined spirit of a perfect human creature; as it has so existed again and again, and does always, wherever it truly exists at all, as the *purifying* passion of the soul. I will not speak of the transcendental and imaginative intensity in which it may reign in noble hearts, as when it inspired the greatest religious poem yet given to men;[2] but take it in its true and quiet purity in any simple lover's heart, —as you have it expressed, for instance, thus, exquisitely, in the *Angel in the House*:—

> "And there, with many a blissful tear,
> I vowed to love and prayed to wed
> The maiden who had grown so dear;—
> Thanked God, who had set her in my path;
> And promised, as I hoped to win,
> I never would sully my faith
> By the least selfishness or sin;
> Whatever in her sight I'd seem
> I'd really be; I'd never blend
> With my delight in her a dream
> 'Twould change her cheek to comprehend;

[1] [On this principle of *corruptio optimi pessima*, see *Munera Pulveris*, § 100 (above, p. 222); and below, § 139, p. 430.]

[2] [In the margin of his copy for revision Ruskin wrote here, "The *Divina Commedia*."]

And, if she wished it, I'd prefer
Another's to my own success;
And always seek the best for her,
With unofficious tenderness." [1]

Take this for the pure type of it in its simplicity; and then think of what corruption this passion is capable. I will give you a type of that also, and at your very doors. I cannot refer you to the time when the crime happened; but it was some four or five years ago, near Newcastle, and it has remained always as a ghastly landmark in my mind, owing to the horror of the external circumstances. The body of the murdered woman was found naked, rolled into a heap of ashes, at the mouth of one of your pits.[2]

54. You have thus two limiting examples, of the Pure Passion, and of its corruption. Now, whatever influence it is, without or within us, which has a tendency to degrade the one towards the other, is literally and accurately "Satanic." And this treacherous or deceiving spirit is perpetually at work, so that all the worst evil among us is a betrayed or corrupted good. Take religion itself: the desire of finding out God, and placing one's self in some true son's or servant's relation to Him. The Devil, that is to say, the deceiving spirit within us, or outside of us, mixes up our own vanity with this desire; makes us think that in our love to God we have established some connection with Him which separates us from our fellow-men, and renders us superior to them. Then it takes but one wave of the Devil's hand; and we are burning them alive for taking the liberty of contradicting us.

55. Take the desire of teaching—the entirely unselfish

[1] [Book i. canto iv., "The Morning Call," 3. In later years the poet altered the sixth line to "That I would never dim my faith."]

[2] [The following entry in one of Ruskin's note-books gives the reference:—

"For a study of all that is vilest and most horrible in the state of the English lower classes, see the *Times* of March 2, 1863—the trial on the Northern Circuit of George Vass (aged 19) for the murder of Mary Doherty, on the 1st of January (about 2 in the morning). Tailor's wife at Newcastle. Her husband had given her 3 shillings which she was spending on drink when the murderer got hold of her. The body is found covered with blood and *cinders*."]

and noble instinct for telling to those who are ignorant, the truth we know, and guarding them from the errors we see them in danger of;—there is no nobler, no more constant instinct in honourable breasts; but let the Devil formalise it, and mix the pride of a profession with it—get foolish people entrusted with the business of instruction, and make their giddy heads giddier by putting them up in pulpits above a submissive crowd—and you have it instantly corrupted into its own reverse; you have an alliance *against* the light, shrieking at the sun, and the moon, and stars, as profane spectra:—a company of the blind, beseeching those they lead to remain blind also. "The heavens and the lights that rule them are untrue; the laws of creation are treacherous; the poles of the earth are out of poise. But *we* are true. Light is in us only. Shut your eyes close and fast, and we will lead you."

56. Take the desire and faith of mutual help; the virtue of vowed brotherhood for the accomplishment of common purpose, (without which nothing great can be wrought by multitudinous bands of men); let the Devil put pride of caste into it, and you have a military organization applied for a thousand years to maintain that higher caste in idleness by robbing the labouring poor; let the Devil put a few small personal interests into it, and you have all faithful deliberation on national law rendered impossible in the parliaments of Europe, by the antagonism of parties.

57. Take the instinct for justice, and the natural sense of indignation against crime; let the Devil colour it with personal passion, and you have a mighty race of true and tender-hearted men living for centuries in such bloody feud that every note and word of their national songs is a dirge, and every rock of their hills is a gravestone. Take the love of beauty, and power of imagination, which are the source of every true achievement in art; let the Devil touch them with sensuality, and they are stronger than the sword or the flame to blast the cities where they were born, into ruin without hope. Take the instinct of

industry and ardour of commerce, which are meant to be the support and mutual maintenance of man; let the Devil touch them with avarice, and you shall see the avenues of the exchange choked with corpses that have died of famine.

58. Now observe—I leave you to call this deceiving spirit what you like—or to theorise about it as you like. All that I desire you to recognise is the fact of its being here, and the need of its being fought with. If you take the Bible's account of it, or Dante's, or Milton's, you will receive the image of it as a mighty spiritual creature, commanding others, and resisted by others: if you take Æschylus's or Hesiod's account of it, you will hold it for a partly elementary and unconscious adversity of fate, and partly for a group of monstrous spiritual agencies connected with death, and begotten out of the dust; if you take a modern rationalist's, you will accept it for a mere treachery and want of vitality in our own moral nature exposing it to loathsomeness or moral disease, as the body is capable of mortification or leprosy. I do not care what you call it,—whose history you believe of it,—nor what you yourself can imagine about it; the origin, or nature, or name may be as you will, but the deadly reality of the thing is with us, and warring against us, and on our true war with it depends whatever life we can win. Deadly reality, I say. The puff-adder or horned asp is not more real. Unbelievable,—*those*,—unless you had seen them; no fable could have been coined out of any human brain so dreadful, within its own poor material sphere, as that blue-lipped serpent—working its way sidelong in the sand.[1] As real, but with sting of eternal death—this worm that dies not,

[1] [In the margin of his copy Ruskin here refers to a "wonderful passage" in Pausanias "of σήψ." See viii. 4, 7: "He, having gone out a-hunting, was killed, not by any of the more powerful beasts, but by a *seps*, which he had not noticed. I have myself seen this species of snake. It is like a very small adder, is ash-coloured, and spotted irregularly; its head is flat, neck thin, belly large, tail short. Like the crested snake, it moves with a sidelong motion, crab-fashion." Frazer in his commentary (vol. iv. p. 193) cites from a report of a scientific exploration in Greece the remark that "a better description could not have been given by a naturalist who had made a special study of reptiles."]

and fire that is not quenched,[1] within our souls or around them. Eternal death, I say—sure, that, whatever creed you hold;—if the old Scriptural one, Death of perpetual banishment from before God's face; if the modern rationalist one, Death Eternal for *us*, instant and unredeemable ending of lives wasted in misery.

This is what this unquestionably present—this, according to his power, *omni*-present—fiend, brings us towards, daily. *He* is the person to be "voted" against, my working friend; it is worth something, having a vote against *him*, if you can get it! Which you can, indeed; but not by gift from Cabinet Ministers; you must work warily with your own hands, and drop sweat of heart's blood, before you can record that vote effectually.

Of which more in next letter.

[1] [Mark ix. 46, quoting Isaiah lxvi. 24.]

LETTER XI

The Satanic Power is mainly Twofold: the Power of causing Falsehood and the Power of causing Pain. The Resistance is by Law of Honour and Law of Delight

March 19, 1867.

59. You may perhaps have thought my last three or four letters mere rhapsodies. They are nothing of the kind; they are accurate accounts of literal facts, which we have to deal with daily. This thing, or power, opposed to God's power, and specifically called "Mammon" in the Sermon on the Mount,[1] is, in deed and in truth, a continually present and active enemy, properly called "*Arch*-enemy," that is to say, "Beginning and Prince of Enemies," and daily we have to record our vote for, or against him. Of the manner of which record we were next to consider.

60. This enemy is always recognisable, briefly in two functions. He is pre-eminently the Lord of *Lies* and the Lord of *Pain*. Wherever Lies are, he is; wherever Pain is, he has been—so that of the Spirit of Wisdom (who is called God's Helper, as Satan His Adversary[2]) it is written, not only that by her Kings reign, and Princes decree justice, but also that her ways are ways of Pleasantness, and all her paths Peace.[3]

Therefore, you will succeed, you working men, in recording your votes against this arch-enemy, precisely in the degree in which you can do away with falsehood and pain in your work and lives; and bring truth into the one, and pleasure into the other; all education being directed to

[1] [Matthew vi. 24. On Mammon-worship, see *A Joy for Ever*, § 151 (Vol. XVI. p. 138); *Munera Pulveris*, Appendix ii. (above, p. 287); *Ethics of the Dust*, Preface to second edition, § 2; *Mornings in Florence*, § 50.]

[2] [See, for instance, Proverbs iii. 19 ("The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth"); and, for Satan (a Hebrew word, signifying "adversary") Matthew xvi. 23 ("Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me").]

[3] [Proverbs viii. 15; iii. 17: the latter verse is often quoted by Ruskin; see, *e.g.*, Vol. XVI. p. 103, and *Unto this Last*, § 83 (above, p. 113).]

make yourselves and your children *capable of Honesty* and *capable of Delight;* and to rescue yourselves from iniquity and agony. And this is what I meant by saying in the preface to *Unto this Last* that the central requirement of education consisted in giving habits of gentleness and justice;[1] "gentleness" (as I will show you presently) being the best single word I could have used to express the capacity for giving and receiving true pleasure; and "justice" being similarly the most comprehensive word for all kind of honest dealing.

61. Now, I began these letters with the purpose of explaining the nature of the requirements of justice first, and then those of gentleness, but I allowed myself to be led into that talk about the theatres, not only because the thoughts could be more easily written as they came, but also because I was able thus to illustrate for you more directly the nature of the enemy we have to deal with. You do not perhaps know, though I say this diffidently (for I often find working men know many things which one would have thought were out of their way), that music was, among the Greeks, quite the first means of education; and that it was so connected with their system of ethics and of intellectual training, that the God of Music is with them also the God of Righteousness;—the God who purges and avenges iniquity, and contends with their Satan as represented under the form of Python, "the corrupter."[2] And the Greeks were incontrovertibly right in this. Music is the nearest at hand, the most orderly, the most delicate, and the most perfect, of all bodily pleasures; it is also the only one which is equally helpful to all the ages of man,—helpful from the nurse's song to her infant, to the music, unheard of others, which so often haunts the deathbed of pure and innocent spirits. And the action of the deceiving or devilish power is in *nothing* shown quite so distinctly among us at

[1] [See above, p. 21.]

[2] [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 420). See also, in the following page there, a passage which explains the title "The Golden Bough" given by Ruskin to this chapter; he connected "the legend of the bough" with "help from Apollo."]

this day,—not even in our commercial dishonesties, nor in our social cruelties,—as in its having been able to take away music, as an instrument of education, altogether; and to enlist it almost wholly in the service of superstition on the one hand, and of sensuality on the other.[1]

62. This power of the Muses, then, and its proper influence over you workmen, I shall eventually have much to insist upon with you; and in doing so I shall take that beautiful parable of the Prodigal Son (which I have already referred to[2]), and explain, as far as I know, the significance of it, and then I will take the three means of festivity, or wholesome human joy, therein stated,—fine dress, rich food, and music;—("bring forth the fairest robe for him,"—"bring forth the fatted calf, and kill it;" "as he drew nigh, he heard music and dancing"[3]); and I will show you how all these three things, fine dress, rich food, and music (including ultimately all the other arts) are meant to be sources of life, and means of moral discipline, to all men;[4] and how they have all three been made, by the Devil, the means of guilt, dissoluteness, and death.* But first I must return to my original plan of these letters, and endeavour to set down for you some of the laws which, in a true Working Men's Parliament, must be ordained in defence of Honesty.

Of which laws (preliminary to all others, and necessary above all others), having now somewhat got my ravelled threads together again, I will begin talk in my next letter.

* See *Fors Clavigera*, Letter XXIV.[5]

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[1] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 82, where Ruskin refers to this passage.]

[2] [See above, § 43, p. 354.]

[3] [Luke xv. 22, 23, 25.]

[4] [For the discussion of the parable of the Prodigal Son, see below, §§ 175–177 (pp. 459–461). The discussion of "fine dress," etc., was, however, not given, as Ruskin afterwards noted in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 82.]

[5] [Note of 1872. *Fors Clavigera*, Letter xxiv., dated November 7, was published on December 2, and Ruskin was thus engaged on it and on the revision of *Time and Tide* at the same time. Although "eating and fine dressing" and some songs are mentioned in the Letter, it would appear from his reference here that Ruskin had intended a fuller discussion than he in fact gave.]

LETTER XII

The Necessity of Imperative Law to the Prosperity of States

March 20, 1867.

63. I HAVE your most interesting letter,* which I keep for reference, when I come to the consideration of its subject in its proper place, under the head of the abuse of Food. I do not wonder that your life should be rendered unhappy by the scenes of drunkenness which you are so often compelled to witness; nor that this so gigantic and infectious evil should seem to you the root of the greater part of the misery of our lower orders. I do not wonder that[1] George Cruikshank has warped the entire current of his thoughts and life, at once to my admiration and my sorrow, from their natural field of work, that he might spend them, in struggle with this fiend, for the poor lowest people whom he knows so well.[2] I wholly sympathise with

* Appendix 4 [p. 469].

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[1] [The letter, as originally published, reads:—

"I do not wonder that my friend Sir Walter Trevelyan has given his best energy to its repression; nor even that another friend, George Cruikshank . . ."

The edition of 1867 reads the same, except for the omission of "my friend" before "Sir Walter Trevelyan." Sir Walter (1797–1879) and his wife were close friends of Ruskin: see Vol. XII. p. xx., and for his activity in the cause of temperance, below, Appendix iv. (p. 470). For Cruikshank in this connexion, see *Cestus of Aglaia*, § 27 (Vol. XIX.). For other passages in which Ruskin notices the curse of drunkenness, see *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 148; *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 81 (Notes and Correspondence); and a letter in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 11, 1871 (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 187, and in a later volume of this edition).]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, and the edition of 1867 read:—

". . . in struggle, for the poor lowest people whom he knows so well, with this fiend who grasps his victims by the throat first, and then by the heart."]

you in indignation at the methods of temptation employed, and at the use of the fortunes made by the vendors of death; and whatever immediately applicable legal means there might be of restricting the causes of drunkenness, I should without hesitation desire to bring into operation. But all such appliance I consider temporary and provisionary; nor, while there is record of the miracle at Cana (not to speak of the sacrament) can I conceive it possible, without (logically) the denial of the entire truth of the New Testament, to reprobate the use of wine as a stimulus to the powers of life. Supposing we did deny the words and deeds of the Founder of Christianity, the authority of the wisest heathens, especially that of Plato in the *Laws*,[1] is wholly against abstinence from wine; and much as I can believe, and as I have been endeavouring to make you believe also, of the subtlety of the Devil, I do not suppose the vine to have been one of his inventions. Of this, however, more in another place.[2] By the way, was it not curious that in the *Manchester Examiner*, in which that letter of mine on the abuse of dancing appeared, there chanced to be, in the next column, a paragraph giving an account of a girl stabbing her betrayer in a ball-room; and another paragraph describing a Parisian character, which gives exactly the extreme type I wanted, for example of the abuse of Food?*

64. I return, however, now to the examination of possible means for the enforcement of justice, in temper and in act, as the first of political requirements. And as, in stating my conviction of the necessity of certain stringent laws on this matter, I shall be in direct opposition to Mr. Stuart Mill; and, more or less, in opposition to other professors of modern political economy, as well as to many

* Appendix 5 [p. 470].

[1] [See, for instance, book i. 636 *seq.*; and book ii. 672.]

[2] [This is not very fully done elsewhere; but for other passages in which the use of wine is referred to, see *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 55, and *Unto this Last*, § 63 (above, p. 87); and on the miracle of Cana, see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 84, 86, 88.]

honest and active promoters of the privileges of working men (as if privilege only were wanted and never restraint![1]), I will give you, as briefly as I can, the grounds on which I am prepared to justify such opposition.

65. When the crew of a wrecked ship escape in an open boat, and the boat is crowded, the provisions scanty, and the prospect of making land distant, laws are instantly established and enforced which no one thinks of disobeying. An entire equality of claim to the provisions is acknowledged without dispute; and an equal liability to necessary labour. No man who can row is allowed to refuse his oar; no man, however much money he may have saved in his pocket, is allowed so much as half a biscuit beyond his proper ration. Any riotous person who endangered the safety of the rest would be bound, and laid in the bottom of the boat, without the smallest compunction, for such violation of the principles of individual liberty; and, on the other hand, any child, or woman, or aged person, who was helpless, and exposed to great danger and suffering by their weakness, would receive more than ordinary care and indulgence, not unaccompanied with unanimous self-sacrifice on the part of the labouring crew.

There is never any question under circumstances like these, of what is right and wrong, worthy and unworthy, wise or foolish. If there *be* any question, there is little hope for boat or crew. The right man is put at the helm; every available hand is set to the oars; the sick are tended, and the vicious restrained, at once, and decisively; or if not, the end is near.[2]

66. Now, the circumstances of every associated group of human society, contending bravely for national honours and felicity of life, differ only from those thus supposed, in the greater, instead of less, necessity for the establishment of restraining law. There is no point of difference in the difficulties to be met, nor in the rights reciprocally to be exercised.

[1] [Here compare *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 117, 118 (above, pp. 241–242).]
[2] [Ruskin refers to this "parallel of the boat at sea" in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 44.]

Vice and indolence are not less, but more, injurious in a nation than in a boat's company; the modes in which they affect the interests of worthy persons being far more complex, and more easily concealed. The right of restraint, vested in those who labour, over those who would impede their labour, is as absolute in the large as in the small society; the equal claim to share in whatever is necessary to the common life (or commonwealth) is as indefeasible; the claim of the sick and helpless to be cared for by the strong with earnest self-sacrifice, is as pitiful and as imperative; the necessity that the governing authority should be in the hands of a true and trained pilot is as clear and as constant. In none of these conditions is there any difference between a nation and a boat's company. The only difference is in this, that the impossibility of discerning the effects of individual error and crime, or of counteracting them by individual effort, in the affairs of a great nation renders it tenfold more necessary than in a small society that direction by law should be sternly established. Assume that your boat's crew is disorderly and licentious, and will, by agreement, submit to no order;—the most troublesome of them will yet be easily discerned; and the chance is that the best man among them knocks him down. Common instinct of self-preservation will make the rioters put a good sailor at the helm, and impulsive pity and occasional help will be, by heart and hand, here and there given to visible distress. Not so in the ship of the realm. The most troublesome persons in *it* are usually the least recognised for such, and the most active in its management; the best men mind their own business patiently, and are never thought of; the good helmsman never touches the tiller but in the last extremity; and the worst forms of misery are hidden, not only from every eye, but from every thought. On the deck, the aspect is of Cleopatra's galley—under hatches there is a slave hospital; while, finally (and this is the most fatal difference of all), even the few persons who care to interfere energetically, with purpose of doing good, can, in a large society, discern

so little of the real state of evil to be dealt with, and judge so little of the best means of dealing with it, that half of their best efforts will be misdirected, and some may even do more harm than good. Whereas it is the sorrowful law of this universe, that evil, even unconscious and unintended, never fails of *its* effect; and in a state where the evil and the good, under conditions of individual "liberty," are allowed to contend together, not only every *stroke* on the Devil's side tells—but every *slip*, (the mistakes of wicked men being as mischievous as their successes); while on the side of right, there will be much direct and fatal defeat, and, even of its measure of victory, half will be fruitless.

67. It is true, of course, that, in the end of ends, nothing but the right conquers; the prevalent thorns of wrong, at last, crackle away in indiscriminate flame: and of the good seed sown, one grain in a thousand some day comes up[1]—and somebody lives by it; but most of our great teachers, not excepting Carlyle and Emerson themselves, are a little too encouraging in their proclamation of this comfort, not, to my mind, very sufficient, when for the present our fields are full of nothing but darnel instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley; and none of them seem to me yet to have enough insisted on the inevitable power and infectiousness of all evil, and the easy and utter extinguishableness of good. Medicine often fails of its effect—but poison never: and while, in summing the observation of past life, not unwatchfully spent, I can truly say that I have a thousand times seen patience disappointed of her hope, and wisdom of her aim, I have never yet seen folly fruitless of mischief, nor vice conclude but in calamity.

68. There, is, however, one important condition in national economy, in which the analogy of that of a ship's company is incomplete: namely, that while labour at oar or sail is necessarily united, and can attain no independent good, or personal profit, the labour properly undertaken by

[1] [Compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 133 (Vol. XVI. p. 118).]

the several members of a political community is necessarily, and justly, within certain limits, independent; and obtains for them independent advantage, of which, if you will glance at the last paragraph of the first chapter of *Munera Pulveris*,[1] you will see I should be the last person to propose depriving them. This great difference in final condition involves necessarily much complexity in the system and application of general laws; but it in no wise abrogates,—on the contrary, it renders yet more imperative,—the necessity for the firm ordinance of such laws, which, marking the due limits of independent agency, may enable it to exist in full energy, not only without becoming injurious, but so as more variously and perfectly to promote the entire interests of the commonwealth.

I will address myself therefore in my next letter to the statement of some of these necessary laws.

[1] [The reference should have been to the second essay (the end of chapter ii. in the book): see above, pp. 192–193. It will be noted that Ruskin had given this title to the essays in *Fraser's Magazine*, long before their collected publication: see also §§ 72, 155, 167. The reader at the time would not have understood it; and in the edition of 1867 a footnote was added, "* Appendix 6," which Appendix —after the words, "The following is the paragraph referred to"—reprinted the passage: "The first necessity of all economical government . . . home from the bakers." In the edition of 1872 (*Munera Pulveris* being then accessible in book form) the Appendix was withdrawn.]

LETTER XIII

The Proper Offices of the Bishop and Duke; or, "Overseer" and "Leader"

March 21, 1867.

69. I SEE, by your last letter, for which I heartily thank you, that you would not sympathise with me in my sorrow for the desertion of his own work by George Cruikshank, that he may fight in the front of the temperance ranks. But you do not know what work he has left undone, nor how much richer inheritance you might have received from his hand. It was no more *his* business to etch diagrams of drunkenness than it is mine at this moment to be writing these letters against anarchy. It is "the first mild day of March"[1] (high time, I think, that it should be!), and by rights I ought to be out among the budding banks and hedges, outlining sprays of hawthorn and clusters of primrose. That is *my* right work; and it is not, in the inner gist and truth of it, right nor good, for you, or for anybody else, that Cruikshank with his great gift, and I with my weak, but yet thoroughly clear and definite one, should both of us be tormented by agony of indignation and compassion, till we are forced to give up our peace, and pleasure, and power; and rush down into the streets and lanes of the city, to do the little that is in the strength of our single hands against their uncleanliness and iniquity. But, as in a sorely besieged town, every man must to the ramparts, whatsoever business he leaves, so neither he nor I have had any choice but to leave our household stuff, and go on crusade, such as we are called to; not that I mean,

[1] [Wordsworth: the poem of 1798, "To my Sister."]

if Fate may be anywise resisted, to give up the strength of my life, as he has given his; for I think he was wrong in doing so; and that he should only have carried the fiery cross his appointed leagues, and then given it to another hand; and, for my own part, I mean these very letters to close my political work for many a day; and I write them, not in any hope of their being at present listened to, but to disburthen my heart of the witness I have to bear, that I may be free to go back to my garden lawns, and paint birds and flowers there.[1]

70. For these same statutes which we are to consider to-day, have indeed been in my mind now these fourteen years, ever since I wrote the last volume of the *Stones of Venice*, in which you will find, in the long note on Modern Education,[2] most of what I have been now in detail writing to you, hinted in abstract; and, at the close of it, this sentence, of which I solemnly now avouch (in thankfulness that I was permitted to write it), every word; "Finally, I hold it for indisputable, that the first duty of a State is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed, and educated, till it attain years of discretion. But in order to the effecting this the Government must have an authority over the people of which we now do not so much as dream."

That authority I did not then endeavour to define, for I knew all such assertions would be useless, and that the necessarily resultant outcry would merely diminish my influence in other directions. But now I do not care about influence any more, it being only my concern to say truly that which I know, and, if it may be, get some quiet life, yet, among the fields in the evening shadow.

71. There is, I suppose, no word which men are prouder of the right to attach to their names, or more envious of others who bear it, when they themselves may not, than the word "noble." Do you know what it originally meant,

[1] [See the Introduction, above, p. xxiv.]
[2] [See in this edition, Vol. XI. pp. 258–263.]

and always, in the right use of it, means? It means a "known" person; one who has risen far enough above others to draw men's eyes to him, and to be known (honourably) for such and such an one. "Ignoble," on the other hand, is derived from the same root as the word "ignorance." It means an unknown, inglorious person. And no more singular follies have been committed by weak human creatures than those which have been caused by the instinct, pure and simple, of escaping from this obscurity. Instinct, which, corrupted, will hesitate at no means, good or evil, of satisfying itself with notoriety—instinct, nevertheless, which, like all other natural ones, has a true and pure purpose, and ought always in a worthy way to be satisfied.

All men ought to be in this sense "noble"; known of each other, and desiring to be known. And the first law which a nation, desiring to conquer all the devices of the Father of Lies, should establish among its people, is that they *shall* be so known.

72. Will you please now read § 22 of *Sesame and Lilies?*[1] The reviewers in the ecclesiastical journals laughed at it, as a rhapsody, when the book came out; none having the slightest notion of what I meant: (nor, indeed, do I well see how it could be otherwise!). Nevertheless, I meant precisely and literally what is there said, namely, that a bishop's duty being to watch over the souls of his people, and *give* account of every one of them, it becomes practically necessary for him first to *get* some account of their bodies. Which he was wont to do in the early days of Christianity by help of a person called "deacon" or "ministering servant," whose name is still retained among preliminary ecclesiastical dignities, vainly enough! Putting, however, all question of forms and names aside, the thing actually needing to be done is this—that over every hundred (more or less) of the families composing a Christian State, there should be appointed an overseer, or bishop, to render account, to the State, of the life of every individual in

[1] [Vol. XVIII pp. 72–73. Compare also *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 49 and 62.]

those families; and to have care both of their interest and conduct to such an extent as they may be willing to admit, or as their faults may justify: so that it may be impossible for any person, however humble, to suffer from unknown want, or live in unrecognised crime;—such help and observance being rendered without officiousness either of interference or inquisition (the limits of both being determined by national law), but with the patient and gentle watchfulness which true Christian pastors now exercise over their flocks; only with a higher legal authority presently to be defined, of interference on due occasion.

And with this farther function, that such overseers shall be not only the pastors, but the biographers, of their people; a written statement of the principal events in the life of each family being annually required to be rendered by them to a superior State Officer. These records, laid up in public offices, would soon furnish indications of the families whom it would be advantageous to the nation to advance in position, or distinguish with honour, and aid by such reward as it should be the object of every Government to distribute no less punctually, and far more frankly, than it distributes punishment: (compare *Munera Pulveris*, Essay IV., in paragraph on Critic Law [1]), while the mere fact of permanent record being kept of every event of importance, whether disgraceful or worthy of praise, in each family, would of itself be a deterrent from crime, and a stimulant to well-deserving conduct, far beyond mere punishment or reward.

73. Nor need you think that there would be anything in such a system un-English, or tending to espionage. No uninvited visits should ever be made in any house, unless law had been violated; nothing recorded, against its will, of any family, but what was inevitably known of its publicly visible conduct, and the results of that conduct. What else was written should be only by the desire, and from the communications, of its head. And in a little while it would come to be felt that the true history of a nation was indeed

[1] [Now ch. v.; see above, pp. 241 *seq.*]

not of its wars, but of its households; and the desire of men would rather be to obtain some conspicuous place in these honourable annals, than to shrink behind closed shutters from public sight.[1] Until at last, George Herbert's grand word of command would hold not only on the conscience, but the actual system and outer economy of life,

"Think the King sees thee still, for *his* King does."[2]

74. Secondly, above these bishops or pastors, who are only to be occupied in offices of familiar supervision and help, should be appointed higher officers of State, having executive authority over as large districts as might be conveniently (according to the number and circumstances of their inhabitants) committed to their care; officers who, according to the reports of the pastors, should enforce or mitigate the operation of too rigid general law, and determine measures exceptionally necessary for public advantage. For instance, the general law being that all children of the operative classes, at a certain age, should be sent to public schools, these superior officers should have power, on the report of the pastors, to dispense with the attendance of children who had sick parents to take charge of, or whose home-life seemed to be one of better advantage for them than that of the common schools; or who, for any other like cause, might justifiably claim remission. And it being the general law that the entire body of the public should contribute to the cost, and divide the profits, of all necessary public works and undertakings, as roads, mines, harbour protections, and the like, and that nothing of this kind should be permitted to be in the hands of private speculators, it should be the duty of the district officer to collect whatever information was accessible respecting such sources of public profit; and to represent the circumstances in Parliament: and then, with Parliamentary authority, but on his

[1] [With §§ 72, 73 compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 22, where Ruskin refers to them.]

[2] [George Herbert: *The Church Porch*, xxi.]

own sole personal responsibility, to see that such enterprises were conducted honestly, and with due energy and order.

The appointment to both these offices should be by election, and for life; by what forms of election shall be matter of inquiry, after we have determined some others of the necessary constitutional laws.

75. I do not doubt but that you are already beginning to think it was with good reason I held my peace these fourteen years,[1]—and that, for any good likely to be done by speaking, I might as well have held it altogether!

It may be so: but merely to complete and explain my own work, it is necessary that I should say these things finally; and I believe that the imminent danger to which we are now in England exposed by the gradually accelerated fall of our aristocracy (wholly their own fault), and the substitution of money-power for their martial one; and by the correspondingly imminent prevalence of mob violence here, as in America; together with the continually increasing chances of insane war, founded on popular passion, whether of pride, fear, or acquisitiveness,—all these dangers being further darkened and degraded by the monstrous forms of vice and selfishness which the appliances of recent wealth, and of vulgar mechanical art, make possible to the million,—will soon bring us into a condition in which men will be glad to listen to almost any words but those of a demagogue, and to seek any means of safety rather than those in which they have lately trusted. So, with your good leave, I will say my say to the end, mock at it who may.

P.S.—I take due note of the regulations of trade proposed in your letter just received *—all excellent. I shall

* Appendix 6 [p. 471].

[1] [That is, since 1853, when the third volume of *Stones of Venice* was published, with the Appendix on Modern Education (Vol. XI. p. 263).]

come to them presently, "Cash payment" above all.[1] You may write that on your trade-banners in letters of gold, wherever you would have them raised victoriously.[2]

[1] [For the establishment of trade guilds, see below, §§ 78–80, and compare § 134. To the subject of cash payment Ruskin did not return in *Time and Tide;* but for the curse of credit, see above, p. 61.]

[2] [Here in his own copy Ruskin has pasted in a cutting from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 7, 1868, recording a recent meeting of the London Tea Dealers and Grocers Protection Society, which aimed at "supplying the public with genuine goods at reasonable prices," and at reporting "all cases of adulteration or over-charge."]

LETTER XIV

The First Group of Essential Laws—Against Theft by False Work, and by Bankruptcy.—Necessary Publicity of Accounts

March 26, 1867.

76. I FEEL much inclined to pause at this point, to answer the kind of questions and objections which I know must be rising in your mind, respecting the authority supposed to be lodged in the persons of the officers just specified. But I can neither define, nor justify to you, the powers I would desire to see given to them, till I state to you the kind of laws they would have to enforce: of which the first group should be directed to the prevention of all kinds of thieving; but chiefly of the occult and polite methods of it; and, of all occult methods, chiefly, the making and selling of bad goods.[1] No form of theft is so criminal as this—none so deadly to the State. If you break into a man's house and steal a hundred pounds' worth of plate, he knows his loss, and there is an end (besides that you take your risk of punishment for your gain, like a man). And if you do it bravely and openly, and habitually live by such inroad, you may retain nearly every moral and manly virtue, and become a heroic rider and reiver, and hero of song. But if you swindle me out of twenty shillings' worth of quality on each of a hundred bargains, I lose my hundred pounds all the same, and I get a hundred untrustworthy articles besides, which will fail me and injure me in all manner of ways,

[1] [Compare *Two Paths*, § 186 (Vol. XVI. p. 401). So, again, in *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 43, adulteration is described as a form of foul play. Compare also *Unto this Last*, §§ 23, 84 (above, pp. 41, 113); *Queen of the Air*, § 118; and *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 37, where a speech of John Bright on adulteration is criticised.]

when I least expect it; and you, having done your thieving basely, are corrupted by the guilt of it to the very heart's core.

77. This is the first thing, therefore, which your general laws must be set to punish, fiercely, immitigably, to the utter prevention and extinction of it, or there is no hope for you. No religion that ever was preached on this earth of God's rounding ever proclaimed any salvation to sellers of bad goods. If the Ghost that is in you, whatever the essence of it, leaves your hand a juggler's, and your heart a cheat's, it is not a Holy Ghost, be assured of that. And for the rest, all political economy, as well as all higher virtue, depends *first on sound work*.

Let your laws, then, I say, in the beginning, be set to secure this. You cannot make punishment too stern for subtle knavery. Keep no truce with this enemy, whatever pardon you extend to more generous ones. For light weights and false measures, or for proved adulteration or dishonest manufacture of article, the penalty should be simply confiscation of goods and sending out of the country. The kind of person who desires prosperity by such practices could not be made to "emigrate" too speedily. What to do with him in the place you appointed to be blessed by his presence, we will in time consider.[1]

78. Under such penalty, however, and yet more under the pressure of such a right public opinion as could pronounce and enforce such penalty, I imagine that sham articles would become speedily as rare as sound ones are now. The chief difficulty in the matter would be to fix your standard. This would have to be done by the guild of every trade in its own manner, and within certain easily recognisable limits, and this fixing of standard would necessitate much simplicity in the forms and kinds of articles sold. You could only warrant a certain kind of glazing or painting in china, a certain quality of leather or cloth, bricks of

[1] [Not discussed in *Time and Tide*. See, however, the "Notes on Employment," below, pp. 541 *seq.*]

a certain clay, loaves of a defined mixture of meal. Advisable improvements or varieties in manufacture would have to be examined and accepted by the trade guild:[1] when so accepted, they would be announced in public reports; and all puffery and self-proclamation, on the part of tradesmen, absolutely forbidden, as much as the making of any other kind of noise or disturbance.

79. But observe, this law is only to have force over tradesmen whom I suppose to have joined voluntarily in carrying out a better system of commerce. Outside of their guild, they would have to leave the rogue to puff and cheat as he chose, and the public to be gulled as they chose. All that is necessary is that the said public should clearly know the shops in which they could get warranted articles; and, as clearly, those in which they bought at their own risk.

And the above-named penalty of confiscation of goods should of course be enforced only against dishonest members of the trade guild. If people chose to buy of those who had openly refused to join an honest society, they should be permitted to do so, at their pleasure, and peril: and this for two reasons,—the first, that it is always necessary, in enacting strict law, to leave some safety valve for outlet of irrepressible vice (nearly all the stern lawgivers of old time erred by oversight in this; so that the morbid elements of the State, which it should be allowed to get rid of in a cutaneous and openly curable manner, were thrown inwards, and corrupted its constitution, and broke all down);—the second, that operations of trade and manufacture conducted under, and guarded by, severe law, ought always to be subject to the stimulus of such erratic external ingenuity as cannot be tested by law, or would be hindered from its full exercise by the dread of it; not to speak of the farther need of extending all possible indulgence to foreign traders who

[1] [On the subject of Trade Guilds, and the functions which Ruskin proposed for them, compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 113, and *Inaugural Address at Cambridge*, § 3 (Vol. XVI. pp. 97, 179).]

might wish to exercise their industries here without liability to the surveillance of our trade guilds.[1]

80. Farther, while for all articles warranted by the guild (as above supposed) the prices should be annually fixed for the trade throughout the kingdom; and the producing workman's wages fixed, so as to define the master's profits within limits admitting only such variation as the nature of the given article of sale rendered inevitable;—yet, in the production of other classes of articles, whether by skill of applied handicraft, or fineness of material above the standard of the guild, attaining, necessarily, values above its assigned prices, every firm should be left free to make its own independent efforts and arrangements with its workmen, subject always to the same penalty, if it could be proved to have consistently described, or offered, anything to the public for what it was not: and finally, the state of

[1] [Here the letter, as originally published, had an additional passage:—

"(*27th March*).—I finished the last sentence this morning (as you may see by the change of pen) steadily; though I hardly feel able to go on to the next, because of the interest I take in the reports and various newspaper talk this morning about the strike of the engine-drivers. It is especially pleasurable to me to see one of the most intelligent classes of operatives in the kingdom strike for that equality of wages which I have had to stand so much rough handling for advocating in *Unto this Last*. I have just sent off the following note to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*; if he puts it in, to-morrow, don't print it here; but if he does not, please let it stand.

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"

27th March, 1867.

"My dear Sir,—I observe that in your article of to-day on the engine-drivers' strike, you advise the men, for the satisfaction of the public, to give way on the point of equality of wages. In case they should act upon this advice, might I be permitted to suggest, that for the further satisfaction of the public, it should always be marked on the time-tables, and by tickets affixed to the trains, which of the trains are to have six shilling drivers, and which are to have seven and sixpenny ones?

"Yours, etc., J. R."

"This question about wages is not, however, irrelevant to what I was really going to say respecting the regulation of trade guilds, namely, that for all articles warranted . . ."

The strike in question was on the London and Brighton line. "The claim of the men," said the *Telegraph*, "is that all engine-drivers and firemen shall be advanced to the maximum scale of wages after a few months' service without reference to their ability." On the following day the *Telegraph* announced that the strike was at an end. This, no doubt, was the reason why Ruskin's letter was not inserted.]

the affairs of every firm should be annually reported to the guild, and its books laid open to inspection, for guidance in the regulation of prices in the subsequent year; and any firm whose liabilities exceeded its assets by a hundred pounds should be forthwith declared bankrupt. And I will anticipate what I have to say in succeeding letters so far as to tell you that I would have this condition extend to every firm in the country, large or small, and of whatever rank in business. And thus you perceive, my friend, I shall not have to trouble you or myself much with deliberations respecting commercial "panics," nor to propose legislative cures for *them*, by any laxatives or purgatives of paper currency, or any other change of pecuniary diet.

LETTER XV

The Nature of Theft by Unjust Profits.—Crime can finally be arrested only by Education

29th March.

81. THE first methods of polite robbery, by dishonest manufacture and by debt, of which we have been hitherto speaking, are easily enough to be dealt with and ended, when once men have a mind to end them. But the third method of polite robbery, by dishonest *acquisition*, has many branches, and is involved among honest arts of acquisition, so that it is difficult to repress the one without restraining the other.

Observe, first, large fortunes cannot honestly be made by the work of any *one* man's hands or head.[1] If his work benefits multitudes, and involves position of high trust, it may be (I do not say that it *is*) expedient to reward him with great wealth or estate; but fortune of this kind is freely given in gratitude for benefit, not as repayment for labour. Also, men of peculiar genius in any art, if the public can enjoy the product of their genius, may set it at almost any price they choose; but this, I will show you when I come to speak of art,[2] is unlawful on their part, and ruinous to their own powers. Genius must not be sold; the sale of it involves, in a transcendental, but perfectly true, sense, the guilt both of simony and prostitution. Your labour only may be sold; your soul must not.

82. Now, by fair pay for fair labour, according to the rank of it, a man can obtain means of comfortable, or if he

[1] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 139, above, p. 264; and *Home, and its Economies*, § 17, below, p. 564.]

[2] [The subject, however, was not touched upon in *Time and Tide*. It had already been discussed in *A Joy for Ever*, §§ 66, 96, 102 *n.* (Vol. XVI. pp. 60, 82, 87 *n.*).]

needs it, refined life. But he cannot obtain large fortune. Such fortunes as are now the prizes of commerce can be made only in one of three ways:—

(1.) By obtaining command over the labour of multitudes of other men, and taxing it for our own profit.

(2.) By treasure-trove,—as of mines, useful vegetable products, and the like,—in circumstances putting them under our own exclusive control.

(3.) By speculation, (commercial gambling).

The first two of these means of obtaining riches are, in some forms and within certain limits, lawful, and advantageous to the State. The third is entirely detrimental to it; for in all cases of profit derived from speculation, at best, what one man gains another loses; and the net result to the State is zero, (pecuniarily,) with the loss of the time and ingenuity spent in the transaction; besides the disadvantage involved in the discouragement of the losing party, and the corrupted moral natures of both. This is the result of speculation at its best. At its worst, not only B loses what A gains (having taken his fair risk of such loss for his fair chance of gain), but C and D, who never had any chance at all, are drawn in by B's fall, and the final result is that A sets up his carriage on the collected sum which was once the means of living to a dozen families.

83. Nor is this all. For while real commerce is founded on real necessities or uses, and limited by these, speculation, of which the object is merely gain, seeks to excite imaginary necessities and popular desires, in order to gather its temporary profit from the supply of them. So that not only the persons who lend their money to it will be finally robbed, but the work done with their money will be, for the most part, useless, and thus the entire body of the public injured as well as the persons concerned in the transaction. Take, for instance, the architectural decorations of railways throughout the kingdom,—representing many millions of money for which no farthing of dividend can ever be forthcoming. The public will not be induced to pay the smallest

fraction of higher fare to Rochester or Dover because the ironwork of the bridge which carries them over the Thames is covered with floral cockades, and the piers of it edged with ornamental cornices.[1] All that work is simply put there by the builders that they may put the percentage upon it into their own pockets; and, the rest of the money being thrown into that floral form, there is an end of it, as far as the shareholders are concerned. Millions upon millions have thus been spent, within the last twenty years, on ornamental arrangements of zigzag bricks, black and blue tiles, cast-iron foliage, and the like; of which millions, as I said, not a penny can ever return into the shareholders' pockets, nor contribute to public speed or safety on the line. It is all sunk for ever in ornamental architecture, and (trust me for this!) *all that architecture is bad.* As such, it had incomparably better not have been built. Its only result will be to corrupt what capacity of taste or right pleasure in such work we have yet left to us! And consider a little, what other kind of result than that might have been attained if all those millions had been spent usefully: say, in buying land for the people, or building good houses for them, or (if it had been imperatively required to be spent decoratively) in laying out gardens and parks for them,—or buying noble works of art for their permanent possession,—or, best of all, establishing frequent public schools and libraries. Count what those lost millions would have so accomplished for you! But you left the affair to "supply and demand," and the British public had not brains enough to "demand" land, or lodging, or books. It "demanded" cast-iron cockades and zigzag cornices, and is "supplied" with them, to its beatitude for evermore.

84. Now, the theft we first spoke of, by falsity of workmanship or material, is, indeed, so far worse than these thefts by dishonest acquisition, that there is no possible

[1] [On this form of misapplied "art," compare *Seven Lamps*, Vol. VIII. p. 160; *Munera Pulveris*, § 128 (above, p. 252); and the letter below, p. 528.]

excuse for it on the ground of self-deception; while many speculative thefts are committed by persons who really mean to do no harm, but think the system on the whole a fair one, and do the best they can in it for themselves. But in the real fact of the crime, when consciously committed, in the numbers reached by its injury, in the degree of suffering it causes to those whom it ruins, in the baseness of its calculated betrayal of implicit trust, in the yet more perfect vileness of the obtaining such trust by misrepresentation, only that it *may* be betrayed, and in the impossibility that the crime should be at all committed, except by persons of good position and large knowledge of the world —what manner of theft is so wholly unpardonable, so inhuman, so contrary to every law and instinct which binds or animates society?

And then consider farther, how many of the carriages that glitter in our streets are driven, and how many of the stately houses that gleam among our English fields are inhabited, by this kind of thief!

85. I happened to be reading this morning (29th March) some portions of the Lent services, and I came to a pause over the familiar words, "And with Him they crucified two thieves."[1] Have you ever considered (I speak to you now as a professing Christian), why, in the accomplishment of the "numbering among transgressors," the transgressors chosen should have been especially thieves—not murderers, nor, as far as we know, sinners by any gross violence? Do you observe how the sin of theft is again and again indicated as the chiefly antagonistic one to the law of Christ? "This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag" (of Judas). And again, though Barabbas was a leader of sedition, and a murderer besides,—(that the popular election might be in all respects perfect)—yet St. John, in curt and conclusive account of

[1] [Matthew xxvii. 38. The other Biblical references in § 85 are to Isaiah liii. 12; John xii. 6; xviii. 40; and Matthew v. 16.]

him, fastens again on the theft. "Then cried they all again saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber." I believe myself the reason to be that theft is indeed, in its subtle forms, the most complete and excuseless of human crimes. Sins of violence usually are committed under sudden or oppressive temptation:[1] they may be the madness of moments; or they may be apparently the only means of extrication from calamity. In other cases, they are the diseased acts or habits of lower and brutified natures.*[2] But theft involving deliberative intellect, and absence of passion, is the purest type of wilful iniquity, in persons capable of doing right. Which being so, it seems to be fast becoming the practice of modern society to crucify its Christ indeed, as willingly as ever, in the persons of His poor; but by no means now to crucify its thieves beside Him! It elevates its thieves after another fashion; sets them upon a hill, that their light may shine before men and that all may see their good works, and glorify their Father, in—the Opposite of Heaven.

86. I think your trade parliament will have to put an end to this kind of business somehow! But it cannot be done by laws merely, where the interests and circumstances are so extended and complex. Nay, even as regards lower and more defined crimes, the assigned punishment is not to be thought of as a preventive means; but only as the seal of opinion set by society on the fact. Crime cannot be hindered by punishment; it will always find some shape and outlet, unpunishable or unclosed.[3] Crime can only be truly hindered by letting no man grow up a criminal—by

* (See the analysis of the moral system of Dante, respecting punishment, given in *Fors Clavigera,* Letter XXIII.)

[1] [The letter, as originally published, and the edition of 1867 read: "Sins of violence usually have passion to excuse them; they may be . . ."]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, adds: ", not representative of men in general."]

[3] [The letter, as originally published, reads "enclosed," but "unclosed," as in all editions of the book, is clearly right.]

taking away the *will* to commit sin; not by mere punishment of its commission. Crime, small and great, can only be truly stayed by education—not the education of the intellect only, which is, on some men, wasted, and for others mischievous; but education of the heart, which is alike good and necessary for all. So, on this matter, I will try in my next letter to say one or two things of which the silence has kept my own heart heavy this many a day.

LETTER XVI

Of Public Education irrespective of Class-distinction. It consists essentially in giving Habits of Mercy, and Habits of Truth. (Gentleness and Justice)*

March 30th, 1867.

87. THANK you for sending me the pamphlet containing the account of the meeting of clergy and workmen, and of the reasonings which there took place. I cannot promise you that I shall read much of them, for the question to my mind most requiring discussion and explanation is not, why workmen don't go to church, but—why other people do. However, this I know, that if among our many spiritual teachers, there are indeed any who heartily and literally believe that the wisdom they have to teach "is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her,"[1] and if, so believing, they will further dare to affront their congregations by the assertion; and plainly tell them they are not to hunt for rubies or gold any more, at their peril, till they have gained that which cannot be gotten for gold, nor silver weighed for the price thereof,—such believers, so preaching, and refusing to preach otherwise till they are in that attended to, will never want congregations, both of working men, and every other kind of men.

88. Did you ever hear of anything else so ill-named as

* "Mercy," in its full sense, means delight in perceiving nobleness, or in doing kindness. Compare § 50.[2]

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[1] [Proverbs iii. 15.]

[2] [This note, though not so marked by Ruskin, was added in 1872. So also were the words "(Gentleness and Justice)" in the heading.]

the phantom called the "Philosopher's Stone"? A talisman that shall turn base metal into precious metal, nature acknowledges not; nor would any but fools seek after it. But a talisman to turn base souls into noble souls, nature has given us! and that is a "Philosopher's Stone" indeed, but it is a stone which the builders refuse.[1]

89. If there were two valleys in California or Australia, with two different kinds of gravel in the bottom of them; and in the one stream bed you could dig up, occasionally and by good fortune, nuggets of gold; and in the other stream bed, certainly and without hazard, you could dig up little caskets, containing talismans which gave length of days and peace; and alabaster vases of precious balms, which were better than the Arabian Dervish's ointment,[2] and made not only the eyes to see, but the mind to know, whatever it would—I wonder in which of the stream beds there would be most diggers?

90. "Time is money"—so say your practised merchants and economists. None of them, however, I fancy, as they draw towards death, find that the reverse is true, and that "money is time"? Perhaps it might be better for them, in the end, if they did not turn so much of their time into money, lest, perchance, they also turn Eternity into it![3] There are other things, however, which in the same sense are money, or can be changed into it, as well as time. Health is money, wit is money, knowledge is money; and all your health, and wit, and knowledge may be changed for gold; and the happy goal so reached, of a sick, insane, and blind, auriferous old age; but the gold cannot be changed in its turn back into health and wit.

91. "Time is money"; the words tingle in my ears so that I can't go on writing. Is it nothing better, then? If we could thoroughly understand that time was—*itself*,—

[1] [Psalms cxviii. 22.]

[2] [See the *Inaugural Address at Cambridge*, § 4, for this allusion (Vol. XVI. p. 180 *n.*).]

[3] [The letter, as originally published, and the edition of 1867 read: ". . . into money, as no re-transformation is possible."]

would it not be more to the purpose? A thing of which loss or gain was absolute loss, and perfect gain. And that it was expedient also to buy health and knowledge with money, if so purchaseable; but not to buy money with *them?*

And purchaseable they are at the beginning of life, though not at its close. Purchaseable, always, for others, if not for ourselves. You can buy, and cheaply, life, endless life, according to your Christian's creed—(there's a bargain for you!) but—long years of knowledge, and peace, and power, and happiness of love—these assuredly and irrespectively of any creed or question,—for all those desolate and haggard children about your streets.

92. "That is not political economy, however." Pardon me; the all-comfortable saying, "What he layeth out, it shall be paid him again,"[1] is quite literally true in matters of education; no money seed can be sown with so sure and large return at harvest-time as that; only of this money-seed, more than of flesh-seed, it is utterly true, "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it *die.*"[2] You must forget your money, and every other material interest, and educate for education's sake only! or the very good you try to bestow will become venomous, and that and your money will be lost together.

93. And this has been the real cause of failure in our efforts for education hitherto—whether from above or below. There is no honest desire for the thing itself. The cry for it among the lower orders is because they think that, when once they have got it, they must become upper orders. There is a strange notion in the mob's mind now-a-days (including all our popular economists and educators, as we most justly may, under that brief term "mob"), that *everybody* can be uppermost; or at least, that a state of general scramble, in which everybody in his turn should come to the top, is a proper Utopian constitution; and that, once

[1] [See Luke x. 35.]
[2] [1 Corinthians xv. 36.]

give every lad a good education, and he cannot but come to ride in his carriage (the methods of supply of coachmen and footmen not being contemplated). And very sternly I say to you—and say from sure knowledge—that a man had better not know how to read and write, than receive education on such terms.

94. The first condition under which it can be given usefully is, that it should be clearly understood to be no means of getting on in the world, but a means of staying pleasantly in your place there.[1] And the first elements of State education should be calculated equally for the advantage of every order of person composing the State. From the lowest to the highest class, every child born in this island should be required by law to receive these general elements of human discipline, and to be baptized—not with a drop of water on its forehead—but in the cloud and sea of heavenly wisdom and of earthly power.

And the elements of this general State education should be briefly these:

95. First—The body must be made as beautiful and perfect in its youth as it can be, wholly irrespective of ulterior purpose. If you mean afterwards to set the creature to business which will degrade its body and shorten its life, first, I should say, simply,—you had better let such business alone;—but if you must have it done, somehow, yet let the living creature, whom you mean to kill, get the full strength of its body first, and taste the joy, and bear the beauty of youth. After that, poison it, if you will. Economically, the arrangement is a wiser one, for it will take longer in the killing than if you began with it younger; and you will get an excess of work out of it which will more than pay for its training.

Therefore, first teach—as I have said in the preface to *Unto this Last*—"The Laws of Health, and exercises enjoined by them;"[2] and, to this end, your schools must be in

[1] [See above, p. 320 *n.*; and Vol. XVI. p. 474.]
[2] [See above, p. 21.]

fresh country, and amidst fresh air, and have great extents of land attached to them in permanent estate. Riding, running, all the honest, personal exercises of offence and defence, and music, should be the primal heads of this bodily education.[1]

96. Next to these bodily accomplishments, the two great mental graces should be taught, Reverence and Compassion: not that these are in a literal sense to be "taught," for they are innate in every well-born human creature, but they have to be developed exactly as the strength of the body must be, by deliberate and constant exercise. I never understood why Goethe (in the plan of education in *Wilhelm Meister*[2]) says that reverence is not innate, but must be taught from without; it seems to me so fixedly a function of the human spirit, that if men can get nothing else to reverence they will worship a fool, or a stone, or a vegetable.* But to teach reverence rightly is to attach it to the right persons and things; first, by setting over your youth masters whom they cannot but love and respect; next, by gathering for them, out of past history, whatever has been most worthy in human deeds and human passion; and leading them continually to dwell upon such instances, making this the principal element of emotional excitement to them; and, lastly, by letting them justly feel, as far as may be, the smallness of their own powers and knowledge, as compared with the attainments of others.

97. Compassion, on the other hand, is to be taught chiefly by making it a point of honour, collaterally with courage, and in the same rank (as indeed the complement and evidence of courage), so that, in the code of unwritten school law, it shall be held as shameful to have done a cruel thing as a cowardly one. All infliction of pain on weaker creatures is to be stigmatized as unmanly crime; and every

* By steady preaching against it, one may quench reverence, and bring insolence to its height; but the instinct cannot be wholly uprooted.

[1] [Compare § 61; above, p. 368.]
[2] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 121 *n.*; above, p. 243 *n.*]

possible opportunity taken to exercise the youths in offices of some practical help, and to acquaint them with the realities of the distress which, in the joyfulness of entering into life, it is so difficult, for those who have not seen home suffering, to conceive.[1]

98. Reverence, then, and compassion, we are to teach primarily,[2] and with these, as the bond and guardian of them, truth of spirit and word, of thought and sight. Truth, earnest and passionate, sought for like a treasure, and kept like a crown.

This teaching of truth as a habit will be the chief work the master has to do; and it will enter into all parts of education. First, you must accustom the children to close accuracy of statement; this both as a principle of honour, and as an accomplishment of language, making them try always who shall speak truest, both as regards the fact he has to relate or express (not concealing or exaggerating), and as regards the precision of the words he expresses it in, thus making truth (which, indeed, it is) the test of perfect language, and giving the intensity of a moral purpose to the study and art of words: then carrying this accuracy into all habits of thought and observation also, so as always to *think* of things as they truly are, and to *see* them as they truly are, as far as in us rests. And it does rest much in our power, for all false thoughts and seeings come mainly of our thinking of what we have no business with, and looking for things we want to see, instead of things that ought to be seen.

99. "Do not talk but of what you know; do not think but of what you have materials to think justly upon; and do not look for things only that you like, when there are others to be seen"—this is the lesson to be taught to our youth, and inbred in them; and that mainly by our own example and continence. Never teach a child anything of

[1] [See Appendix viii.; below, p. 474.]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, adds: "in these anything but free institutions of ours."]

which you are not yourself sure; and, above all, if you feel anxious to force anything into its mind in tender years, that the virtue of youth and early association may fasten it there, be sure it is no lie which you thus sanctify. There is always more to be taught of absolute, incontrovertible knowledge, open to its capacity, than any child can learn; there is no need to teach it anything doubtful. Better that it should be ignorant of a thousand truths, than have consecrated in its heart a single lie.[1]

100. And for this, as well as for many other reasons, the principal subjects of education, after history, ought to be natural science and mathematics; but with respect to these studies, your schools will require to be divided into three groups: one for children who will probably have to live in cities, one for those who will live in the country, and one for those who will live at sea; the schools for these last, of course, being always placed on the coast. And for children whose life is to be in cities, the subjects of study should be, as far as their disposition will allow of it, mathematics and the arts; for children who are to live in the country, natural history of birds, insects, and plants, together with agriculture taught practically; and for children who are to be seamen, physical geography, astronomy, and the natural history of sea fish and sea birds.

101. This, then, being the general course and material of education for all children, observe farther, that in the preface to *Unto this Last* I said that every child, besides passing through this course, was at school to learn "the calling by which it was to live."[2] And it may perhaps appear to you that after, or even in the early stages of education such as this above described, there are many callings which, however much called to them, the children might not willingly determine to learn or live by. "Probably," you may say, "after they have learned to ride, and

[1] [On the importance of this accuracy in education, see *Aratra Pentelici*, Preface, § 1.]

[2] [See above, p. 21.]

fence, and sing, and know birds and flowers, it will be little to their liking to make themselves into tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and the like." And I cannot but agree with you as to the exceeding probability of some such reluctance on their part, which will be a very awkward state of things indeed, (since we can by no means get on without tailoring and shoemaking,) and one to be meditated upon very seriously in next letter.

102. *P.S.*—Thank you for sending me your friend's letter about Gustave Doré; he is wrong, however, in thinking there is any good in those illustrations of *Elaine*.[1] I had intended to speak of them afterwards, for it is to my mind quite as significant — almost as awful — a sign of what is going on in the midst of us, that our great English poet should have suffered his work to be thus contaminated, as that the lower Evangelicals, never notable for sense in the arts, should have got their Bibles dishonoured. Those *Elaine* illustrations are just as impure as anything else that Doré has done; but they are also vapid, and without any one merit whatever in point of art. The illustrations to the *Contes Drôlatiques* are full of power and invention;[2] but those to *Elaine* are merely and simply stupid; theatrical bêtises, with the taint of the charnel-house on them besides.

[1] [Doré's illustrations to *Elaine* were published by Moxon in 1866; and to the *Idylls of the King* (i.e., *Enid, Vivien, Elaine,* and *Guinevere*) in 1868. In 1869 the poet visited Doré in Paris. "Although," says Mr. Locker-Lampson, who accompanied him, "Tennyson had not been entirely satisfied with the publication of the folio edition of the *Idylls*, which Doré illustrated, the two met and parted with perfect cordiality" (*Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir by his Son*, vol. ii. p. 77).]

[2] [See above, § 30, p. 344.]

LETTER XVII

The Relations of Education to Position in Life

April 3, 1867.

103. I AM not quite sure that you will feel the awkwardness of the dilemma I got into at the end of last letter, as much as I do myself. You working men have been crowing and peacocking at such a rate lately; and setting yourselves forth so confidently for the cream of society, and the top of the world, that perhaps you will not anticipate any of the difficulties which suggest themselves to a thoroughbred Tory and Conservative, like me.[1] Perhaps you will expect a youth properly educated—a good rider—musician—and well-grounded scholar in natural philosophy, to think it a step of promotion when he has to go and be made a tailor of, or a coalheaver? If you do, I should very willingly admit that you might be right, and go on to the farther development of my notions without pausing at this stumbling-block, were it not that, unluckily, all the wisest men whose sayings I ever heard or read, agree in expressing (one way or another) just such contempt for those useful occupations, as I dread on the part of my foolishly refined scholars. Shakespeare and Chaucer,—Dante and Virgil,—Horace and Pindar,—Homer, Æschylus, and Plato,—all the men of any age or country who seem to have had Heaven's music on their lips, agree in their scorn of mechanic life.[2] And I imagine that the feeling of prudent Englishmen, and sensible as well as sensitive Englishwomen, on reading my last letter, would mostly be—"Is the man mad, or laughing at us, to

[1] [See *Præterita*, i. § 1 (reprinting part of *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 10).]
[2] [See *Munera Pulveris*, § 109 *n.* (above, p. 234).]

propose educating the working classes this way? He could not, if his wild scheme were possible, find a better method of making them acutely wretched."

104. It may be so, my sensible and polite friends; and I am heartily willing, as well as curious, to hear you develop your own scheme of operative education, so only that it be universal, orderly, and careful. I do not say that I shall be prepared to advocate my athletics and philosophies instead. Only, observe what you admit, or imply, in bringing forward your possibly wiser system. You imply that a certain portion of mankind must be employed in degrading work; and that, to fit them for this work, it is necessary to limit their knowledge, their active powers, and their enjoyments, from childhood upwards, so that they may not be able to conceive of any state better than the one they were born in, nor possess any knowledge or acquirements inconsistent with the coarseness, or disturbing the monotony, of their vulgar occupation. And by their labour in this contracted state of mind, we superior beings are to be maintained; and always to be curtseyed to by the properly ignorant little girls, and capped by the properly ignorant little boys, whenever we pass by.

105. Mind, I do not say that this is *not* the right state of things. Only, if it be, you need not be so over-particular about the slave-trade, it seems to me.[1] What is the use of arguing so pertinaciously that a black's skull will hold as much as a white's, when you are declaring in the same breath that a white's skull must not hold as much as it can, or it will be the worse for him? It does not appear to me at all a profound state of slavery to be whipped into doing a piece of low work that I don't like; but it is a very profound state of slavery to be kept, myself, low in the forehead, that I may not dislike low work.

106. You see, my friend, the dilemma is really an awkward one, whichever way you look at it. But, what is

[1] [See *Munera Pulveris*, § 130 (above, p. 254).]

still worse, I am not puzzled only, at this part of my scheme, about the boys I shall have to make *workmen* of; I am just as much puzzled about the boys I shall have to make *nothing* of! Grant, that by hook or crook, by reason or rattan, I persuade a certain number of the roughest ones into some serviceable business, and get coats and shoes made for the rest,—what is the business of "the rest" to be? Naturally, according to the existing state of things, one supposes they are to belong to some of the gentlemanly professions; to be soldiers, lawyers, doctors, or clergymen. But alas, I shall not want any soldiers of special skill or pugnacity. *All* my boys will be soldiers. So far from wanting any lawyers, of the kind that live by talking, I shall have the strongest possible objection to their appearance in the country. For doctors, I shall always entertain a profound respect; but when I get my athletic education fairly established, of what help to them will my respect be? They will all starve! And for clergymen, it is true, I shall have a large number of episcopates—one over every hundred families—(and many positions of civil authority also, for civil officers, above them and below), but all these places will involve much hard work, and be anything but covetable; while, of clergymen's usual work, admonition, theological demonstration, and the like, I shall want very little done indeed, and that little done for nothing! for I will allow no man to admonish anybody, until he has previously earned his own dinner by more productive work than admonition.[1]

Well, I wish, my friend, you would write me a word or two in answer to this, telling me your own ideas as to the proper issue out of these difficulties. I should like to know what you think, and what you suppose others will think, before I tell you my own notions about the matter.

[1] [See Appendix viii.; below, p. 475.]

LETTER XVIII

The harmful Effects of Servile Employments. The possible Practice and Exhibition of sincere Humility by Religious Persons

April 7, 1867.

107. I HAVE been waiting these three days to know what you would say to my last questions; and now you send me two pamphlets of Combe's[1] to read! I never read anything in spring-time (except the Ai, Ai, on the "sanguine flower inscribed with woe"[2]); and, besides, if, as I gather from your letter, Combe thinks that among well-educated boys there would be a percentage constitutionally inclined to be cobblers, or looking forward with unction to establishment in the oil and tallow line, or fretting themselves for a flunkey's uniform, nothing that he could say would make me agree with him. I know, as well as he does, the unconquerable differences in the clay of the human creature: and I know that, in the outset, whatever system of education you adopted, a large number of children could be made nothing of, and would necessarily fall out of the ranks, and supply candidates enough for degradation to common mechanical business: but this enormous difference in bodily and mental capacity has been mainly brought about by difference in occupation, and by direct maltreatment; and in a few generations, if the poor were cared for, their marriages looked after, and sanitary law enforced, a beautiful type of face and form, and a high intelligence,

[1] [George Combe (1788–1858), writer on phrenology, education, and social ethics. One of the pamphlets may have been his *Constitution of Man* (see below, p. 472); another, his *Remarks on National Education*, 1847.]

[2] [Ruskin quotes from *Lycidas*, 106, where Milton's reference is to the markings of αἰ αἰ (alas! alas!) which the Greeks saw on the petals of the hyacinth, in token of the death of the youth from whose blood the flower had sprung.]

would become all but universal, in a climate like this of England. Even as it is, the marvel is always to me, how the race resists, at least in its childhood, influences of ill-regulated birth, poisoned food, poisoned air, and soul neglect. I often see faces of children, as I walk through the black district of St. Giles's (lying, as it does, just between my own house and the British Museum), which, through all their pale and corrupt misery, recall the old "Non Angli,"[1] and recall it, not by their beauty, but by their sweetness of expression, even though signed already with trace and cloud of the coming life,—a life so bitter that it would make the curse of the 137th Psalm true upon our modern Babylon, though we were to read it thus, "Happy shall *thy children* be, if one taketh and dasheth them against the stones."

108. Yes, very solemnly I repeat to you that in those worst treated children of the English race, I yet see the making of gentlemen and gentlewomen—not the making of dog-stealers and gin-drinkers, such as their parents were; and the child of the average English tradesman or peasant, even at this day, well schooled, will show no innate disposition such as must fetter him for ever to the clod or the counter.[2] You say that many a boy runs away, or would run away if he could, from good positions to go to sea. Of course he does. I never said I should have any difficulty in finding sailors, but I shall in finding fishmongers. I am at no loss for gardeners either, but what am I to do for greengrocers?

109. The fact is, a great number of quite necessary employments are, in the accuratest sense, "Servile";[3] that is,

[1] ["*Non Angli sed Angeli forent, si fuissent Christiani*": words attributed to Pope Gregory the Great (*c.* 573, before he was Pope), on seeing some English children in the slave market at Rome.]

[2] [Ruskin in his own copy refers in the margin here to "Juvenal, x. 130." The passage is:—

"Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus
A carbone, et forcipibus, gladiosque parante
Incude, et luteo Vulcano, ad rhetora misit."]

[3] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 109 (above, p. 234).]

they sink a man to the condition of a serf, or unthinking worker, the proper state of an animal, but more or less unworthy of men; nay, unholy in some sense, so that a day is made "holy" by the fact of its being commanded, "Thou shalt do no *servile* work therein."[1] And yet, if undertaken in a certain spirit, such work might be the holiest of all. If there were but a thread or two of sound fibre here and there left in our modern religion, so that the stuff of it would bear a real strain, one might address our two opposite groups of evangelicals and ritualists somewhat after this fashion:—"Good friends, these differences of opinion between you cannot but be painful to your Christian charity, and they are unseemly to us, the profane; and prevent us from learning from you what, perhaps, we ought. But, as we read your Book, we, for our part, gather from it that you might, without danger to your own souls, set an undivided example to us, for the benefit of ours. You, both of you, as far as we understand, agree in the necessity of humility to the perfection of your character. We often hear you, of Calvinistic persuasion, speaking of yourselves as 'sinful dust and ashes,'[2]—would it then be inconsistent with your feelings to make yourselves into 'serviceable' dust and ashes? We observe that of late many of our roads have been hardened and mended with cinders; now, if, in a higher sense, you could allow us to mend the roads of the world with *you* a little, it would be a great proof to us of your sincerity. Suppose, only for a little while, in the present difficulty and distress, you were to make it a test of conversion that a man should regularly give Zacchæus's portion, half his goods, to the poor,[3] and at once adopt some disagreeable and despised, but thoroughly useful, trade? You cannot think that this would finally be to your disadvantage; you doubtless believe the texts, 'He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the

[1] [Leviticus xxiii. 7.]
[2] [See Genesis xviii. 27; Job xxx. 19.]
[3] [Luke xix. 8.]

Lord,' and 'He that would be chief among you, let him be your servant.'[1] The more you parted with, and the lower you stooped, the greater would be your final reward, and final exaltation. You profess to despise human learning and worldly riches; leave both of these to *us;* undertake for us the illiterate and ill-paid employments which must deprive you of the privileges of society and the pleasures of luxury. You cannot possibly preach your faith so forcibly to the world by any quantity of the finest words, as by a few such simple and painful acts; and over your counters, in honest retail business, you might preach a gospel that would sound in more ears than any that was ever proclaimed over pulpit cushions or tabernacle rails. And, whatever may be your gifts of utterance, you cannot but feel (studying St. Paul's Epistles as carefully as you do) that you might more easily and modestly emulate the practical teaching of the silent Apostle of the Gentiles than the speech or writing of his companion. Amidst the present discomforts of your brethren you may surely, with greater prospect of good to them, seek the title of Sons of Consolation, than of Sons of Thunder, and be satisfied with Barnabas's confession of faith, (if you can reach no farther,) who, 'having land, sold it, and brought the money and laid it at the Apostles' feet.'[2]

110. "To you, on the other hand, gentlemen of the embroidered robe, who neither despise learning nor the arts, we know that sacrifices such as these would be truly painful, and might at first appear inexpedient. But the doctrine of self-mortification is not a new one to you; and we should be sorry to think—we would not, indeed, for a moment dishonour you by thinking—that these melodious chants, and prismatic brightnesses of vitreous pictures, and floral graces of deep-wrought stone, were in any wise intended for your own poor pleasures, whatever profane attraction they may exercise on more fleshly-minded persons.

[1] [See Proverbs xix. 17; Matthew xx. 27.]
[2] [Mark iii. 17; Acts iv. 35.]

And as you have certainly received no definite order for the painting, carving, or lighting up of churches, while the temple of the body of so many poor living Christians is so pale, so mis-shapen, and so ill-lighted; but have, on the contrary, received very definite orders for the feeding and clothing of such sad humanity,[1] we may surely ask you, not unreasonably, to humiliate yourselves in the most complete way—not with a voluntary, but a sternly *in*voluntary humility—not with a show of wisdom in will-worship, but with practical wisdom, in all honour, to the satisfying of the flesh; and to associate yourselves in monasteries and convents for the better practice of useful and humble trades. Do not burn any more candles, but mould some; do not paint any more windows, but mend a few where the wind comes in, in winter time, with substantial clear glass and putty. Do not vault any more high roofs, but thatch some low ones; and embroider rather on backs which are turned to the cold, than only on those which are turned to congregations. And you will have your reward afterwards, and attain, with all your flocks thus tended, to a place where you may have as much gold, and painted glass, and singing, as you like."

Thus much, it seems to me, one might say with some hope of acceptance, to any very earnest member of either of our two great religious parties, if, as I say, their faith could stand a strain. I have not, however, based any of my imaginary political arrangements on the probability of its doing so; and I trust only to such general good nature and willingness to help each other, as I presume may be found among men of the world; to whom I should have to make quite another sort of speech, which I will endeavour to set down the heads of, for you, in next letter.

[1] [See Matthew xxv. 36; John xxi. 16.]

LETTER XIX

The General Pressure of Excessive and Improper Work, in English Life

April 10, 1867.

111. I CANNOT go on to-day with the part of my subject I had proposed, for I was disturbed by receiving a letter last night, which I herewith enclose to you, and of which I wish you to print, here following, the parts I have not underlined:—

1, PHENE STREET, CHELSEA, *April* 8, 1867.

MY DEAR R———,

It is long since you have heard of me, and now I ask your patience with me for a little. I have but just returned from the funeral of my dear, dear friend ———, the first artist friend I made in London—a loved and prized one. For years past he had lived in the very humblest way, fighting his battle of life against mean appreciation of his talents, the wants of a rising family, and frequent attacks of illness, crippling him for months at a time, the wolf at the door meanwhile.

But about two years since his prospects brightened * * * and he had but a few weeks since ventured on removal to a larger house. His eldest boy of seventeen years, a very intelligent youth, so strongly desired to be a civil engineer that Mr. ———, not being able to pay the large premium required for his apprenticeship, had been made very glad by the consent of Mr. Penn, of Millwall, to receive him without a premium after the boy should have spent some time at King's College in the study of mechanics. The rest is a sad story. About a fortnight ago Mr. ——— was taken ill, and died last week, the doctors say, of sheer physical exhaustion, not thirty-nine years old, leaving eight young children, and his poor widow expecting her confinement, and so weak and ill as to be incapable of effort. This youth is the eldest, and the other children range downwards to a babe of eighteen months. There is not one who knew him, I believe, that will not give cheerfully, to their ability, for his widow and children; but such aid will go but a little way in this painful case; and it would be a real boon to this poor widow if some of her children could be got into an Orphan Asylum. * * *

If you are able to do anything I would send particulars of the age and sex of the children.—I remain, dear Sir, ever obediently yours,

FRED. J. SHIELDS.

P.S.—I ought to say that poor ——— has been quite unable to save, with his large family; and that they would be utterly destitute now, but for the kindness of some with whom he was professionally connected.[1]

[1] [The artist in question was C. H. Bennett (1829–1867), draughtsman on wood; he illustrated the *Pilgrim's Progress* and worked on the staff of *Punch*.]

112. Now this case, of which you see the entire authenticity, is, out of the many of which I hear continually, a *notably* sad one only in so far as the artist in question has died of distress while he was catering for the public amusement. Hardly a week now passes without some such misery coming to my knowledge; and the quantity of pain, and anxiety of daily effort, through the best part of life, ending all at last in utter grief, which the lower middle classes in England are now suffering, is so great that I feel constantly as if I were living in one great churchyard, with people all round me clinging feebly to the edges of the open graves, and calling for help, as they fall back into them, out of sight.[1]

113. Now I want you to observe here, in a definite case, the working of your beautiful modern political economy of "supply and demand." Here is a man who could have "supplied" you with good and entertaining art,[2]—say for fifty good years,—if you had paid him enough for his day's work to find him and his children peacefully in bread. But you like having your prints as cheap as possible—you triumph in the little that your laugh costs—you take all you can get from the man, give the least you can give to him,—and you accordingly kill him at thirty-nine; and thereafter have his children to take care of, or to kill also, whichever you choose; but, now, observe, you must take care of *them* for nothing, or not at all; and what you might have had good value for, if you had given it when it would have cheered the father's heart, you now can have no return for at all, to yourselves; and what you give to the orphans, if it does not degrade them, at least afflicts, coming, not through their father's hand, its honest earnings, but from strangers.

[1] [So, nine years later, Ruskin wrote from Venice: "This green tide that eddies by my threshold is full of floating corpses, and I must leave my dinner to bury them, since I cannot save," etc. (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter 72); and compare the letter from Mornex, cited in the Introduction (above, p. xl.).]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, reads: ". . . with a good and entertaining art,—and all the brighter if you had made him happy himself, say for . . ."]

Observe farther, whatever help the orphans may receive, will not be from the public at all. It will not be from those who profited by their father's labours; it will be chiefly from his fellow-labourers; or from persons whose money would have been beneficially spent in other directions from whence it is drawn away to this need, which ought never to have occurred,—while those who waste their money without doing any service to the public will never contribute one farthing to this distress.

114. Now it is this double fault in the help—that it comes too late, and that the burden of it falls wholly on those who ought least to be charged with it—which would be corrected by that institution of overseers of which I spoke to you in the twelfth of these letters,[1] saying, you remember, that they were to have farther legal powers, which I did not then specify, but which would belong to them chiefly in the capacity of public almoners, or help-givers, aided by their deacons, the reception of such help, in time of true need, being not held disgraceful, but honourable; since the fact of its reception would be so entirely public that no impostor or idle person could ever obtain it surreptitiously.

115. (11th April.) I was interrupted yesterday, and I am glad of it, for here happens just an instance of the way in which the unjust distribution of the burden of charity is reflected on general interests; I cannot help what taint of ungracefulness you or other readers of these letters may feel that I incur, in speaking, in this instance, of myself. If I could speak with the same accurate knowledge of any one else, most gladly I would; but I also think it right that, whether people accuse me of boasting or not, they should know that I practise what I preach. I had not intended to say what I now shall, but the coming of this letter last night just turns the balance of the decision with me. I enclose it with the other; you see it is one from

[1] [Really, the thirteenth: see above, pp. 378–379.]

my bookseller, Mr. Quaritch, offering me Fischer's work on the *Flora of Java*, and Latour's on *Indian Orchidaceæ*, bound together, for twenty guineas.[1] Now, I am writing a book on botany just now, for young people,[2] chiefly on wild flowers, and I want these two books very much; but I simply cannot afford to buy them, because I sent my last spare twenty guineas to Mr. Shields yesterday for this widow. And though you may think it not the affair of the public that I have not this book on Indian flowers, it is their affair finally, that what I write for them should be founded on as broad knowledge as possible; whatever value my own book may or may not have, it will just be in a given degree worth *less* to them, because of my want of this knowledge.

116. So again—for having begun to speak of myself I will do so yet more frankly—I suppose that when people see my name down for a hundred pounds to the Cruikshank Memorial,[3] and for another hundred to the Eyre Defence Fund,[4] they think only that I have more money than I know what to do with. Well, the giving of those subscriptions simply decides the question whether or no I shall be able to afford a journey to Switzerland this year,[5] in the negative; and I wanted to go, not only for health's

[1] [*Flora Javæ nec non insularum adjacentium, auctore C. L. Blume, adjutore J. B. Fischer* (containing 238 coloured plates: Brussels, 1827–1851); *Ejudem Nova Series*, 1858 (containing 70 plates of Orchids, Indian and other, by Latour, Wengel, and Blume). The whole in 4 vols.; priced in Mr. Quaritch's catalogue of 1887, vol. i. p. 255, at £18.]

[2] [The scheme of *Proserpina* was, it will be seen, in the author's mind at this time (1867). "Did botany" (or "geology" or "mineralogy") is a frequent entry in Ruskin's home diary for 1866 and 1867.]

[3] [This was a subscription to a testimonial (1866) to the artist, then 74 years of age. For Ruskin's admiration of Cruikshank's genius, see Vol. VI. p. 471 *n.* Letters dealing with other schemes which Ruskin devised at this time to help Cruikshank are given in a later volume.]

[4] [The fund, of which Carlyle was vice-president, formed to assist Eyre, who had been removed from the Governorship of Jamaica on account of his severity in repressing a negro rising (1865), and who was subsequently prosecuted by the "Jamaica Committee" (formed by J. S. Mill and others). Ruskin took an active part in this matter, and spoke at a meeting of the Eyre Defence Fund Committee (see a later volume of this edition).]

[5] [In the summer of 1867 Ruskin paid a visit, instead, to the English lakes.]

sake, but to examine the junctions of the molasse sandstones and nagelfluh with the Alpine limestone, in order to complete some notes I meant to publish next spring on the geology of the great northern Swiss valley; notes which must now lie by me at least for another year; and I believe this delay (though I say it) will be really something of a loss to the travelling public, for the little essay was intended to explain to them, in a familiar way, the real wonderfulness of their favourite mountain, the Righi; and to give them some amusement in trying to find out where the many-coloured pebbles of it had come from.[1] But it is more important that I should, with some stoutness, assert my respect for the genius and earnest patriotism of Cruikshank, and my much more than disrespect for the Jamaica Committee, than that I should see the Alps this year, or get my essay finished next spring; but I tell you the fact, because I want you to feel how, in thus leaving their men of worth to be assisted or defended only by those who deeply care for them, the public more or less cripple, to their own ultimate disadvantage, just the people who could serve them in other ways; while the speculators and money-seekers, who are only making their profit out of the said public, of course take no part in the help of anybody. And even if the willing bearers could sustain the burden anywise adequately, none of us would complain; but I am certain there is no man, whatever his fortune, who is now engaged in any earnest offices of kindness to these sufferers, especially of the middle class, among his acquaintance, who will not bear me witness that for one we can relieve, we must leave three to perish. I have left three, myself, in the first three months of this year. One was the artist Paul Gray, for whom an appeal was made to me for funds to assist him in going abroad out of the bitter English winter. I had not the means by me, and he died a week

[1] [Ruskin had been studying the nagelfluh (*Breccia helvetica*) of Northern Switzerland both in 1863 and 1866 (see W. G. Collingwood's *Life*, 1900, p. 247); but this popular essay never got itself written. See, however (in a later volume of this edition) Ruskin's papers in *The Geological Magazine*, 1868–1869.]

afterwards.[1] Another case was that of a widow whose husband had committed suicide, for whom application was made to me at the same time; and the third was a personal friend, to whom I refused a sum which he said would have saved him from bankruptcy. I believe six times as much would not have saved him; however, I refused, and he is ruined.

117. And observe, also, it is not the mere crippling of my means that I regret. It is the crippling of my temper, and waste of my time. The knowledge of all this distress, even when I can assist it,—much more when I cannot,—and the various thoughts of what I can and cannot, or ought and ought not, to do, are a far greater burden to me than the mere loss of the money. It is peremptorily not my business—it is not my gift, bodily or mentally, to look after other people's sorrow. I have enough of my own; and even if I had not, the sight of pain is not good for me. I don't want to be a bishop. In a most literal and sincere sense, "*nolo episcopari.*" I don't want to be an almoner, nor a counsellor, nor a Member of Parliament, nor a voter for Members of Parliament. (What would Mr. Holyoake[2] say to me if he knew that I have never voted for anybody in my life,[3] and never mean to do so!) I am essentially a painter and a leaf dissector; and my powers of thought are all purely mathematical, seizing ultimate principles only—never accidents; a line is always, to me, length without breadth; it is not a cable or a crowbar; and though I can almost infallibly reason out the final law of anything, if within reach of my industry, I neither care for, nor can trace, the minor exigencies of its daily appliance. So, in every way, I like a quiet life; and I don't

[1] [Paul Gray, draughtsman on wood, was born in Dublin in 1842. He settled in London at the age of twenty-one, and showed talent as a painter; but the necessity of supporting his mother confined him to wood-engraving. He illustrated Kingsley's *Hereward*, and contributed many cartoons to *Fun*.]

[2] [Mr. George Jacob Holyoake (*b.* 1817), well known as a reformer and as an agitator in various popular causes, the ballot among the number; author of *The History of Co-operation in England* (on which subject Ruskin corresponded with him in later years: see a subsequent volume of this edition).]

[3] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 29, where Ruskin repeats this statement.]

like seeing people cry, or die; and should rejoice, more than I can tell you, in giving up the full half of my fortune for the poor, provided I knew that the public would make Lord Overstone[1] also give the half of his, and other people who were independent give the half of theirs; and then set men who were really fit for such office to administer the fund, and answer to us for nobody's perishing innocently; and so leave us all to do what we chose with the rest, and with our days, in peace.

Thus far of the public's fault in the matter. Next, I have a word or two to say of the sufferers' own fault—for much as I pity them, I conceive that none of them *do* perish altogether innocently. But this must be for next letter.

[1] [Samuel Jones Loyd, Baron Overstone (1796–1883); succeeded to his father's banking business (London and Westminster Bank, founded 1834); the leading authority in his time on banking.]

LETTER XX

Of Improvidence in Marriage in the Middle Classes; and of the advisable Restrictions of it

April 12, 1867.

118. It is quite as well, whatever irregularity it may introduce in the arrangement of the general subject, that yonder sad letter warped me away from the broad inquiry, to this speciality, respecting the present distress of the middle classes. For the immediate cause of that distress, in their own imprudence, of which I have to speak to you to-day, is only to be finally vanquished by strict laws,[1] which, though they have been many a year in my mind, I was glad to have a quiet hour of sunshine for the thinking over again, this morning. Sunshine which happily rose cloudless; and allowed me to meditate my tyrannies before breakfast, under the just opened blossoms of my orchard, and assisted by much melodious advice from the birds; who (my gardener having positive orders never to trouble any of them in anything, or object to their eating even my best pease if they like their flavour) rather now get *into* my way, than out of it, when they see me about the walks; and take me into most of their counsels in nest-building.

119. The letter from Mr. Shields, which interrupted us, reached me, as you see, on the evening of the 9th instant. On the morning of the 10th, I received another, which I herewith forward to you, for verification. It is—characteristically enough—dateless, so you must take the time of its arrival on my word. And substituting M. N. for the

[1] [The essay, as originally published, reads:—
"... vanquished by some laws, of less severity than those I have hitherto been pleading for (less in some respects certainly—in others it may perhaps be thought, of severity not easily tolerable): and which ..."]

name of the boy referred to, and withholding only the address and name of the writer, you see that it may be printed word for word—as follows:—

SIR,—

May I beg for the favour of your presentation to Christ's Hospital for my youngest son, M. N.? I have nine children, and no means to educate them. I ventured to address you, believing that my husband's name is not unknown to you as an artist.

Believe me to remain faithfully yours,

* * *

120. Now this letter is only a typical example of the entire class of those which, being a governor of Christ's Hospital,[1] I receive, in common with all the other governors, at the rate of about three a day, for a month or six weeks from the date of our names appearing in the printed list of the governors who have presentations for the current year. Having been a governor now some twenty-five years, I have documentary evidence enough to found some general statistics upon; from which there have resulted two impressions on my mind, which I wish here specially to note to you, and I do not doubt but that all the other governors, if you could ask them, would at once confirm what I say. My first impression is, a heavy and sorrowful sense of the general feebleness of intellect of that portion of the British public which stands in need of presentations to Christ's Hospital. This feebleness of intellect is mainly shown in the nearly total unconsciousness of the writers that anybody else may want a presentation, besides themselves. With the exception here and there of a soldier's or a sailor's widow, hardly one of them seems to have perceived the existence of any distress in the world but their own: none know what they are asking for, or imagine, unless as a remote contingency, the possibility of its having been promised at a prior date. The second most distinct impression on my mind, is that the portion of the British public which is in need of presentations to Christ's Hospital

[1] [Ruskin refers again to his experience in this capacity in *Pre-Raphaelitism*, § 2 (Vol. XII. pp. 342–343). And see also *Letters to a College Friend* (Vol. I. p. 500).]

considers it a merit to have large families, with or without the means of supporting them![1]

121. Now it happened also (and remember, all this is strictly true, not in the slightest particular represented otherwise than as it chanced; though the said chance brought thus together exactly the evidence I wanted for my letter to you)—it happened, I say, that on this same morning of the 10th April, I became accidentally acquainted with a case of quite a different kind: that of a noble girl, who, engaged at sixteen, and having received several advantageous offers since, has remained for ten years faithful to her equally faithful lover; while, their circumstances rendering it, as they rightly considered, unjustifiable in them to think of marriage, each of them simply and happily, aided and cheered by the other's love, discharged the duties of their own separate positions in life. In the nature of things, instances of this kind of noble life remain more or less concealed, (while imprudence and error proclaim themselves by misfortune,) but they are assuredly not unfrequent in our English homes.

122. Let us next observe the political and national result of these arrangements. You leave your marriages to be settled by "supply and demand," instead of wholesome law. And thus, among your youths and maidens, the improvident, incontinent, selfish, and foolish ones marry, whether you will or not; and beget families of children necessarily inheritors in a great degree of these parental dispositions; and for whom, supposing they had the best dispositions in the world, you have thus provided, by way of educators, the foolishest fathers and mothers you could find; (the only rational sentence in their letters, usually, is the invariable one, in which they declare themselves "incapable of providing for their children's education"). On the other hand, whosoever is wise, patient, unselfish, and pure among your youth, you

[1] [The essay, as originally published, adds:—
". . . supporting them, and that (this rule of course being liable to many and striking exceptions, but yet, on the whole luminously manifest to my experience), judging by the tone of the letter writers, the greater the fool, the larger the family."]

keep maid or bachelor; wasting their best days of natural life in painful sacrifice, forbidding them their best help and best reward, and carefully excluding their prudence and tenderness from any offices of parental duty.

Is not this a beatific and beautifully sagacious system for a Celestial Empire, such as that of these British Isles?

123. I will not here enter into any statement of the physical laws which it is the province of our physicians to explain; and which are indeed at last so far beginning to be understood, that there is hope of the nation's giving some of the attention to the conditions affecting the race of man, which it has hitherto bestowed only on those which may better its races of cattle.

It is enough, I think, to say here that[1] the beginning of all sanitary and moral law is in the regulation of marriage, and that, ugly and fatal as is every form and agency of licence, no licentiousness is so mortal as licentiousness in marriage.

124. Briefly, then, and in main points, subject in minor ones to such modifications in detail as local circumstances and characters would render expedient, those following are laws such as a prudent nation would institute respecting its marriages. Permission to marry should be the reward held in sight of its youth during the entire latter part of the course of their education; and it should be granted as the national attestation[2] that the first portion of their lives had been rightly fulfilled. It should not be attainable without earnest and consistent effort, though put within the reach of all who were willing to make such effort; and the granting of it should be a public testimony to the fact, that the youth or maid to whom it was given had lived, within their proper sphere, a modest and virtuous life, and had attained such skill in their proper handicraft, and in arts of household economy, as might give well-founded

[1] [The essay, as originally published, here reads: "that, as the beginning of all economical law is honesty, the beginning of all sanitary . . ."]

[2] [Ruskin in his copy for revision notes that "some simpler word would be better" than "attestation."]

expectations of their being able honourably to maintain and teach their children.

125. No girl should receive her permission to marry before her seventeenth birthday, nor any youth before his twenty-first; and it should be a point of somewhat distinguished honour with both sexes to gain their permission of marriage in the eighteenth and twenty-second years; and a recognised disgrace not to have gained it at least before the close of their twenty-first and twenty-fourth. I do not mean that they should in any wise hasten actual marriage; but only that they should hold it a point of honour to have the right to marry. In every year there should be two festivals, one on the first of May, and one at the feast of harvest home[1] in each district, at which festivals their permissions to marry should be given publicly to the maidens and youths who had won them in that half-year; and they should be crowned, the maids by the old French title of Rosières,[2] and the youths, perhaps by some name rightly derived from one supposed signification of the word "bachelor," "laurel fruit," and so led in joyful procession, with music and singing, through the city street or village lane, and the day ended with feasting of the poor.[3]

126. And every bachelor and rosière should be entitled to claim, if they needed it, according to their position in life, a fixed income from the State, for seven years from the day of their marriage, for the setting up of their homes; and, however rich they might be by inheritance, their income should not be permitted to exceed a given sum,[4] proportioned to their rank, for the seven years following that in which they had obtained their permission to marry, but should accumulate in the trust of the State

[1] [Ruskin in his own copy here refers to § 45, above, p. 355.]

[2] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 96, where the "Rosière of Nanterre" is described.]

[3] [The letter, as originally published, adds:—

"... feasting of the poor, but not with theirs, except quietly at their homes."

The edition of 1867 reads: "but not with feasting [of] theirs, except quietly, at their homes."]

[4] [See above, § 8 *n.* (p. 322), and below, § 146 (p. 436).]

until that seventh year, in which they should be put (on certain conditions) finally in possession of their property; and the men, thus necessarily not before their twenty-eighth, nor usually later than their thirty-first year, become eligible to offices of State. So that the rich and poor should not be sharply separated in the beginning of the war of life; but the one supported against the first stress of it long enough to enable them, by proper forethought and economy, to secure their footing; and the other trained somewhat in the use of moderate means, before they were permitted to have the command of abundant ones. And of the sources from which these State incomes for the married poor should be supplied, or of the treatment of those of our youth whose conduct rendered it advisable to refuse them permission to marry, I defer what I have to say till we come to the general subjects of taxation and criminal discipline; leaving the proposals made in this letter to bear, for the present, whatever aspect of mere romance and unrealizable vision they probably may, and to most readers, such as they assuredly will. Nor shall I make the slightest effort to redeem them from these imputations; for though there is nothing in all their purport which would not be approved, as in the deepest sense "practical"—by the Spirit of Paradise—

> "Which gives to all the self-same bent,
> Whose lives are wise and innocent,"[1]

and though I know that national justice in conduct, and peace in heart, could by no other laws be so swiftly secured, I confess with much *dis*peace of heart, that both justice and happiness have at this day become, in England, "romantic impossibilities."

[1] [From Wordsworth's piece beginning "Who fancied what a pretty sight?"—

> "It is the spirit of Paradise
> That prompts such work, a spirit strong
> That gives to all the self-same bent,
> Where life is wise and innocent."

Compare Vol. XI. p. 153, where the same passage is quoted. With this "letter on 'Rose Gardens'" compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 17, *ad fin.*, where Ruskin refers to it.]

LETTER XXI

Of the Dignity of the Four Fine Arts; and of the Proper System of Retail Trade

April 15, 1867.

127. I RETURN now to the part of the subject at which I was interrupted—the inquiry as to the proper means of finding persons willing to maintain themselves and others by degrading occupations.

That, on the whole, simply manual occupations *are* degrading, I suppose I may assume you to admit; at all events, the fact is so, and I suppose few general readers will have any doubt of it.*

Granting this, it follows as a direct consequence that it is the duty of all persons in higher stations of life, by every means in their power, to diminish their demand for work of such kind, *and to live with as little aid from the lower trades*, as they can possibly contrive.

128. I suppose you see that this conclusion is not a little at variance with received notions on political economy? It is popularly supposed that it benefits a nation to invent a want.[1] But the fact is, that the true benefit is

* Many of my working readers have disputed this statement eagerly, feeling the good effect of work in themselves; but observe, I only say, *simply* or *totally* manual work; and that, alone, *is* degrading, though often in measure, refreshing, wholesome, and necessary. So it is highly necessary and wholesome to eat sometimes; but degrading to eat all day, as to labour with the hands all day. But it is not degrading to think all day —if you can. A highly-bred court lady, rightly interested in politics and literature, is a much finer type of the human creature than a servant of all work, however clever and honest.

[1] [See *A Joy for Ever*, Addenda v., "Invention of New Wants" (Vol. XVI. pp. 123 *seq.*).]

in *extinguishing* a want—in living with as few wants as possible.

I cannot tell you the contempt I feel for the common writers on political economy, in their stupefied missing of this first principle of all human economy—individual or political—to live, namely, with as few wants as possible, and to waste nothing of what is given you to supply them.

129. This ought to be the first lesson of every rich man's political code. "Sir," his tutor should early say to him, "you are so placed in society,—it may be for your misfortune, it *must* be for your trial—that you are likely to be maintained all your life by the labour of other men. You will have to make shoes for nobody, but some one will have to make a great many for you. You will have to dig ground for nobody, but some one will have to dig through every summer's hot day for you. You will build houses and make clothes for no one, but many a rough hand must knead clay, and many an elbow be crooked to the stitch, to keep that body of yours warm and fine. Now remember, whatever you and your work may be worth, the less your keep costs, the better. It does not cost money only. It costs degradation. You do not merely employ these people. You also *tread* upon them. It cannot be helped;—you have your place, and they have theirs; but see that you tread as lightly as possible, and on as few as possible. What food, and clothes, and lodging, you honestly need, for your health and peace, you may righteously take. See that you take the plainest you can serve yourself with —that you waste or wear nothing vainly—and that you employ no man in furnishing you with any useless luxury."

130. That is the first lesson of Christian—or human—economy; and depend upon it, my friend, it is a sound one, and has every voice and vote of the spirits of Heaven and earth to back it, whatever views the Manchester men, or any other manner of men, may take respecting "demand and supply." Demand what you deserve, and you shall be supplied with it, for your good. Demand what you do *not*

deserve, and you shall be supplied with something which you have not demanded, and which Nature perceives that you deserve, quite to the contrary of your good. That is the law of your existence, and if you do not make it the law of your resolved acts, so much, precisely, the worse for you and all connected with you.

131. Yet observe, though it is out of its proper place said here, this law forbids no luxury which men are *not* degraded in providing. You may have Paul Veronese to paint your ceiling, if you like, or Benvenuto Cellini to make cups for you. But you must not employ a hundred divers to find beads to stitch over your sleeve. (Did you see the account of the sales of the Esterhazy jewels the other day?[1])

And the degree in which you recognise the difference between these two kinds of services, is precisely what makes the difference between your being a civilised person or a barbarian. If you keep slaves to furnish forth your dress—to glut your stomach—sustain your indolence—or deck your pride, you are a barbarian. If you keep servants, properly cared for, to furnish you with what you verily want, and no more than that—you are a "civil" person—a person capable of the qualities of citizenship.*

* Compare *The Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 79, 118, and 122.[2]

[1] [Here Ruskin wrote in his copy, "needs note." The reference is to the *Times* of February 9, 1867, which gave an account of the Esterhazy jewels. On the death of the last Prince of the House, Paul, in 1866, the jewels had come into the hands of his creditors, and were on view at the shop of a London jeweller. "The jewelled suits of the Esterhazys," said the *Times*, "became the talk of the courts of Europe. As the feudal proprietor of nearly one-third of Hungary, the Prince Nicholas had no difficulty in qualifying a taste which had become a mania. Every part of the equipment of an officer's dress which should have been of metal was made of pure brilliants. The gems were sewn over uniforms till the fabric was literally stiff and cumbrous with the weight. The pearl suit is especially famous. The display is well worth seeing, not only for its extraordinary value and splendour, but as a striking illustration of the length to which personal display can rise even among men when once the passion is indulged in." See also an article on "The Bankruptcy of the Esterhazys" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 2, 1867.]

[2] [This note was inserted in 1872. The reference to § "122" should be to § "123 and *n*." The letter, as originally published, and the edition of 1867 have an additional passage here:—

". . . qualities of citizenship. (Just look back to the note on Liebig's idea that civilization means the consumption of coal, page 200 to 261 of

132. Now, farther, observe that in a truly civilised and disciplined state, no man would be allowed to meddle with any material who did not know how to make the best of it. In other words, the arts of working in wood, clay, stone, and metal, would all be *fine* arts (working in iron for machinery becoming an entirely distinct business). There would be no joiner's work, no smith's, no pottery nor stone-cutting, so debased in character as to be entirely unconnected with the finer branches of the same art; and to at least one of these finer branches (generally in metal-work) every painter and sculptor would be necessarily apprenticed during some years of his education. There would be room, in these four trades alone, for nearly every grade of practical intelligence and productive imagination.

133. But it should not be artists alone who are exercised early in these crafts.[1] It would be part of my scheme of physical education that every youth in the state—from the King's son downwards,—should learn to do something finely and thoroughly with his hand, so as to let him know what *touch* meant; and what stout craftsmanship meant; and to inform him of many things besides, which no man can learn but by some severely accurate discipline in doing. Let him once learn to take a straight shaving off a plank, or draw a fine curve without faltering, or lay a brick level in its mortar; and he has learned a multitude of other matters which no lips of man could ever teach him. He might choose his craft, but whatever it was, he should learn it to some sufficient degree of true dexterity: and the result

the *Crown of Wild Olive*, and please observe the sentence at the end of it, which signifies a good deal of what I have to expand here—'Civilization is the making of civil persons.') Now, farther, observe . . ."

The edition of 1867, in place of the present note referring to the *Crown of Wild Olive*, has "* Appendix 9," which consists of a reprint of the passage in the *Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 123 and *n.*, 124 (pp. 200, 201 of the original edition). The "sentence at the end of it" means at the end of the note on *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 123.]

[1] [In the margin of his own copy Ruskin notes here "Grote, i. 459," the reference being to the classes of husbandmen and artisans into which Theseus is said to have distributed the people of Attica.]

would be, in after life, that among the middle classes a good deal of their house furniture would be made,[1] and a good deal of rough work, more or less clumsily, but not ineffectively, got through, by the master himself and his sons, with much furtherance of their general health and peace of mind, and increase of innocent domestic pride and pleasure, and to the extinction of a great deal of vulgar upholstery and other mean handicraft.

134. Farther. A great deal of the vulgarity, and nearly all the vice, of retail commerce, involving the degradation of persons occupied in it, depends simply on the fact that their minds are always occupied by the vital (or rather mortal) question of profits. I should at once put an end to this source of baseness by making all retail dealers merely salaried officers in the employ of the trade guilds; the stewards, that is to say, of the saleable properties of those guilds, and purveyors of such and such articles to a given number of families. A perfectly well-educated person might, without the least degradation, hold such an office as this, however poorly paid; and it would be precisely the fact of his being well educated which would enable him to fulfil his duties to the public without the stimulus of direct profit. Of course the current objection to such a system would be that no man, for a regularly paid salary, would take pains to please his customers; and the answer to that objection is, that if you can train a man to so much unselfishness as to offer himself fearlessly to the chance of being shot, in the course of his daily duty, you can most assuredly, if you make it also a point of honour with him, train him to the amount of self-denial involved in looking you out with care such a piece of cheese or bacon as you have asked for.

135. You see that I have already much diminished the number of employments involving degradation; and raised the character of many of those that are left. There remain to be considered the necessarily painful or mechanical

[1] [On home-made furniture, compare Vol. XI. p. 72.]

works of mining, forging, and the like: the unclean, noisome, or paltry manufactures—the various kinds of transport —(by merchant shipping, etc.) and the conditions of menial service.

It will facilitate the examination of these if we put them for the moment aside, and pass to the other division of our dilemma, the question, namely, what kind of lives our gentlemen and ladies are to live, for whom all this hard work is to be done.

LETTER XXII

Of the Normal Position and Duties of the Upper Classes. General Statement of the Land Question

April 17, 1867.

136. In passing now to the statement of conditions affecting the interests of the upper classes, I would rather have addressed these closing letters to one of themselves than to you, for it is with their own faults and needs that each class is primarily concerned. As, however, unless I kept the letters private, this change of their address would be but a matter of courtesy and form, not of any true prudential use; and as besides I am now no more inclined to reticence—prudent or otherwise; but desire only to state the facts of our national economy as clearly and completely as may be, I pursue the subject without respect of persons.

137. Before examining what the occupation and estate of the upper classes ought, as far as may reasonably be conjectured, finally to become, it will be well to set down in brief terms what they actually have been in past ages: for this, in many respects, they must also always be. The upper classes, broadly speaking, are originally composed of the best-bred (in the merely animal sense of the term), the most energetic, and most thoughtful, of the population, who either by strength of arm seize the land from the rest, and make slaves of them, or bring desert land into cultivation, over which they have therefore, within certain limits, true personal right; or, by industry, accumulate other property, or by choice devote themselves to intellectual pursuits, and, though poor, obtain an acknowledged superiority of position, shown by benefits conferred in discovery, or in teaching, or

in gifts of art. This is all in the simple course of the law of nature; and the proper offices of the upper classes, thus distinguished from the rest, become, therefore, in the main threefold:[1]—

138. (A) Those who are strongest of arm have for their proper function the restraint and punishment of vice, and the general maintenance of law and order; releasing only from its original subjection to their power that which truly deserves to be emancipated.

(B) Those who are superior by forethought and industry, have for their function to be the providences of the foolish, the weak, and the idle; and to establish such systems of trade and distribution of goods as shall preserve the lower orders from perishing by famine, or any other consequence of their carelessness or folly, and to bring them all, according to each man's capacity, at last into some harmonious industry.

(C) The third class, of scholars and artists, of course, have for function the teaching and delighting of the inferior multitude.

The office of the upper classes, then, as a body, is to keep order among their inferiors, and raise them always to the nearest level with themselves of which those inferiors are capable. So far as they are thus occupied, they are invariably loved and reverenced intensely by all beneath them, and reach, themselves, the highest types of human power and beauty.[2]

139. This, then, being the natural ordinance and function of aristocracy, its corruption, like that of all other beautiful things under the Devil's touch, is a very fearful one.[3] Its corruption is, that those who ought to be the rulers and guides of the people, forsake their task of painful

[1] [See below, § 140, where these three classes are summed up under the words "strength of hand, true wisdom of conduct, or imaginative gift"; and again in § 142.]

[2] [The letter, as originally published, broke off here and continued, under date "April 18," differently: see Appendix viii., p. 475.]

[3] [Again a reference to the proverbial saying, *corruptio optimi pessima*: see above, pp. 222, 362 *n.*]

honourableness; seek their own pleasure and pre-eminence only; and use their power, subtlety, conceded influence, prestige of ancestry, and mechanical instrumentality of martial power, to make the lower orders toil for them, and feed and clothe them for nothing, and become in various ways their living property, goods, and chattels, even to the point of utter regardlessness of whatever misery these serfs may suffer through such insolent domination, or they themselves, their masters, commit of crime to enforce it.

140. And this is especially likely to be the case when means of various and tempting pleasure are put within the reach of the upper classes by advanced conditions of national commerce and knowledge: and it is *certain* to be the case as soon as position among those upper classes becomes any way purchaseable with money, instead of being the assured measure of some kind of worth, (either strength of hand, or true wisdom of conduct, or imaginative gift). It has been becoming more and more the condition of the aristocracy of Europe, ever since the fifteenth century; and is gradually bringing about its ruin, and in that ruin, checked only by the power which here and there a good soldier or true statesman achieves over the putrid chaos of its vain policy, the ruin of all beneath it; which can be arrested only, either by the repentance of that old aristocracy, (hardly to be hoped,) or by the stern substitution of other aristocracy worthier than it.[1]

141. Corrupt as it may be, it and its laws together, I would at this moment, if I could, fasten every one of its institutions down with bands of iron, and trust for all progress and help against its tyranny simply to the patience and strength of private conduct. And if I had to choose, I would tenfold rather see the tyranny of old Austria[2] triumphant in the old and new worlds, and trust to the

[1] [An appeal to the aristocracy was one of the principal levers to which Ruskin looked for the working of his ideal commonwealth: see *Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 123, 139; *Eagle's Nest*, ad fin.; and often in *Fors Clavigera*.]

[2] [To which on its social side Ruskin had been much drawn during his visits to Venice: see Vol. X. pp. xxix.–xxxiii.]

chance (or rather the distant certainty) of some day seeing a true Emperor born to its throne, than, with every privilege of thought and act, run the most distant risk of seeing the thoughts of the people of Germany and England become like the thoughts of the people of America.[1]

My American friends, of whom one, Charles Eliot Norton,[2] of Cambridge, is the dearest I have in the world, tell me I know nothing about America. It may be so, and they must do me the justice to observe that I, therefore, usually *say* nothing about America.[3] But this much I have said, because the Americans, as a nation, set their trust in liberty and in equality, of which I detest the one, and deny the possibility of the other; and because, also, as a nation, they are wholly undesirous of Rest, and incapable of it;[4] irreverent of themselves, both in the present and in the future; discontented with what they are, yet having no ideal of anything which they desire to become.*[5]

* Some following passages in this letter, containing personal references which might, in permanence, have given pain or offence, are now omitted—the substance of them being also irrelevant to my main purpose. These few words about the American war, with which they concluded, are, I think, worth retaining:—"All methods of right government are to be communicated to foreign nations by perfectness of example and gentleness of patiently expanded power, not suddenly, nor at the bayonet's point. And though it is

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[1] [Here the letter, as originally published, differed greatly: see Appendix viii., p. 476.]

[2] [See Vol. VII. p. xxii.]

[3] [For Ruskin's views of the American Civil War, see further below, pp. 476 *seq.*, and (in a later volume of this edition) his *Letters to Charles Eliot Norton*. See also *Munera Pulveris*, § 124 *n.* (above, p. 246); *Cestus of Aglaia*, §§ 47, 55; *Crown of Wild Olive*, §§ 95, 105; and *Ethics of the Dust*, § 51. To his dislike of America he often gave expression—sometimes seriously, sometimes half in play. He saw therein the principles of competition and supply and demand in fullest operation (*Munera Pulveris*, §§ 124, 131); he found in the civilisation of America "the skill of degradation" (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter 12) and much "unseemliness" (*ibid.*, Letter 42). But he made allowances, expecting little from a country "so miserable as to possess no castles" (*ibid.*, Letter 10), and where no romantic feeling for landscape was possible (*Modern Painters*, vol. iii., Vol. V. p. 369). In later years Ruskin admitted that such views were in part the result of prejudice (see *Art of England*, § 24). For his views on Liberty, see Vol. V. p. 379, Vol. VIII. pp. 248, 261, 287; on Equality, Vol. VIII. p. 167, Vol. XI. p. 260.]

[4] [Here in his own copy Ruskin wrote: "d'ogni posa indegna" (*Inferno*, iii. 54).]

[5] [See Appendix viii., p. 479.]

142. But, however corrupted, the aristocracy of any nation may thus be always divided into three great classes. First, the landed proprietors and soldiers, essentially one political body (for the possession of land can only be maintained by military power); secondly, the moneyed men and leaders of commerce; thirdly, the professional men and masters in science, art, and literature.

And we were to consider the proper duties of all these, and the laws probably expedient respecting them. Whereupon, in the outset, we are at once brought face to face with the great land question.

143. Great as it may be, it is wholly subordinate to those we have hitherto been considering. The laws you make regarding methods of labour, or to secure the genuineness of the things produced by it, affect the entire moral state of the nation, and all possibility of human happiness for them. The mode of distribution of the land only affects their numbers. By this or that law respecting land you decide whether the nation shall consist of fifty or of a hundred millions. But by this or that law respecting work, you decide whether the given number of millions shall be rogues, or honest men;—shall be wretches, or happy men. And the question of numbers is wholly immaterial, compared with that of character; or rather, its own materialness depends on the prior determination of character. Make your nation consist of knaves, and, as Emerson said long ago, it is but the case of any other vermin—"the more, the worse."[1] Or, to put the matter in narrower limits, it is a matter of no final

the duty of every nation to interfere, at bayonet point, if they have the strength to do so, to save any oppressed multitude, or even individual, from manifest violence, it is wholly unlawful to interfere in such matter, except with sacredly pledged limitation of the objects to be accomplished in the oppressed person's favour, and with absolute refusal of all selfish advantage and *increase of territory or of political power* which might otherwise accrue from the victory."

[1] ["Enormous populations, if they be beggars, are disgusting, like moving cheese, like hills of ants, or of fleas,—the more, the worse" (*Representative Men*, "I. Uses of Great Men").]

concern to any parent whether he shall have two children, or four; but matter of quite final concern whether those he has, shall, or shall not, deserve to be hanged. The great difficulty in dealing with the land question at all arises from the false, though very natural, notion on the part of many reformers, and of large bodies of the poor, that the division of the land among the said poor would be an immediate and everlasting relief to them. An *immediate* relief it would be to the extent[1] of a small annual sum (you may easily calculate how little, if you choose) to each of them; on the strength of which accession to their finances, they would multiply into as much extra personality as the extra pence would sustain, and at that point be checked by starvation, exactly as they are now.

144. Any other form of pillage would benefit them only in like manner; and, in reality, the difficult part of the question respecting numbers, is, not where they shall be arrested, but what shall be the method of their arrest.

An island of a certain size has standing room only for so many people; feeding ground for a great many fewer than could stand on it. Reach the limits of your feeding ground, and you must cease to multiply, must emigrate or starve. The modes in which the pressure is gradually brought to bear on the population depend on the justice of your laws; but the pressure itself must come at last, whatever the distribution of the land. And arithmeticians seem to me a little slow to remark the importance of the old child's puzzle about the nails in the horseshoe[2]—when it is populations that are doubling themselves, instead of farthings.

[1] [The original letter reads: "to the extent of perhaps half-a-crown or so, here in England, annually; on the strength . . ."; with which passage, compare below, p. 445 *n.*]

[2] [The "child's puzzle" is the question of what the price of a horse would be, if the purchaser agreed to pay, according to the total number of nails in the horse's shoes—a farthing for the first, two farthings for the second, and so on. The "puzzle" has actually been the subject of more than one law-suit, viz. *James* v. *Morgan* (1 *Levinz*, 111; 1 *Keble*, 569) in the reign of Charles II., and *Thornborow* v. *Whitacre* (2 *Lord Raymond*) in that of Queen Anne.]

145. The essential land question, then, is to be treated quite separately from that of the methods of restriction of population. The land question is—At what point will you resolve to stop? It is separate matter of discussion how you are to stop at it.

And this essential land question—"At what point will you stop?"—is itself twofold. You have to consider first, by what methods of land distribution you can maintain the greatest number of healthy persons; and secondly, whether, if, by any other mode of distribution and relative ethical laws, you can raise their character, while you diminish their numbers, such sacrifice should be made, and to what extent? I think it will be better, for clearness' sake, to end this letter with the putting of these two queries in their decisive form, and to reserve suggestions of answer for my next.

LETTER XXIII

Of the Just Tenure of Lands: and the proper Functions of high Public Officers

20th April, 1867.

146. I MUST repeat to you, once more, before I proceed, that I only enter on this part of our enquiry to complete the sequence of its system, and explain fully the bearing of former conclusions, and not for any immediately practicable good to be got out of the investigation. Whatever I have hitherto urged upon you, it is in the power of all men quietly to promote, and finally to secure, by the patient resolution of personal conduct; but no action could be taken in redistribution of land or in limitation of the incomes of the upper classes, without grave and prolonged civil disturbance.

Such disturbance, however, is only too likely to take place, if the existing theories of political economy are allowed credence much longer. In the writings of the vulgar economists, nothing more excites my indignation than the subterfuges by which they endeavour to accommodate their pseudo-science to the existing abuses of wealth, by disguising the true nature of rent. I will not waste time in exposing their fallacies, but will put the truth for you into as clear a shape as I can.

147. Rent, of whatever kind, is, briefly, the price continuously paid for the loan of the property of another person. It may be too little, or it may be just, or exorbitant, or altogether unjustifiable, according to circumstances. Exorbitant rents can only be exacted from ignorant or necessitous rent-payers: and it is one of the most necessary conditions of state economy that there should be clear laws to prevent such exaction.

148. I may interrupt myself for a moment to give you an instance of what I mean. The most wretched houses of the poor in London often pay ten or fifteen per cent. to the landlord; and I have known an instance of sanitary legislation being hindered, to the loss of many hundreds of lives, in order that the rents of a nobleman, derived from the necessities of the poor, might not be diminished. And it is a curious thing to me to see Mr. J. S. Mill foaming at the mouth, and really afflicted conscientiously, because he supposes one man to have been unjustly hanged,[1] while by his own failure, (I believe, *wilful* failure)* in stating clearly to the public one of the first elementary truths of the science he professes, he is aiding and abetting the commission of the cruellest possible form of murder on many thousands of persons yearly, for the sake simply of putting money into the pockets of the landlords. I felt this evil so strongly that I bought, in the worst part of London, one freehold and one leasehold property, consisting of houses inhabited by the lowest poor; in order to try what change in their comfort and habits I could effect by taking only a just rent, but that firmly. The houses of the leasehold pay me five per cent.; the families that used to have one room in them have now two; and are more orderly and hopeful besides; and there is a surplus still on the rents they pay after I have taken my five per cent., with which, if all goes well, they will eventually be able to buy twelve years of the lease from me. The freehold pays three per cent., with similar results in the comfort of the tenant. This is merely an example of what might be done by firm State action in such matters.[2]

* See § 156 [p. 442].

[1] [Again a reference to the Jamaica case (see above, p. 413 *n.*); the principal charge against Governor Eyre related to the trial by martial law, and execution, of George William Gordon, a coloured man suspected of being the instigator of the insurrectionary movement.]

[2] [This passage refers to Ruskin's purchase in 1864 of some household property in Marylebone, which he placed under the superintendence of Miss Octavia Hill.]

149. Next, of wholly unjustifiable rents. These are for things which are not, and which it is criminal to consider as, personal or exchangeable property. Bodies of men, land, water, and air, are the principal of these things.

Parenthetically, may I ask you to observe, that though a fearless defender of some forms of slavery, I am no defender of the slave *trade*. It is by a blundering confusion of ideas between *governing* men, and *trading in* men, and by consequent interference with the restraint, instead of only with the sale, that most of the great errors in action have been caused among the emancipation men. I am prepared, if the need be clear to my own mind, and if the power is in my hands, to throw men into prison, or any other captivity—to bind them or to beat them—and force them, for such periods as I may judge necessary, to any kind of irksome labour: and on occasion of desperate resistance, to hang or shoot them. But I will not *sell* them.

150. Bodies of men, or women, then (and much more, as I said before,[1] their souls), must not be bought or sold. Neither must land, nor water, nor air, these being the necessary sustenance of men's bodies and souls.

Yet all these may, on certain terms, be bound, or secured in possession, to particular persons under certain conditions. For instance, it may be proper, at a certain time, to give a man permission to possess land, as you give him permission to marry; and farther, if he wishes it and works for it, to secure to him the land needful for his life, as you secure his wife to him; and make both utterly his own, without in the least admitting his right to buy other people's wives, or fields, or to sell his own.

151. And the right action of a State respecting its land is, indeed, to secure it in various portions to those of its citizens who deserve to be trusted with it, according to their respective desires and proved capacities; and after having so secured it to each, to exercise only such vigilance over his treatment of it as the State must give also to

[1] [In *Munera Pulveris*, § 132; see above, p. 256.]

his treatment of his wife and servants; for the most part leaving him free, but interfering in cases of gross mismanagement or abuse of power. And in the case of great old families, which always ought to be, and in some measure, however decadent, still truly are, the noblest monumental architecture of the kingdom, living temples of sacred tradition and hero's religion, so much land ought to be granted to them in perpetuity as may enable them to live thereon with all circumstances of state and outward nobleness; *but their income must in no wise be derived from the rents of it*, nor must they be occupied (even in the most distant or subordinately administered methods), in the exaction of rents. That is not noblemen's work. Their income must be fixed, and paid them by the State, as the King's is.

152. So far from their land being to them a source of income, it should be, on the whole, costly to them, great part of it being kept in conditions of natural grace, which return no rent but their loveliness; and the rest made, at whatever cost, exemplary in perfection of such agriculture as develops the happiest peasant life;* agriculture which, as I will show you hereafter,[1] must reject the aid of all mechanism except that of instruments guided solely by the human hand, or by animal, or directly natural forces; and which, therefore, cannot compete for profitableness with agriculture carried on by aid of machinery.

And now for the occupation of this body of men, maintained at fixed perennial cost of the State.

153. You know I said[2] I should want no soldiers of special skill or pugnacity, for all my boys would be soldiers. But I assuredly want *captains* of soldiers, of special skill and pugnacity. And also, I said I should strongly object

* (Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter XXI., page 22.[3])

[1] [Not done in *Time and Tide;* but see below, p. 543; and compare *Modern Painters*, vol. v. pt. vii. ch. iv. § 17 (Vol. VII. p. 189).]

[2] [See above, § 106, p. 404.]

[3] [*i.e.*, in the first edition: the passage referred to is the last paragraph of the letter.]

to the appearance of any lawyers in my territory; meaning, however, by lawyers, people who live by arguing about law,—not people appointed to administer law; and people who live by eloquently misrepresenting facts,—not people appointed to discover and plainly represent them.

Therefore, the youth of this landed aristocracy would be trained, in my schools, to these two great callings, not *by* which, but *in* which, they are to live.

They would be trained, all of them, in perfect science of war, and in perfect science of essential law. And from their body should be chosen the captains and the judges of England, its advocates, and generally its State officers, all such functions being held for fixed pay (as already our officers of the Church and army are paid), and no function connected with the administration of law ever paid by casual fee. And the head of such family should, in his own right, having passed due (and high) examination in the science of law, and not otherwise, be a judge, law-ward or Lord,[1] having jurisdiction both in civil and criminal cases, such as our present judges have, after such case shall have been fully represented before, and received verdict from, a jury, composed exclusively of the middle or lower orders, and in which no member of the aristocracy should sit. But from the decision of these juries, or from the Lord's sentence, there should be a final appeal to a tribunal, the highest in the land, held solely in the King's name, and over which, in the capital, the King himself should preside, and therein give judgment on a fixed number of days in each year;—and, in other places and at other times, judges appointed by election (under certain conditions) out of any order of men in the State (the election being national, not provincial): and all causes brought before these judges should be decided, without appeal, by their own authority; not by juries. This, then, recasting it for you into brief view, would be the entire scheme of State authorities:—

154. (1) The King: exercising, as part both of his

[1] [See *Sesame and Lilies*, § 88 (Vol. XVIII. p. 138).]

prerogative and his duty, the office of a supreme judge at stated times in the central court of appeal of his kingdom.

(2) Supreme judges appointed by national election; exercising sole authority in courts of final appeal.

(3) Ordinary judges, holding the office hereditarily under conditions; and with power to add to their number (and liable to have it increased if necessary by the King's appointment); the office of such judges being to administer the national laws under the decision of juries.

(4) State officers charged with the direction of public agency in matters of public utility.

(5) Bishops, charged with offices of supervision and aid, to family by family, and person by person.

(6) The officers of war, of various ranks.

(7) The officers of public instruction, of various ranks.

I have sketched out this scheme for you somewhat prematurely, for I would rather have conducted you to it step by step, and as I brought forward the reasons for the several parts of it; but it is, on other grounds, desirable that you should have it to refer to, as I go on.

155. Without depending anywise upon nomenclature, yet holding it important as a sign and record of the meanings of things, I may tell you further that I should call the elected supreme judges, "Princes"; the hereditary judges, "Lords"; and the officers of public guidance, "Dukes"; and that the social rank of these persons would be very closely correspondent to that implied by such titles under our present constitution; only much more real and useful. And in conclusion of this letter, I will but add, that if you, or other readers, think it idle of me to write or dream of such things; as if any of them were in our power, or within possibility of any near realization, and above all, vain to write of them to a workman at Sunderland: you are to remember what I told you at the beginning,[1] that I go on

[1] [See above, § 1, p. 315.]

with this part of my subject in some fulfilment of my long-conceived plan, too large to receive at present any deliberate execution from my failing strength; (being the body of the work[1] to which *Munera Pulveris* was intended merely as an introduction;) and that I address it to you because I know that the working men of England must, for some time, be the only body to which we can look for resistance to the deadly influence of moneyed power.

I intend, however, to write to you at this moment one more letter, partly explanatory of minor details necessarily omitted in this, and chiefly of the proper office of the soldier; and then I must delay the completion of even this poor task until after the days have turned, for I have quite other work to do in the brightness of the full-opened spring.

156. *P.S.*—As I have used somewhat strong language, both here and elsewhere, of the equivocations of the economists on the subject of rent, I had better refer you to one characteristic example. You will find in paragraph 5th and 6th of Book II., chap. 2, of Mr. Mill's *Principles*, that the right to tenure of land is based, by his admission, only on the proprietor's being its improver.

Without pausing to dwell on the objection that land cannot be improved beyond a certain point, and that, at the reaching of that point, farther claim to tenure would cease, on Mr. Mill's principle—take even this admission, with its proper subsequent conclusion, that "in no sound theory of private property was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of land should be merely a sinecurist quartered on it." Now, had that conclusion been farther followed, it would have compelled the admission that all rent was unjustifiable which normally maintained any person in idleness; which is indeed the whole truth of the matter. But Mr. Mill instantly retreats from this perilous admission; and after three or four pages of discussion (quite accurate for *its* part)

[1] [In the letter, as originally published, the words "body of the work" were put in inverted commas, the reference being to the use of those words in the note at the end of *Munera Pulveris*, as originally published: see above, p. 290.]

of the limits of power in management of the land itself (which apply just as strictly to the peasant proprietor as to the cottier's landlord), he begs the whole question at issue in one brief sentence, slipped cunningly into the middle of a long one which appears to be telling all the other way, and in which the fatal assertion (of the right to rent) nestles itself, as if it had been already proved,—thus—I italicise the unproved assertion in which the venom of the entire falsehood is concentrated.

"Even in the case of cultivated land, a man whom, though only one among millions, the law permits to hold thousands of acres as his single share, is not entitled to think that all is given to him to use and abuse, and deal with it as if it concerned nobody but himself. *The rents or profits which he can obtain from it are his, and his only;* but with regard to the land, in everything which he abstains from doing, he is morally bound, and should, whenever the case admits, be legally compelled to make his interest and pleasure consistent with the public good."[1]

157. I say, this sentence in italics is slipped *cunningly* into the long sentence, as if it were of no great consequence; and above I have expressed my belief that Mr. Mill's equivocations on this subject are wilful. It is a grave accusation; but I cannot, by any stretch of charity, attribute these misrepresentations to absolute dulness and bluntness of brain, either in Mr. Mill or his follower, Mr. Fawcett. Mr. Mill is capable of immense involuntary error; but his involuntary errors are usually owing to his seeing only one or two of the many sides of a thing; not to obscure sight of the side he *does* see. Thus his *Essay on Liberty* only takes cognisance of facts that make for liberty, and of none that make for restraint. But in its statement of all that can be said for liberty, it is so clear and keen, that I have myself quoted it before now as the best authority on that side.[2] And, if arguing in favour of Rent, absolutely, and with

[1] [This passage occurs at the end of § 6, in the chapter cited above.]
[2] [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 229).]

clear explanation of what it was, he had then defended it with all his might, I should have attributed to him only the honest shortsightedness of partisanship; but when I find his defining sentences full of subtle entanglement and reserve —and that reserve held throughout his treatment of this particular subject,—I cannot, whether I utter the suspicion or not, keep the sense of wilfulness in the misrepresentation from remaining in my mind.[1] And if there be indeed ground for this blame, and Mr. Mill, for fear of fostering political agitation,* *has* disguised what he knows to be the facts about rent,[2] I would ask him as one of the leading members

* With at last the natural consequences of cowardice,—nitro-glycerine and fire-balls! Let the upper classes speak the truth about themselves boldly, and they will know how to defend themselves fearlessly. It is equivocation in principle, and dereliction from duty, which melt at last into tears in a mob's presence.—(Dec. 16th, 1867.[3])

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[1] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 82, where Ruskin refers to this passage in connexion with Mill's views on the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.]

[2] [At the end of this chapter in his own copy Ruskin pasted in a cutting from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 4, 1868, referring to Mill's pamphlet on the Irish Land Question, and wrote: "Mill right at last, and attacked for being so." The pamphlet—entitled *England and Ireland*—was written in the winter of 1867, and published early in the following year. In it Mill pleaded for the establishment of peasant-proprietorship in Ireland. The note in the *Pall Mall* quoted an attack on Mill's pamphlet, in which his views were reduced, as it was thought, *ad absurdum* by substituting in various characteristic passages the word "coal" for "land." Among these passages was the following, which, as will be seen, was in agreement with Ruskin's principle of "property to whom proper": "Moveable property can be produced in indefinite quantity, and he who disposes as he likes of anything which, it can fairly be argued, would not have existed but for him, does no wrong to any one. It is otherwise with regard to land, a thing which no man made, which exists in limited quantity, which was the original inheritance of all mankind, and which whoever appropriates, keeps others out of its possession. Such appropriation, when there is not enough left for all, is at the first aspect, an usurpation on the rights of other people. And though it is manifestly just that he who sows should be allowed to reap, this justice, which is the true moral foundation of property in land, avails little in favour of proprietors who reap but do not sow, and who assume the right of ejecting those who do."]

[3] [The reference is partly to the attempt made to blow up the Clerkenwell House of Detention on December 13, 1867 (reports of which filled the newspapers of December 14 and 16); and partly to an account in the *Daily Telegraph* on the latter day of "a desperate attempt by means of Greek fire to burn down a very extensive range of premises in Bishopsgate Street." The reference in the latter part of Ruskin's note may be to the reluctance of the Government of the day to interfere with the "funeral processions" which were organised in Ireland after the execution of the Manchester Fenians. An article in the *Telegraph* of December 10 had criticised this reluctance as an act of weakness.]

of the Jamaica Committee, which is the greater crime, boldly to sign warrant for the sudden death of one man, known to be an agitator, in the immediate outbreak of such agitation, or, by equivocation in a scientific work, to sign warrants for the deaths of thousands of men in slow misery, for *fear* of an agitation which has not begun; and if begun, would be carried on by debate, not by the sword?[1]

[1] [Here the letter, as originally published, contained the following additional passage :—

". . . by the sword? One word more—(the importance of the subject may well excuse the length of this letter and postscript),—I have been so careful in the *use* of words—however careless of their disposition—through all these discussions that I ought to warn you that the 'perhaps half-a-crown each, or so,' in my last letter [p. 434 *n.*], is not founded on any attempt at calculation! The principle is the same—whether the sum be half-a-crown or twenty shillings — and also, you are to note that I am speaking, then, only of the relief which would be caused by distribution of land, in bringing all that is now in park or moor under cultivation. I am not speaking of the relief which would be given by division of the present rents among the labourers. That is quite another matter—to be examined only when we are inquiring into the general results of accumulation of money in individual hands; and we can only do that after considering the possible modes of abuse of dress and food. When you collect these letters for republication, I should like that admirable one of William Howitt's, from the *Co-operator*,[2] which you sent me the other day, to be printed at the end of this, and some parts of your own of the 14th April, which I keep therefore carefully."]

[2] [This was no doubt a letter entitled "The Agricultural Gang System and British Taxation" which appeared in the *Co-operator* ("a fortnightly record of Co-operative Progress by Working Men") for April 15, 1867, vol. 7, pp. 341–342. In it Howitt contrasted the state of children of five and six years of age sent to farm labour for ten hours a day, at wages of from 2d. to 8d., with the luxury of London; and the large national expenditure on war with the small expenditure on civil purposes.]

LETTER XXIV

The Office of the Soldier

April 22, 1867.

158. I MUST once more deprecate your probable supposition that I bring forward this ideal plan of State government, either with any idea of its appearing, to our present public mind, practicable even at a remote period, or with any positive and obstinate adherence to the particular form suggested. There are no wiser words among the many wise ones of the most rational and keen-sighted of old English men of the world, than these:—

> "For forms of government let fools contest;
> That which is best administered is best." [1]

For, indeed, no form of government is of any use among bad men; and any form will work in the hands of the good; but the essence of all government among good men is this, that it is mainly occupied in the *production and recognition of human worth*, and in the detection and extinction of human unworthiness; and every Government which produces and recognises worth, will also inevitably use the worth it has found to govern with; and therefore fall into some approximation to such a system as I have described. And, as I told you, I do not contend for names, nor particular powers—though I state those which seem to me most advisable; on the contrary, I know that the precise extent of authorities must be different in every nation at different times, and ought to be so, according to their circumstances and character; and all that I assert with confidence is the

[1] [*Essay on Man*: Epistle iii. 300. For Ruskin's appreciation of Pope, see Vol. XVI. p. 446 *n.* And with the substance of this section compare *Munera Pulveris*, §§ 123 *seq.*]

necessity, within afterwards definable limits, of *some such* authorities as these; that is to say,

159. I. An *observant* one:—by which all men shall be looked after and taken note of.

II. A *helpful* one, from which those who need help may get it.

III. A *prudential* one, which shall not let people dig in wrong places for coal, nor make railroads where they are not wanted; and which shall also, with true providence, insist on their digging in right places for coal, in a safe manner, and making railroads where they *are* wanted.

IV. A *martial* one, which will punish knaves and make idle persons work.

V. An *instructive* one, which shall tell everybody what it is their duty to know, and be ready pleasantly to answer questions if anybody asks them.

VI. A *deliberate* and *decisive* one, which shall judge by law, and amend or make law;

VII. An *exemplary* one, which shall show what is loveliest in the art of life.

You may divide or name those several offices as you will, or they may be divided in practice as expediency may recommend; the plan I have stated merely puts them all into the simplest forms and relations.

160. You see I have just defined the martial power as that "which punishes knaves and makes idle persons work." For that is indeed the ultimate and perennial soldiership; that is the essential warrior's office to the end of time. "There is no discharge in that war."[1] To the compelling of sloth, and the scourging of sin, the strong hand will have to address itself as long as this wretched little dusty and volcanic world breeds nettles, and spits fire. The soldier's office at present is indeed supposed to be the defence of his country against other countries; but that is an office which —Utopian as you may think the saying—will soon now be extinct. I say so fearlessly, though I say it with wide war

[1] [Ecclesiastes viii. 8.]

threatened, at this moment, in the East and West. For observe what the standing of nations on their defence really means. It means that, but for such armed attitude, each of them would go and rob the other; that is to say, that the majority of active persons in every nation are at present—thieves. I am very sorry that this should still be so; but it will not be so long. National exhibitions, indeed, will not bring peace;[1] but national education will, and that is soon coming. I can judge of this by my own mind, for I am myself naturally as covetous a person as lives in this world, and am as eagerly-minded to go and steal some things the French have got, as any housebreaker could be, having clue to attractive spoons. If I could by military incursion carry off Paul Veronese's "Marriage in Cana," and the "Venus Victrix," and the "Hours of St. Louis,"[2] it would give me the profoundest satisfaction to accomplish the foray successfully; nevertheless, being a comparatively educated person, I should most assuredly not give myself that satisfaction, though there were not an ounce of gunpowder, nor a bayonet, in all France. I have not the least mind to rob anybody, however much I may covet what they have got; and I know that the French and British public may and will, with many other publics, be at last brought to be of this mind also; and to see farther that a nation's real strength and happiness do not depend on properties and territories, nor on machinery for their defence; but on their getting such territory as they *have*, well filled with none but respectable persons. Which is a way of *infinitely* enlarging one's territory, feasible to every potentate; and dependent no wise on getting Trent turned, or Rhine-edge reached.

161. Not but that, in the present state of things, it may often be soldiers' duty to seize territory, and hold it strongly; but only from banditti, or savage and idle persons.

[1] [A reference to the International Exhibition at Paris in 1867.]

[2] [For Ruskin's intense admiration of the "Marriage in Cana," see "Notes on the Louvre," Vol. XII. p. 456. The "Venus Victrix" is the statue known as the "Venus of Milo" (found in 1820 in the island of Melos, or Milo). The "Hours of St. Louis" in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a companion volume to the Psalter of St. Louis, which was in Ruskin's possession.]

Thus, both Calabria and Greece ought to have been irresistibly occupied long ago. Instead of quarrelling with Austria about Venice, the Italians ought to have made a truce with her for ten years, on condition only of her destroying no monuments, and not taxing Italians more than Germans; and then thrown the whole force of their army on Calabria, shot down every bandit in it in a week,[1] and forced the peasantry of it into honest work on every hillside, with stout and immediate help from the soldiers in embanking streams, building walls, and the like; and Italian finance would have been a much pleasanter matter for the King to take account of by this time;[2] and a fleet might have been floating under Garganus strong enough to sweep every hostile sail out of the Adriatic, instead of a disgraced and useless remnant of one, about to be put up to auction.[3]

And similarly, *we* ought to have occupied Greece instantly, when they asked us, whether Russia liked it or not;[4] given them an English king, made good roads for them, and stout laws; and kept them, and their hills and seas, with righteous shepherding of Arcadian fields, and righteous ruling of Salaminian wave, until they could have given themselves a Greek king of men again; and obeyed him, like men.

[1] [To the state of Southern Italy, where even until recent years brigandage was still rife, Ruskin refers also in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph* of December 20, 1865 (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 32, and in a later volume of this edition). The subject was often mentioned in newspapers of the time (see, for instance, a leading article in the *Times* of January 14, 1867). Even to the present day (1905) the backward economic condition of the southern portion of the kingdom is one of the principal concerns of Italian statesmen.]

[2] [At this time the state of the Italian finances was giving much anxiety to successive Governments (see the Italian correspondence in the *Times* during January 1867).]

[3] [The promontory formed by Monte Gargano is on the Italian side of the Adriatic, nearly opposite to the Austrian island of Lissa, off which the Italian ironclad squadron had been defeated and almost destroyed by the Austrians on July 20, 1866.]

[4] [See, again, the letter above mentioned; and also *The Storm-Cloud of the Nineteenth Century* (1884, p. 69). The reference is to the popular vote in Greece on February 3, 1863, when Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh) was proclaimed king. The honour was, however, declined.]

April 24.

162. It is strange that just before I finish work for this time, there comes the first real and notable sign of the victory of the principles I have been fighting for, these seven years.[1] It is only a newspaper paragraph, but it means much. Look at the second column of the 11th page of yesterday's *Pall Mall Gazette*.[2] The paper has taken a wonderful fit of misprinting lately (unless my friend John Simon has been knighted[3] on his way to Weimar, which would be much too right and good a thing to be a likely one); but its straws of talk mark which way the wind blows perhaps more early than those of any other journal—and look at the question it puts in that page, "Whether political economy be the sordid and materialistic science some account it, or almost the noblest on which thought can be employed?" Might not you as well have determined that question a little while ago, friend Public? and known what political economy *was*, before you talked so much about it?

But, hark, again—"Ostentation, parental pride, and a host of moral" (immoral?) "qualities must be recognised as among the springs of industry; political economy should not ignore these, but, to discuss them, *it must abandon its pretensions to the precision of a pure science.*"

163. Well done the *Pall Mall!* Had it written "Prudence and parental affection," instead of "Ostentation and parental pride," "must be recognised among the springs of industry," it would have done still better; and it would then have achieved the expression of a part of the truth, which I put into clear terms in the first sentence of *Unto this Last*, in the year 1862[4]—which it has thus taken five years to get half way into the public's head.

[1] [That is, since 1860, when the papers entitled *Unto this Last* appeared.]

[2] [The quotations are from a Review of W. L. Sargant's *Recent Political Economy*.]

[3] [In an Occasional Note in the same issue reference was made to an international medical conference to be held at Weimar on the subject of cholera, and it was stated "that Sir John Simon will attend the meeting." John Simon (1816–1904), officer of health to the Privy Council (1858–1876), was not knighted till 1887. Ruskin was long intimate with Sir John and Lady Simon: see *Præterita*, ii. § 203, and above, Introduction, pp. xxvii., lii.]

[4] [This should be 1860, the sentence having appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* in that year (see above, p. 25).]

"Among the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious—certainly the least creditable—is the modern *soi-disant* science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined, irrespectively of the influence of social affection."

Look also at the definition of skill, p. 87.[1]

"Under the term 'skill' I mean to include the united force of experience, intellect, and passion, in their operation on manual labour, and under the term 'passion' to include the entire range of the moral feelings."

164. I say half way into the public's head, because you see, a few lines further on, the *Pall Mall* hopes for a pause "half way between the rigidity of Ricardo and the sentimentality of Ruskin."[2]

With one hand on their pocket, and the other on their heart! Be it so for the present; we shall see how long this statuesque attitude can be maintained; meantime, it chances strangely—as several other things have chanced while I was writing these notes to you—that they should have put in that sneer (two lines before) at my note on the meaning of the Homeric and Platonic Sirens,[3] at the very moment when I was doubting whether I would or would not tell you the significance of the last song of Ariel in *The Tempest.*

I had half determined not, but now I shall. And this was what brought me to think of it:—

165. Yesterday afternoon I called on Mr. H. C. Sorby,[4]

[1] [That is, p. 87 of *Unto this Last:* see now, above, p. 67.]

[2] [For Ruskin's reply to the charge of "sentimentality," see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 41.]

[3] ["When things, to be thought true, need not be imposed as always and everywhere true, Mr. Sargant may differ from other economical philosophers without thinking them blockheads. Some of his present criticisms may then appear to him as futile as an inquiry regarding the song the Sirens sang; but in revenge there will be plenty of room between the rigidity of Ricardo and the sentimentality of Ruskin for the display of his pet attribute, originality."]

[4] [Mr. Henry Clifton Sorby, LL.D., F.R.S. (*b.* 1826), Vice-President of the Sheffield University College, and President of the Microscopical Society.]

to see some of the results of an inquiry he has been following all last year, into the nature of the colouring matter of leaves and flowers.

You most probably have heard (at all events, may with little trouble hear) of the marvellous power which chemical analysis has received in recent discoveries respecting the laws of light.

My friend showed me the rainbow of the rose, and the rainbow of the violet, and the rainbow of the hyacinth, and the rainbow of forest leaves being born, and the rainbow of forest leaves dying.

And, last, he showed me the rainbow of blood. It was but the three-hundredth part of a grain, dissolved in a drop of water; and it cast its measured bars, for ever recognisable now to human sight, on the chord of the seven colours. And no drop of that red rain can now be shed, so small that the stain of it cannot be known, and the voice of it heard out of the ground.[1]

166. But the seeing these flower colours, and the iris of blood together with them, just while I was trying to gather into brief space the right laws of war, brought vividly back to me my dreaming fancy of long ago, that even the trees of the earth were "capable of a kind of sorrow, as they opened their innocent leaves in vain for men; and along the dells of England her beeches cast their dappled shades only where the outlaw drew his bow, and the king rode his careless chase; amidst the fair defiles of the Apennines, the twisted olive-trunks hid the ambushes of treachery, and on their meadows, day by day, the lilies, which were white at the dawn, were washed with crimson at sunset."[2]

And so also now this chance word of the daily journal, about the Sirens, brought to my mind the divine passage in the Cratylus of Plato, about the place of the dead.

"And none of those who dwell there desire to depart thence,—no, not even the Sirens; but even they,

[1] [See Genesis iv. 10.]

[2] [See *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 18): Ruskin slightly shortens the passage here.]

the seducers, are there themselves beguiled, and they who lulled all men, themselves laid to rest—they, and all others —such sweet songs doth death know how to sing to them."[1]

So also the Hebrew.

"And desire shall fail, because man goeth to his long home."[2] For you know I told you[3] the Sirens were not pleasures, but desires; being always represented in old Greek art as having human faces, with birds' wings and feet; and sometimes with eyes upon their wings; and there are not two more important passages in all literature, respecting the laws of labour and of life, than those two great descriptions of the Sirens in Homer and Plato,—the Sirens of death, and Sirens of eternal life, representing severally the earthly and heavenly desires of men; the heavenly desires singing to the motion of circles of the spheres, and the earthly on the rocks of fatallest shipwreck. A fact which may indeed be regarded "sentimentally," but it is also a profoundly important politico-economical one.

And now for Shakspeare's song.

167. You will find, if you look back to the analysis of it, given in *Munera Pulveris*, § 134,[4] that the whole play of *The Tempest* is an allegorical representation of the powers of true, and therefore spiritual, Liberty, as opposed to true, and therefore carnal and brutal Slavery. There is not a sentence nor a rhyme, sung or uttered by Ariel or Caliban, throughout the play, which has not this under-meaning.

168. Now the fulfilment of all human liberty is in the peaceful inheritance of the earth, with its "herb yielding seed, and fruit tree yielding fruit"[5] after his kind; the pasture, or arable, land, and the blossoming, or wooded and fruited, land uniting the final elements of life and peace,

[1] [*Cratylus*, 403 D.]
[2] [Ecclesiastes xii. 5.]
[3] [That is, in *Munera Pulveris*, § 90 (above, p. 212).]
[4] [Above, p. 260. Here, again, note that Ruskin so entitled his essays before he had yet collected them into a book: the reference to the section was of course added in 1872.]
[5] [Genesis i. 11.]

for body and soul.[1] Therefore, we have the two great Hebrew forms of benediction, "His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk," and again, "Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good."[2] And as the work of war and sin has always been the devastation of this blossoming earth, whether by spoil or idleness, so the work of peace and virtue is also that of the first day of Paradise, to "Dress it and to keep it."[3] And that will always be the song of perfectly accomplished Liberty, in her industry, and rest, and shelter from troubled thoughts in the calm of the fields, and gaining, by migration, the long summer's day from the shortening twilight:—

> "Where the bee sucks, there lurk I;
> In a cowslip's bell I lie;
> There I couch when owls do cry.
> On the bat's back I do fly
> After summer merrily:
> Merrily, merrily, shall I live now
> Under the blossom that hangs on the bough."

And the security of this treasure to all the poor, and not the ravage of it down the valleys of the Shenandoah,[4] is indeed the true warrior's work. But, that they may be able to restrain vice rightly, soldiers must themselves be first in virtue; and that they may be able to compel labour sternly, they must themselves be first in toil, and their spears, like Jonathan's at Bethaven,[5] enlighteners of the eyes.[6]

[1] [In his own copy Ruskin added in the margin a reference to the "Land given to Bellerophon: *καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, Iliad,* vi. 195."]

[2] [Genesis xlix. 12; Isaiah vii. 15.]

[3] [Compare *Modern Painters,* vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 13), where also this text is quoted and expanded.]

[4] [The Valley of Shenandoah in Virginia, the scene of much fighting in the American Civil War, including "Stonewall" Jackson's campaign of 1862, and Sheridan's of 1864.]

[5] [1 Samuel xiv. 23, 27. The words "and their spears . . . eyes" were added by Ruskin in revising the letters for republication.]

[6] [See Appendix viii., p. 480.]

LETTER XXV

Of inevitable Distinction of Rank, and necessary Submission to Authority. The Meaning of Pure-Heartedness. Conclusion

169.[1] I WAS interrupted yesterday, just as I was going to set my soldiers to work; and to-day, here comes the pamphlet you promised me, containing the Debates about Church-going, in which I find so interesting a text for my concluding letter that I must still let my soldiers stand at ease for a little while. Look at its twenty-fifth page, and you will find, in the speech of Mr. Thomas, (carpenter,) this beautiful explanation of the admitted change in the general public mind, of which Mr. Thomas, for his part, highly approves (the getting out of the unreasonable habit of paying respect to anybody). There were many reasons to Mr. Thomas's mind why the working classes did not attend places of worship: one was, that "the parson was regarded as an object of reverence. In the little town he came from, if a poor man did not make a bow to the parson he was a marked man. This was no doubt wearing away to a great extent" (the base habit of making bows), "because, the poor man was beginning to get education, and to think for himself. It was only while the priest kept the press from him that he was kept ignorant, and was compelled to bow, as it were, to the parson. . . . It was the case all over England. The clergyman seemed to think himself something superior. Now he (Mr. Thomas) did not admit there was any inferiority" (laughter, audience throughout course of meeting mainly in the right), "except, perhaps, on the score of his having received a classical education, which the poor man could not get."

[1] [See Appendix viii., p. 480.]

Now, my dear friend, here is the element which is the veriest devil of all that have got into modern flesh; this infidelity of the nineteenth century St. Thomas in there being anything better than himself alive;* coupled, as it always is, with the farther resolution—if unwillingly convinced of the fact,—to seal the Better living thing down again out of his way, under the first stone handy. I had not intended, till we entered on the second section of our enquiry, namely, into the influence of gentleness (having hitherto, you see, been wholly concerned with that of justice), to give you the clue out of our dilemma about equalities produced by education;[1] but by the speech of our superior carpenter,[2] I am driven into it at once, and it is perhaps as well.

170. The speech is[3] not, observe, without its own root of truth at the bottom of it, nor at all, as I think, ill intended by the speaker; but you have in it a clear instance of what I was saying in the sixteenth of these letters,—that education *was desired by the lower orders because they thought it would make them upper orders*,[4] and be a leveller and effacer of distinctions. They will be mightily astonished, when they really get it, to find that it is, on the contrary, the fatallest of all discerners and enforcers of distinctions; piercing, even to the division of the joints and marrow, to find out wherein your body and soul are less, or greater, than other bodies and souls, and to sign deed of separation with unequivocal seal.

171. Education is, indeed, of all differences not divinely appointed, an instant effacer and reconciler. Whatever is undivinely poor, it will make rich; whatever is undivinely

* (Compare *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 136.)

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[1] [See above, §§ 101–106, pp. 401–404.]
[2] [See Appendix viii., p. 482.]
[3] [Here the letter, as originally published, continues:—
"You have a clear example in this piece of Mr. Thomas's talk (not, observe, . . . by the speaker) of what I was saying . . ."]
[4] [See above, § 93, p. 396.]

maimed, and halt, and blind, it will make whole, and equal, and seeing. The blind and the lame are to it as to David at the siege of the Tower of the Kings, "hated of David's soul."[1] But there are other divinely-appointed differences, eternal as the ranks of the everlasting hills, and as the strength of their ceaseless waters. And these, education does *not* do away with; but measures, manifests, and employs.

In the handful of shingle which you gather from the sea-beach, which the indiscriminate sea, with equality of fraternal foam, has only educated to be, every one, round, you will see little difference between the noble and mean stones. But the jeweller's trenchant education of them will tell you another story.[2] Even the meanest will be better for it, but the noblest so much better that you can class the two together no more. The fair veins and colours are all clear now, and so stern is nature's intent regarding this, that not only will the polish show which is best, but the best will take most polish. You shall not merely see they have more virtue than the others, but see that more of virtue more clearly; and the less virtue there is, the more dimly you shall see what there is of it.

172. And the law about education, which is sorrowfullest to vulgar pride, is this—that all its gains are at compound interest; so that, as our work proceeds, every hour throws us farther behind the greater men with whom we began on equal terms. Two children go to school hand in hand, and spell for half an hour over the same page. Through all their lives, never shall they spell from the same page more. One is presently a page a-head,—two pages, ten pages,—and evermore, though each toils equally, the interval enlarges—at birth nothing, at death, infinite.

173. And by this you may recognise true education from false. False education is a delightful thing, and warms

[1] [2 Samuel v. 8.]

[2] [Ruskin is here speaking of the cutting and polishing of fine stones as specimens; not of jewel-cutting in the common use of the term—a practice which he condemned: see *Unto this Last*, § 72 (above, p. 96).]

you, and makes you every day think more of yourself. And true education is a deadly cold thing, with a Gorgon's head on her shield, and makes you every day think worse of yourself.

Worse in two ways, also, more's the pity. It is perpetually increasing the personal sense of ignorance and the personal sense of fault. And this last is the truth which is at the bottom of the common evangelical notion about conversion, and which the Devil has got hold of, and hidden, until, instead of seeing and confessing personal ignorance and fault, as compared with the sense and virtue of others, people see nothing but corruption in human nature, and shelter their own sins under accusation of their race (the worst of all assertions of equality and fraternity). And so they avoid the blessed and strengthening pain of finding out wherein they are fools, as compared with other men, by calling everybody else a fool too; and avoid the pain of discerning their own faults, by vociferously claiming their share in the great capital of original sin.

I must also, therefore, tell you here what properly ought to have begun the next following section of our subject—the point usually unnoticed in the parable of the Prodigal Son.[1]

174. First, have you ever observed that all Christ's main teachings, by direct order, by earnest parable, and by His own permanent emotion, regard the use and misuse of *money?* We might have thought, if we had been asked what a divine teacher was most likely to teach, that he would have left inferior persons to give directions about money; and himself spoken only concerning faith and love, and the discipline of the passions, and the guilt of the crimes of soul against soul. But not so. He speaks in general terms of these. But He does not speak parables about them for all men's memory, nor permit Himself fierce indignation against them, in all men's sight. The Pharisees

[1] [For other discussions of this parable, see above, §§ 43, 62 (pp. 354, 369), and *Præterita*, iii. § 16.]

bring Him an adulteress. He writes her forgiveness on the dust of which He had formed her. Another, despised of all for known sin, He recognises as a giver of unknown love. But He acknowledges no love in buyers and sellers in His house. One should have thought there were people in that house twenty times worse than they;—Caiaphas and his like—false priests, false prayer-makers, false leaders of the people—who needed putting to silence, or to flight, with darkest wrath. But the scourge is only against the *traffickers and thieves.* The two most intense of all the parables: the two which lead the rest in love and terror (this of the Prodigal, and of Dives), relate, both of them, to management of riches. The practical order given to the only seeker of advice, of whom it is recorded that Christ "loved him," is briefly about his property. "Sell that thou hast."[1]

And the arbitrament of the day of the Last Judgment is made to rest wholly, neither on belief in God, nor in any spiritual virtue in man, nor on freedom from stress of stormy crime, but on this only, "I was an hungered and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me; sick, and ye came unto me."[2]

175. Well, then, the first thing I want you to notice in the parable of the Prodigal Son (and the last thing which people usually *do* notice in it), is—that it is about a Prodigal! He begins by asking for his share of his father's goods; he gets it, carries it off, and wastes it. It is true that he wastes it in riotous living, but you are not asked to notice in what kind of riot: he spends it with harlots—but it is not the harlotry which his elder brother accuses him of mainly, but of having devoured his father's living. Nay, it is not the sensual life which he accuses himself of —or which the manner of his punishment accuses him of. But the *wasteful* life. It is not said that he had become debauched in soul, or diseased in body, by his vice; but that at last he would fain have filled his belly with husks,

[1] [See Luke xv. 11–32; Mark x. 21; Matthew xix. 21; Luke xviii. 22.]
[2] [Matthew xxv. 35, 36.]

and could not. It is not said that he was struck with remorse for the consequences of his evil passions, but only that he remembered there was bread enough and to spare, even for the servants, at home.

Now, my friend, do not think I want to extenuate sins of passion (though, in very truth, the sin of Magdalene is a light one compared to that of Judas); but observe, sins of passion, if of *real* passion, are often the errors and backfalls of noble souls; but prodigality is mere and pure selfishness, and essentially the sin of an ignoble or undeveloped creature; and I would rather, ten times rather, hear of a youth that (certain degrees of temptation and conditions of resistance being understood) he had fallen into any sin you chose to name, of all the mortal ones, than that he was in the habit of running bills which he could not pay.

Farther, though I hold that the two crowning and most accursed sins of the society of this present day are the carelessness with which it regards the betrayal of women, and the brutality with which it suffers the neglect of children, both these head and chief crimes, and all others, are rooted first in abuse of the laws, and neglect of the duties concerning wealth. And thus the love of money, with the parallel (and, observe, *mathematically commensurate* looseness in management of it), the "mal tener," followed necessarily by the "mal dare,"[1] is, indeed, the root of all evil.

176. Then, secondly, I want you to note that when the prodigal comes to his senses, he complains of nobody but himself, and speaks of no unworthiness but his own. He says nothing against any of the women who tempted him—nothing against the citizen who left him to feed on husks —nothing of the false friends of whom "no man gave unto him"[2]—above all, nothing of the "corruption of human nature," or the corruption of things in general. He says that *he himself* is unworthy, as distinguished from honourable persons, and that *he himself* has sinned, as distinguished

[1] [Compare *Munera Pulveris*, § 86; above, p. 208.]
[2] [Luke xv. 16, 18.]

from righteous persons. And *that* is the hard lesson to learn, and the beginning of faithful lessons. All right and fruitful humility, and purging of heart, and seeing of God, is in that. It is easy to call yourself the chief of sinners, expecting every sinner round you to decline—or return—the compliment; but learn to measure the real degrees of your own relative baseness, and to be ashamed, not in heaven's sight, but in man's sight; and redemption is indeed begun. Observe the phrase, I have sinned "*against* heaven," against the great law of that, and *before* thee, visibly degraded before my human sire and guide, unworthy any more of being esteemed of his blood, and desirous only of taking the place I deserve among his servants.

177. Now, I do not doubt but that I shall set many a reader's teeth on edge by what he will think my carnal and material rendering of this "beautiful" parable. But I am just as ready to spiritualise it as he is, provided I am sure first that we understand it. If we want to understand the parable of the sower,[1] we must first think of it as of literal husbandry; if we want to understand the parable of the prodigal, we must first understand it as of literal prodigality. And the story has also for us a precious lesson in this literal sense of it, namely this, which I have been urging upon you throughout these letters, that all redemption must begin in subjection, and in the recovery of the sense of Fatherhood[2] and authority, as all ruin and desolation begin in the loss of that sense. The lost son began by claiming his rights. He is found when he resigns them. He is lost by flying from his father, when his father's authority was only paternal. He is found by returning to his father, and desiring that his authority may be absolute, as over a hired stranger.

And this is the practical lesson I want to leave with you, and all other working men.

178. You are on the eve of a great political crisis; and

[1] [See Matthew xiii. 3; Mark iv. 3; and Luke viii. 5.]
[2] [Compare *A Joy for Ever*, § 14 (Vol. XVI. p. 24).]

every rascal with a tongue in his head will try to make his own stock out of you. Now this is the test you must try them with. Those that say to you, "Stand up for your rights — get your division of living — be sure that you are as well off as others, and have what they have!—don't let any man dictate to you—have not you. all a right to your opinion?—are you not all as good as everybody else?—let us have no governors, or fathers—let us all be free and alike." Those, I say, who speak thus to you, take Nelson's rough order for[1]—and hate them as you do the Devil, for they *are* his ambassadors. But those, the few, who have the courage to say to you, "My friends, you and I, and all of us, have somehow got very wrong; we've been hardly treated, certainly; but here we are in a piggery, mainly by our own fault, hungry enough, and for ourselves, anything but respectable: we *must* get out of this; there are certainly laws we may learn to live by, and there are wiser people than we are in the world, and kindly ones, if we can find our way to them; and an infinitely wise and kind Father, above all of them and us, if we can but find our way to *Him*, and ask Him to take us for servants, and put us to any work He will, so that we may never leave Him more." The people who will say that to you, and (for by *no* saying, but by their fruits, only, you shall finally know them[2]) who are themselves orderly and kindly, and do their own business well,—take *those* for your guides, and trust them; on ice and rock alike, tie yourselves well together with them, and with much scrutiny, and cautious walking (perhaps nearly as much back as forward, at first), you will verily get off the glacier, and into meadow land, in God's time.

179. I meant to have written much to you respecting the meaning of that word "hired servants," and to have

[1] ["There are three things, young gentleman," said Nelson to one of his midshipmen, "which you are constantly to bear in mind. First, you must always implicitly obey orders. . . . Secondly, you must consider every man your enemy who speaks ill of your king: and, thirdly, you must hate a Frenchman as you do the devil" (Southey's *Life of Nelson*, ch. iii.).]

[2] [Matthew vii. 16, 20.]

gone on to the duties of soldiers, for you know "Soldier" means a person who is paid to fight with regular pay[1]—literally with "soldi" or "sous"—the "penny a day" of the vineyard labourers: but I can't now: only just this much, that our whole system of work must be based on the nobleness of soldiership—so that we shall all be soldiers of either ploughshare or sword;[2] and literally all our actual and professed soldiers, whether professed for a time only, or for life, must be kept to hard work of hand, when not in actual war; their honour consisting in being set to service of more pain and danger than others; to life-boat service; to redeeming of ground from furious rivers or sea—or mountain ruin; to subduing wild and unhealthy land, and extending the confines of colonies in the front of miasm and famine, and savage races.

And much of our harder home work must be done in a kind of soldiership, by bands of trained workers sent from place to place and town to town; doing, with strong and sudden hand, what is needed for help, and setting all things in more prosperous courses for the future.

Of all which I hope to speak in its proper place after we know what offices the higher arts of gentleness have among the lower ones of force, and how their prevalence may gradually change spear to pruning-hook,[3] over the face of all the earth.

180. And now—but one word more—either for you, or any other readers who may be startled at what I have been saying, as to the peculiar stress laid by the Founder of our religion on right dealing with wealth. Let them be assured that it is with no fortuitous choice among the attributes or powers of evil, that "Mammon" is assigned for the direct adversary of the Master whom they are bound to serve.[4] You cannot, by any artifice of reconciliation, be God's

[1] [Compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 15.]
[2] [For this phrase, see *A Joy for Ever*, § 15 (Vol. XVI. p. 26).]
[3] [See above, p. 178.]
[4] [Matthew vi. 24.]

soldier, and his. Nor while the desire of gain is within your heart, can any true knowledge of the Kingdom of God come there. No one shall enter its stronghold,—no one receive its blessing, except, "he that hath clean hands and a pure heart;"[1] clean hands that have done no cruel deed,—pure heart, that knows no base desire. And, therefore, in the highest spiritual sense that can be given to words, be assured, not respecting the literal temple of stone and gold, but of the living temple of your body and soul, that no redemption, nor teaching, nor hallowing, will be anywise possible for it, until these two verses have been, for it also, fulfilled:—

"And He went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought. And He taught daily in the temple."[2]

[1] [Psalms xxiv. 4.]
[2] [Luke xix. 45, 47.]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Page 330, § 15.—Expenditure on Science and Art

The following is the passage referred to. The fact it relates is so curious, and so illustrative of our national interest in science, that I do not apologise for the repetition:—

"Two years ago there was a collection of the fossils of Solenhofen to be sold in Bavaria; the best in existence, containing many specimens unique for perfectness, and one, unique as an example of a species (a whole kingdom of unknown living creatures being announced by that fossil). This collection, of which the mere market worth, among private buyers, would probably have been some thousand or twelve hundred pounds, was offered to the English nation for seven hundred: but we would not give seven hundred, and the whole series would have been in the Munich museum at this moment, if Professor Owen* had not, with loss of his own time, and patient tormenting of the British public in the person of its representatives, got leave to give four hundred pounds at once, and himself become answerable for the other three!—which the said public will doubtless pay him eventually, but sulkily, and caring nothing about the matter all the while; only always ready to cackle if any credit comes of it. Consider, I beg of you, arithmetically, what this fact means. Your annual expenditure for public purposes (a third of it for military apparatus) is at least fifty millions. Now seven hundred pounds is to fifty million pounds, roughly, as seven pence to two thousand pounds. Suppose, then, a gentleman of unknown income, but whose wealth was to be conjectured from the fact that he spent two thousand a year on his park walls and footmen only, professes himself fond of science; and that one of his servants comes eagerly to tell him that an unique collection of fossils, giving clue to a new era of creation, is to be had for the sum of sevenpence sterling; and that the gentleman who is fond of science, and spends two thousand a year on his park, answers, after keeping his servant waiting several months, 'Well, I'll give you fourpence for them, if you will be answerable for the extra threepence yourself till next year.'"

* I originally stated this fact without Professor Owen's permission; which, of course, he could not with propriety have granted, had I asked it; but I considered it so important that the public should be aware of the fact, that I did what seemed to me right, though rude.

APPENDIX II

PAGES 339, 324, §§ 25, 9.—LEGISLATION OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

THE following are the portions of Mr. Dixon's letters referred to:—

"Well, I am now busy with *Frederick the Great;* I am not now astonished that Carlyle calls him Great, neither that this work of his should have had such a sad effect upon him in producing it, when I see the number of volumes he must have had to wade through to produce such a clear terse set of utterances; and yet I do not feel the work as a book likely to do a reader of it the good that some of his other books will do. It is truly awful to read these battles after battles, lies after lies, called Diplomacy; it's fearful to read all this, and one wonders how he that set himself to this—He, of all men—could have the rare patience to produce such a laboured, heart-rending piece of work. Again, when one reads of the stupidity, the shameful waste of our moneys by our forefathers, to see our National Debt (the curse to our labour now, the millstone to our commerce, to our fair chance of competition in our day) thus created, and for what? Even Carlyle cannot tell; then how are we to tell? Now, who will deliver us? that is the question; who will help us in these days of *idle or no work,* while our foreign neighbours have plenty and are actually selling their produce to our men of capital cheaper than we can make it! House-rent getting dearer, taxes getting dearer, rates, clothing, food, etc. Sad times, my master, do seem to have fallen upon us. And the cause of nearly all this lies embedded in that Frederick; and yet, so far as I know of it, no critic has yet given an exposition of such laying there. For our behoof, is there no one that will take this, that there lies so woven in with much other stuff so sad to read, to any man that does not believe man was made to fight alone, to be a butcher of his fellow-man? Who will do this work, or piece of work, so that all who care may know how it is that our debt grew so large, and a great deal more that we ought to know?—that clearly is one great reason why the book was written and was printed. Well, I hope some day all this will be clear to our people, and some man or men will arise and sweep us clear of these hindrances, these sad drawbacks to the vitality of our work in this world."

"57, NILE STREET, SUNDERLAND, *Feb.* 7, 1867.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of two letters as additions to your books,[1] which I have read with deep interest, and shall take care of them, and read them over again, so that I may thoroughly comprehend them, and be able to think of them for future use. I myself am not fully satisfied with our co-operation, and never have been; it is too much tinged with the very elements that they complain of in our present systems of trade—selfishness. I have for years been trying to direct the attention of the

[1] [That is, the first two letters of *Time and Tide.*]

editor of the *Co-operator*[1] to such evils that I see in it. Now further, I may state that I find you and Carlyle seem to agree quite on the idea of the *Masterhood* qualification. There again I find you both feel and write as all working men consider just. I can assure you there is not an honest, noble working man that would not by far serve under such *master*-hood, than be the employé or workman of a co-operative store. Working men do not as a rule make good masters; neither do they treat each other with that courtesy as a noble master treats his working man. George Fox shadows forth some such treatment that Friends ought to make law and guidance for their working men and slaves, such as you speak of in your letters. I will look the passage up, as it is quite to the point, so far as I now remember it. In Vol. VI. of *Frederick the Great*, I find a great deal there that I feel quite certain, if our Queen or Government could make law, thousands of English working men would hail it with such a shout of joy and gladness as would astonish the Continental world.[2] These changes suggested by Carlyle and placed before the thinkers of England, are the noblest, the truest utterances on real kinghood, that I have ever read; the more I think over them, the more I feel the truth, the justness, and also the fitness of them, to our nation's present dire necessities; yet this is the man, and these are the thoughts of his, that our critics seem never to see, or if seen, don't think worth printing or in any way wisely directing the attention of the public thereto, alas! All this and much more fills me with such sadness that I am driven almost to despair. I see from the newspapers, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and other places are sternly endeavouring to carry out the short time movement until such times as trade revives, and I find the masters and men seem to adopt it with a good grace and friendly spirit. I also beg to inform you I see a Mr. Morley, a large manufacturer at Nottingham, has been giving pensions to all his old workmen.[3] I hope such a noble example will be followed by other wealthy masters. It would do more to make a master loved, honoured, and cared for, than thousands of pounds expended in other ways. The Government Savings Banks is one of the wisest acts of late years done by our Government.[4] I, myself, often wish the Government held all our banks instead of private men; that would put an end to false speculations, such as we too often in the provinces suffer so severely by, so I hail with pleasure and delight the shadowing forth by you of these noble plans for the future: I feel glad and uplifted to think of the good that such teaching will do for us all.

"Yours truly,
"THOMAS DIXON."

[1] [Mr. Henry Pitman, of Manchester.]

[2] [See above, § 9 *n.* (p. 324).]

[3] [The late Samuel Morley, M.P. (1809–1886), who pensioned his employés at a cost of £2000 annually.]

[4] [Mr. Gladstone's Bill, establishing Post Office Savings Banks, received the royal assent on May 17, 1861, and came into operation on the 16th of September following. By 1867 the number of depositors was 854,983, the amount standing to their credit being £9,749,929. For another reference to the Savings Bank, see *Unto this Last*, § 61 (above, p. 85).]

"57, Nile Street, Sunderland, *Feb.* 24, 1867.

"Dear Sir,—

"I now give you the references to *Frederick the Great.*[1] Vol. VI.: Land Question, 365 page, where he increases the number of small farmers to 4000 (202, 204). English soldiers and T. C.'s remarks on our system of purchase, etc. His law (620, 623, 624). State of Poland and how he repaired it (487, 488, 489, 490). I especially value the way he introduced all kinds of industries therein, and so soon changed the chaos into order. Again, the schoolmasters also are given (not yet in England, says T. C.). Again the use he made of £15,000 surplus in Brandenburg; how it was applied to better his staff of masters. To me, the Vol. VI. is one of the wisest pieces of modern thought in our language. I only wish I had either your power, C. Kingsley, Maurice, or some such able pen-generalship, to illustrate and show forth all the wise teaching on law, government, and social life I see in it, and shining like a star through all its pages.* I feel also the truth of all you have written, and will do all I can to make such men or women that care for such thoughts, see it, or read it. I am copying the letters as fast and as well as I can, and will use my utmost endeavour to have them done that justice to they merit.

"Yours truly,
"Thomas Dixon."

APPENDIX III

Page 342, § 28.—Effect of Modern Entertainments on the Mind of Youth

The letter of the *Times'* correspondent referred to contained an account of one of the most singular cases of depravity ever brought before a criminal court;[2] but it is unnecessary to bring any of its details under the reader's attention, for nearly every other number of our journals has of late contained some instances of atrocities before unthought of, and, it might have seemed, impossible to humanity. The connection of these with the modern love of excitement in the sensational novel and drama may not be generally understood, but it is direct and constant; all furious pursuit of pleasure ending in actual desire of horror and delight in death. I entered into

* I have endeavoured to arrange some of the passages to which Mr. Dixon here refers, in a form enabling the reader to see their bearing on each other more distinctly, as a sequel to the essay on War in the *Crown of Wild Olive.*[3]

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[1] [The references are to the first edition in six volumes (1858–1865); in the cheaper edition of 1869 the work was in seven volumes.]

[2] [A youth of nineteen, who had murdered a woman, explained that he had planned three other murders, including that of his father. He gloried in his crime, and explained to the presiding judge that work "did not suit him."]

[3] [This note was added by Ruskin in 1872; the revised edition of the *Crown of Wild Olive,* containing the "sequel" here referred to, was published in the following year (see Vol. XVIII.).]

some fuller particulars on this subject in a lecture given in the spring at the Royal Institution.

(Any part of the Lecture referred to likely to be of permanent interest will be printed, somewhere, in this series.[1])

APPENDIX IV

Page 370, § 63.—Drunkenness as the Cause of Crime

The following portions of Mr. Dixon's letter referred to, will be found interesting:—

"Dear Sir,—

"Your last letter, I think, will arouse the attention of thinkers more than any of the series, it being on topics they in general feel more interested in than the others, especially as in these you do not assail their pockets so much as in the former ones. Since you seem interested with the notes or rough sketches on gin, G * * * of Dublin was the man I alluded to as making his money by drink, and then giving the results of such traffic to repair the Cathedral of Dublin.[2] It was thousands of pounds. I call such charity robbing Peter to pay Paul! Immense fortunes are made in the *Liquor Traffic*, and I will tell you why; it is all paid for in cash, at least such as the poor people buy; they get credit for clothes, butchers' meat, groceries, etc., while they give the gin-palace keeper *cash*; they never begrudge the price of a glass of gin or beer, they never haggle over *its* price, never once think of doing that; but in the purchase of almost every other article they haggle and begrudge its price. To give you an idea of its profits—there are houses here whose average weekly takings in cash at their bars, is £50, £60, £70, £80, £90, to £150 per week! Nearly all the men of intelligence in it, say it is the curse of the *working classes*. Men whose earnings are, say 20s. to 30s. per week, spend on the average 3s. to 6s. per week (some even 10s.). It's my mode of living to supply these houses with corks that makes me see so much of the drunkenness; and that is the cause why I never really cared for *my trade*, seeing the misery that was entailed on my fellow men and women by the use of this stuff. Again, a house with a licence to sell spirits, wine, and ale, to be consumed on the premises, 'is worth two to three times more money than any other class of property. One house here worth nominally £140 sold the other day for £520; another one worth

[1] [Note added in 1872. The edition of 1867 reads:—

"... Royal Institution, which will be shortly published in a form accessible to the readers of these Letters, and I therefore give no extracts from it."

The lecture was, however, neither so published, nor in the "Works" Series. It was entitled "On the Present State of Modern Art with Reference to the Advisable Arrangements of the National Gallery," and is now included in Vol. XIX.]

[2] [Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness (1798–1868), succeeded his father as sole proprietor of the Dublin brewery, the business of which he greatly extended. He restored St. Patrick's Cathedral at a cost of £150,000 (1860–1865).]

£200 sold for £800. I know premises with a licence that were sold for £1300, and then sold again two years after for £1800; another place was rented for £50, now rents at £100—this last is a house used by working men and labourers chiefly! No, I honour men like *Sir W. Trevelyan*,[1] that are teetotalers, or total abstainers, as an example to poor men, and, to prevent his work-people being tempted, will not allow any public-house on his estate. If our land had a few such men it would help the cause. We possess one such a man here, a banker. I feel sorry to say the progress of temperance is not so great as I would like to see it. The only religious body that approaches to your ideas of political economy is Quakerism as taught by George Fox. Carlyle seems deeply tinged with their teachings. *Silence* to them is as valuable as to him. Again, why should people howl and shriek over the law that the Alliance[2] is now trying to carry out in our land called the Permissive Bill? If we had just laws we then would not be so miserable or so much annoyed now and then with cries of Reform and cries of Distress. I send you two pamphlets;—one gives the working man's reasons why he don't go to church; in it you will see a few opinions expressed very much akin to those you have written to me. The other gives an account how it is the poor Indians have died of *Famine*, simply because they have destroyed the very system of Political Economy, or one having some approach to it, that you are now endeavouring to direct the attention of thinkers to in our country. The *Sesame and Lilies* I have read as you requested. I feel now fully the aim and object you have in view in the Letters, but I cannot help directing your attention to that portion where you mention or rather exclaim against the Florentines pulling down their *Ancient Walls* to build a *Boulevard*.[3] That passage is one that would gladden the hearts of all true *Italians*, especially men that love *Italy and Dante!*"

APPENDIX V

Page 371, § 63.—Abuse of Food

Paragraphs cut from *Manchester Examiner* of March 16, 1867:—

"A Parisian Character.—A celebrated character has disappeared from the Palais Royal. Réné Lartique was a Swiss, and a man of about sixty. He actually spent the last fifteen years in the Palais Royal—that is to say, he spent the third of his life at dinner. Every morning at ten o'clock he was to be seen going into a restaurant (usually Tissat's), and in a few moments was installed in a corner, which he only quitted about three o'clock in the afternoon, after having drunk at least six or seven bottles of different kinds of wine. He then walked up and down the garden till

[1] [See § 63 (above, p. 370 *n.*).]

[2] [The "United Kingdom Alliance," formed in 1853, with the object of suppressing the liquor traffic by legislation; its "Permissive Bill" proposed to give a power of local veto on the traffic to the ratepayers.]

[3] [The reference is to the Preface (§ 6) to the *second* edition of *Sesame and Lilies* (Vol. XVIII. p. 28).]

the clock struck five, when he made his appearance again at the same restaurant, and always at the same place. His second meal, at which he drank quite as much as at the first, invariably lasted till half-past nine. Therefore, he devoted nine hours a day to eating and drinking. His dress was most wretched—his shoes broken, his trousers torn, his paletôt without any lining and patched, his waistcoat without buttons, his hat a rusty red from old age, and the whole surmounted by a dirty white beard. One day he went up to the *comptoir*, and asked the presiding divinity there to allow him to run in debt for one day's dinner. He perceived some hesitation in complying with the request, and immediately called one of the waiters, and desired him to follow him. He went into the office, unbuttoned a certain indispensable garment, and, taking off a broad leather belt, somewhat startled the waiter by displaying two hundred gold pieces, each worth one hundred francs. Taking up one of them, he tossed it to the waiter, and desired him to pay whatever he owed. He never again appeared at that restaurant, and died a few days ago of indigestion."

"Revenge in a Ball-Room.—A distressing event lately took place at Castellaz, a little commune of the Alpes-Maritimes, near Mentone. All the young people of the place being assembled in a dancing-room, one of the young men was seen to fall suddenly to the ground, whilst a young woman, his partner, brandished a poniard, and was preparing to inflict a second blow on him, having already desperately wounded him in the stomach. The author of the crime was at once arrested. She declared her name to be Marie P——, twenty-one years of age, and added that she had acted from a motive of revenge, the young man having led her astray formerly with a promise of marriage, which he had never fulfilled. In the morning of that day she had summoned him to keep his word, and, upon his refusal, had determined on making the dancing-room the scene of her revenge. She was at first locked up in the prison of Mentone, and afterwards sent on to Nice. The young man continues in an alarming state."

APPENDIX VI

Page 381, § 75.—Regulations of Trade

I print portions of two letters of Mr. Dixon's in this place; one referring to our former discussion respecting the sale of votes:[1]—

"57, Nile Street, Sunderland, *March* 21, 1867.

"I only wish I could write in some tolerable good style, so that I could idealize, or rather realize to folks, the life, and love, and marriage of a working man and his wife. It is in my opinion a working man that really does know what a true wife is, for his every want, his every comfort in life depends on her; and his children's home, their daily lives and future lives, are shaped by her. Napoleon wisely said, 'France needs good mothers

[1] [See §§ 11, 25 (above, pp. 326, 340).]

more than brave men. Good mothers are the makers or shapers of good and brave men.' I cannot say that these are the words, but it is the import of his speech on the topic. We have a saying amongst us: 'The man may spend and money lend, if his wife be *ought*,'—*i.e.* good wife;—'but he may work and try to save, but will have *nought*, if his wife be nought,'—*i.e.* bad or thriftless wife.

"Now, since you are intending to treat of the working man's parliament and its duties, I will just throw out a few suggestions of what I consider should be the questions or measures that demand an early enquiry into and debate on. That guilds be established in every town, where masters and men may meet, so as to avoid the temptations of the public-house and *drink*. And then, let it be made law that every lad should serve an apprenticeship of not less than seven years to a trade or art, before he is allowed to be a member of such guild; also, that all wages be based on a rate of so much *per hour*, and not day, as at present; and let every man prove his workmanship before such a guild; and then allow to him such payment per hour as his craft merits. Let there be three grades, and then let there be trials of skill in workmanship every year; and then, if the workman of the third grade prove that he has made progress in his craft, reward him accordingly. Then, before a lad is put to any trade, why not see what he is naturally fitted for? Combe's book, entitled *The Constitution of Man*,[1] throws a good deal of truth on to these matters. Now, here are two branches of the science of life that, so far, have never once been given trial of in this way. We certainly use them after a *crime* has been committed, but not till then.

"Next to that, cash payment for all and everything needed in life. *Credit is a curse* to him that gives it, and that takes it. He that lives by credit lives in general carelessly. If there was no credit, people then would have to live on what they earned! Then, after that, the Statute of Limitations of Fortune you propose. By the hour system, not a single man *need be idle;* it would give employment to all, and even two hours per day would realize more to a man than *breaking stones*. Thus you would make every one self-dependent—also no fear of being out of work altogether. Then let there be a Government fund for all the savings of the working man. I am afraid you will think this a wild, discursive sort of a letter.

"Yours truly,
"Thomas Dixon."

"I have read your references to the *Times* on 'Bribery.' Well, that has long been my own opinion; they simply have a vote to sell, and sell it the same way as they sell potatoes, or a coat, or any other saleable article. Voters generally say, 'What does this gentleman want in Parliament? Why, to help himself and his family or friends; he does not spend all the money he spends over his election for pure good of his country! No: it's to benefit his pocket, to be sure. Why should I not make a penny with my vote, as well as he does with his in Parliament?' I think that if the system of canvassing or election agents were done away with,

[1] [*The Constitution of Man considered in Relation to External Objects*, by George Combe, first published in 1828, and many times re-issued.]

and all personal canvassing for votes entirely abolished, it would help to put down bribery. Let each gentleman send to the electors his political opinions in a circular, and then let papers be sent, or cards, to each elector, and then let them go and record their votes in the same way they do for a councillor in the Corporation. It would save a great deal of expense, and prevent those scenes of drunkenness so common in our towns during elections. *Bewick's opinions* of these matters are quite to the purpose, I think (*see page* 201 *of Memoir*).[1] Again, respecting the Paris matter referred to in your last letter, I have read it. Does it not manifest plainly enough that Europeans are also in a measure possessed with that same *demoniacal spirit like the Japanese?*"[2]

APPENDIX VII

THE following letter did not form part of the series written to Mr. Dixon; but is perhaps worth reprinting. I have not the date of the number of the *Gazette* in which it appeared, but it was during the tailors' strike in London.[3]

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Pall Mall Gazette.*

"SIR,—

"In your yesterday's article on strikes you have very neatly and tersely expressed the primal fallacy of modern political economy—to wit, that 'the value of any piece of labour cannot be defined'—and that 'all that can be ascertained is simply whether any man can be got to do it for a certain sum.' Now, sir, the 'value' of any piece of labour, that is to say, the quantity of food and air which will enable a man to perform it without losing actually any of his flesh or his nervous energy, is as absolutely fixed a quantity as the weight of powder necessary to carry a given ball a given distance. And within limits varying by exceedingly minor and unimportant circumstances, it is an ascertainable quantity. I told the public this five years ago[4]—and under pardon of your politico-economical contributors[5]—it is not a 'sentimental,' but a chemical fact.

"Let any half-dozen of recognised London physicians state in precise terms the quantity and kind of food, and space of lodging, they consider approximately necessary for the healthy life of a labourer in any given manufacture, and the number of hours he may, without shortening his life, work at such business daily if so sustained.

[1] ["By making elections simple, candidates would be spared the expense of a canvass, and drunkenness and the base, wicked effects consequent thereon might be avoided," etc. (*A Memoir of Thomas Bewick, written by himself:* Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1862).]

[2] [See above, § 26 (p. 341).]

[3] [The date was May 1, 1867. The letter was reprinted from the *Gazette* in 1880 in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. p. 96, with the title "The Standard of Wages." For the variations in the text, see above, under "Variæ Lectiones," p. 308.]

[4] [Really, seven years ago; in *Unto this Last*, §§ 78 *seq.* (above, pp. 105 *seq.*).]

[5] [For the reference here, see above, § 164, and the passage from the *Pall Mall Gazette* there cited in a note (p. 451 *n.*).]

"And let all masters be bound to give their men a choice between an order for that quantity of food and lodging, or such wages as the market may offer for that number of hours' work.

"Proper laws for the maintenance of families would require further concession—but, in the outset, let but *this* law of wages be established, and if then we have any more strikes you may denounce them without one word of remonstrance either from sense or sensibility.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN RUSKIN."

(*Added in this Edition*)

APPENDIX VIII

[IN this Appendix are collected some passages in the original letters which Ruskin withdrew in 1867 as involving matters then of personal or political controversy.]

[§ 97, at the end of the section, the letter, as originally published, had an additional passage:—]

"While we are talking of compassion, will you just look at the letter of the Washington correspondent in last Saturday's *Times*, and note the fact therein reported, that the American Parliament is at present deliberating whether or not it shall leave fifty-six thousand persons to starve; partly in revenge, and partly to get them out of their way. 'The appeals of women and children for bread were received as savages might have received them, with mockery and derision. General Logan, in an excited speech, his first in the House, called upon Congress to "let the Southern people starve, so that the vengeance of the country might be complete," and Mr. Williams, of Indiana, said, "If need be, let God Almighty populate the South with people who love our flag, and the free institutions of which it is the emblem." That is, "Let the Southern people die in their ditches, and the Northerners step in and take their desolate and barren lands."'

"Is not *this* a beautiful result of an *Evangelical* war proclaimed pathetically by sundry ministers and benevolent ladies—in favour of their black friends? I think they will find they have emancipated quite another sort of black friends out of a much warmer climate than that of Carolina. He, who should have been 'reserved in chains and darkness to the judgment of the great day,'[1] will doubtless, thus loosed, love their flag, and the free institutions of which it is the emblem!

"You know Dante, don't you? at least the *Inferno* (very few

[1] [Jude 6.]

people know anything more of him[1]), and you recollect the story of the Tower of Famine, and Dante's curse on the Pisans?—

> "'Oh, thou Pisa, shame
> Of all the people who their dwelling make
> In that fair region where the Italian voice
> Is heard,—since that thy neighbours are so slack
> To punish, from their deep foundations rise
> Capraja and Gorgona, and dam up
> The mouth of Arno, that each soul in thee
> May perish in the waters.'[2]

"He invokes the deluge-wrath upon them, though they had but slain with hunger four innocent persons; what would Dante have written, think you, of a nation whose Parliament debates whether it shall not slay fifty-six thousand?"

[§ 106, line 30. Here the letter, as originally published, has an additional passage (referring to the one just given above:—]

"By the way, do you notice that, while the Christian Parliament of America is debating whether it shall starve 56,000 persons in revenge, our metropolitan bishop, here, is also in a troubled state of mind about the dilution of wine with water on sacred occasions. You may see in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of yesterday that the Bishop of London (quite one of our best bishops, and truly serviceable in many matters,[3] and one who ought not to be annoyed in these minor particulars) has 'taken a decided step in connection with the prosecution of the incumbent of St. Alban's,'[4] against whom charges four —respecting use of candles, incense, and the mixed chalice, etc.— are to be 'investigated' in the Court of Arches.

"What with railroads and ritualism together, that verse of Isaiah's seems to have come sharply true of our 'faithful city' of London— 'Thy silver has become dross—thy wine mixed with water.'"[5]

[§ 138, last line. The letter, as originally published, broke off here, and continued:—]

"*April* 18, *Morning.*

"I've just got your ridiculous letter about America, which has made me lose my temper to that extent—(notwithstanding my having just found a cluster of wood-anemones, which I've been three years coaxing, in full bloom at last in my orchard)—that I can hardly go

[1] [Compare Vol. X. p. 379, where Ruskin suggests reasons why the *Paradiso* is less read than the *Inferno*.]

[2] [*Inferno*, xxxiii. 79–84 (Cary's translation). Ruskin refers to the passage in *Eagle's Nest*, § 35.]

[3] [The Bishop of London at the time was Tait. Ruskin may have been thinking more particularly of the Bishop's broad-minded action in the Colenso case, 1861–1866 (see below, p. 521 *n.*), as well as of his good work during the cholera epidemic of 1866.]

[4] [The Rev. A. H. Mackonochie.]

[5] [See Isaiah i. 22.]

on writing at all. I shall force myself, however, before I say anything in reply, to finish the next sentence I meant to write about the upper classes, for it was to end at any rate with a reference to America, which will make your intolerably provoking letter an apposite, and therefore not altogether vexatious, piece of interruption. This, then, being the natural . . ."

[§ 141, line 12, the letter, as originally published, continued as follows:—]

"There—I've actually got through my sentence, and I don't think, though I've been holding my breath and biting my lips all the time, that a word of it is materially different from what it would otherwise have been.

"And now for your letter, or rather your friend's enclosed with it, of which the provocation is all the greater for his evidently being a sensible man, and one who ought to know better. He says (in brief substance) this, that if Carlyle and I (mind, I only speak of myself together with him as a son might speak of his father and himself, not on any term of other equality)—that if Carlyle and I were wiser, and in particular, if I had not, as your friend supposes, derived all my information chiefly from the *Times*, we should both come to think of the American War and the Jamaica question as Mr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and Mr. W. M. Rossetti think.—Now first for the sources of my information respecting the principles of the American War. I do not believe that through the whole course of it I read twenty sentences of the lucubrations of any one writer of the entire body of infallible British, Scotch, and Irish Press, except only those relating to the probable course of military operations,—and very little of those (and I seldom looked even for reports of the facts, until the papers were ten days old, that I might not be teased with conjectures and contradictions).

"My sources of information respecting the spirit of the Northern Americans are briefly the following. First: I travelled with Mrs. Beecher Stowe[1] and her family from Chamouni to Basle, in the year 1856; losing a great corner of my heart to her little daughter Georgie in a scramble about the Glacier des Boissons; and discussing immoveable articles of faith in a serene picnic by the castle of Vallengrin [Valangrin] above Neufchâtel; and while we rested under the, as immoveable, Pierre à Bot, with the great ramparts of Swiss liberty glittering to their outmost bastions beyond the blue lake at our feet.[2] When the war first broke out, Miss Georgie wrote me word that she was wearing her fingers to the bone in

[1] [Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896), wife of C. E. Stowe, a friend of and for many years in correspondence with, Ruskin; authoress, among many other works, of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1851–1852 (see Vol. V. p. 97), and *Sunny Memories of Many Lands*, 1854 (see Vol. V. p. 83). Her "little daughter Georgie" was her third daughter, born in 1843.]

[2] [The Castle of Valangrin (dating from the twelfth century) is a few miles north of Neuchâtel, on the road to Chaux de Fonds. The Pierre à Bot (toadstone) is the largest erratic boulder known on the Jura; it is situated on the Chaumont, the hill immediately above Neuchâtel. Beyond the lake the range of the Swiss Alps is seen.]

embroidering banners, to which I returned answer that I had much rather hear she was keeping them round and fit for adornment by ring; and have been a discarded lover ever since. Secondly: Though I rarely take a companion with me among the Alps, except old Joseph Couttet, of Chamouni, I asked an American friend, Mr. W. J. Stillman, to come and stay with me at Chamouni and Lucerne for two months, in the year 1860.[1] He has been since the North American Consul at Rome, and is now Consul in the Levant somewhere; and I had to send him a hundred pounds to help him to remove from one consulate to another, because the rascally North American Government shortened his income unexpectedly, the moment the war was over; and so made me, among other innocent persons, contribute to the paying of their debts.

"Thirdly, the best friend I have in the world, next to Carlyle, is an American, of Boston, Charles Eliot Norton, with whom, in spite of the war, I have not quarrelled; and who, in spite of my opinions about the war, has not quarrelled with me. A more graceful or refined gentleman and scholar there is not in Europe, and I believe whatever can be wisely said in favour of his cause, he has either said to me, or given me the means of otherwise hearing.

"Lastly: I know the *Biglow Papers* nearly all by heart, and a great part of Russell Lowell's other poems besides;[2] and, next to Carlyle, for my own immediate help and teaching, I nearly always look to Emerson.

"I suppose your friend will admit these to be respectable and sufficient source of information respecting Northern principles? And, having been for years fully aware of these, and able to use them, I still tell you, with as stern decision as I can find words to utter, that the American war—so far as it was other than the explosion by friction of gaseous elements, or, as Carlyle said of it, 'the dirtiest chimney that has been on fire for a long while, and one which wise men will look on quietly and let burn itself out'[3]—was the greatest national sin yet committed in this world, 'that good might come,'[4] and has thrown back the cause of all true human liberty by fifty years.

"And now for your friend's general assertion that if Carlyle and I were wiser, we should think as those three other gentlemen think, and that however right we may be in many things, all our friends and disciples see that we are wrong in this. My answer is simply, that your confidence in a leader is only shown when his orders appear to you to be wrong. So far as you and he agree, you are not his disciple, nor he your guide. Neither Carlyle nor I

[1] [See above, Introduction, pp. xxi.–xxiv.]

[2] [For Ruskin and Lowell, see Vol. VII. pp. xxii., 372, 451; and for Emerson, Vol. V. p. 427 *n.*, and Vol. VII. p. 361.]

[3] [Froude mentions a somewhat similar saying, less pointed, however, than the one here recorded by Ruskin (see *Carlyle's Life in London*, vol. ii. p. 246). Carlyle's written words on the American war are in *Shooting Niagara* and *Ilias* (*Americana*) *in Nuce* (see *Miscellanies*, vol. vii. p. 204).]

[4] [Romans iii. 8.]

would give a pen's feather—no, nor the filament of one—for your belief in us, if the moment we tell you anything you don't like you say—'Ah! that's their mistake; you must go to Mr. So-and-so to be informed on that point.' It is precisely when you come to differ from us that we can be of use to you. You may find the mouthpieces of your own opinions cheaply elsewhere, if that is all you want, and to those mouthpieces we shall very thankfully leave you and that shortly—Carlyle, because he is old and weary, and feels that he has done his work; and I, because for people who only hear me in that spirit, I do not feel that any work is by me to be done. A few words more only respecting the three teachers you refer to, and so an end. Mr. W. M. Rossetti is a good scholar and an ingenious and entirely amiable person. But his brother and I taught him whatever he knows about art; and in politics, I must, with whatever little grace, yet in mere honesty, say that I know of no reason why his name should be weighed in any balance even against mine, much less against my master's.[1] Mr. J. S. Mill is assuredly strong in some directions of thought, and entirely, by his nature, shut out from following others. He has never, as I have already stated in the Preface to *Unto this Last*,[2] and as will most assuredly be confessed not at so very distant period, even by his disciples, fathomed the first principles even of his own

[1] ["Seeing this statement printed in the newspaper," says Mr. W. M. Rossetti, "I wrote to the illustrious author, deferentially querying whether he had adequate evidence on which to found this opinion concerning the fine-art matter. His reply was as follows:—

"'DENMARK HILL, 27*th May*, 1867.

"'DEAR ROSSETTI,—Thanks for your kind note. I never had any intention of keeping that phrase in the reprint; but I strictly wrote those letters as I *would* have done had they been private—though I knew they would be published. They are to be read as a little piece of permitted exposure of one's inner mind—for special purpose. Carlyle was furious at what I said of *him*, but I didn't care. That also goes out in reprint.

"'Of course, in a saying like that, 'inference' *va sans dire*—one can't say 'as far as I can judge': and of course also the lateral and confirmatory work is supposed. I should not have minded a bit old J. D. Harding's saying of me, 'I taught him all he knows about art.' If I knew a thing or two more, it was quite natural in him not to see it. He could only speak as he saw—and in a certain sense. All teaching is but the beginning of things.—Ever affectionately yours,

'J. RUSKIN.

"'Lest you should think this an equivocal sort of backing out of the thing, I will tell you exactly the feeling which gave origin to the sentence. When we had our last talk over Japan art, my soliloquy to myself was simply this: 'What a pity that fellow—ingenious as he is—lets his Brother cram his crotchets down his throat! I wish I hadn't lost sight of him for so long; I would have kept him straighter.' Then I've . . . become much more arrogant and sulky than ever I was—and I was bad enough before.'"

Rossetti Papers: 1862–1870. A Compilation by William Michael Rossetti, 1903, pp. 263–264.]

[2] [See above, p. 18.]

subject of Mercantile Economy;[1] and his Essay on Liberty I believe to be the foolishest book yet extant in literature, written by a man of disciplined power.[2] For Mr. Goldwin Smith I have great respect, and do not doubt that his opinions on any historical question are deserving of great attention.[3] And I am sure that, if I were well acquainted, instead of slightly, with his books, they might cause me to modify my opinions on various minor points relating to America, as well as to other countries. But he would never alter my opinion on this main principle, with the statement of which I will close my petulant and parenthetic letter, I hope usefully. All methods of right Government . . . accrue from the victory [as in the author's footnote to the present text].—Ever, my dear D——, very truly yours, J. Ruskin."[4]

[§ 141, line 24. At the end of the passage in the original letter, for which in the collected edition the latter portion of § 141 and the author's footnote were substituted, a new letter commenced, which thus appeared in the newspapers:—]

"Denmark Hill, 19*th April*, 1867.

"My dear D——, I have yours of yesterday, with the anonymous letter to the *Leeds Mercury*.[5] You need never send me anything of the kind. I measure my words syllable by syllable, and have not the smallest intention of entering into controversy with objectors to them. In the present instance, as you have sent me this letter, and the matter is so grave, I will so far break my rule as to reply —That I never charged the Congress of America 'with attempting to starve' fifty-six thousand persons, but with admitting debate on the subject, and permitting language of such and such a character to be used in the course of that debate. That charge I made on the authority of the correspondent of the leading journal of London;

[1] [See *Unto this Last*, § 28 (above, pp. 44–45).]

[2] [For a more favourable opinion of the essay *On Liberty*, see Vol. VII. p. 229 *n.*]

[3] [Ruskin refers to a letter by Mr. Goldwin Smith in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 24, 1873 (reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 98, and in a later volume of this edition); with which reference compare *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 60. For an incidental reference of a contemptuous character, see *ibid.*, Letter 79.]

[4] [In the edition of 1867 the whole of this passage was omitted. In place of it was a footnote, appended to the word "America" in line 12 of the present § 141. This footnote consisted of (1) the passage next following in the present § 141—"My American friends . . . desire to become" (with the additional words thereafter, "as the tide of the troubled sea, when it *cannot* rest"), and then (2) the footnote as it now appears at the end of § 141. For the subsequent passages in the original letters, intervening before § 142 as it now stands, see p. 476 *n.*]

[5] [The date of Ruskin's letter must be wrong, as the "anonymous letter," to which it refers, appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of April 20. It was headed "Ruskin as a Teacher of Truthfulness," and the writer said that the message of the *Times* correspondent was "evidently written in a partisan spirit," and added: "The frantic utterances of two members of the House of Representatives are quoted to substantiate this charge, but Mr. Ruskin omits to mention the rebuke the opinions of the minority received in the passage of the 'Bill for the Relief of the South' by a majority of 96 to 31 in the House of Representatives and 29 to 9 in the Senate." The same

and great as my contempt may be (and as my last letter must have shown you that it is) for the stated *opinion* of the *Times* (being that of the British commercial public), I have yet to learn that the leading journal dares to print on its correspondent's authority a direct lie respecting the course or manner of a debate in the Parliament of any nation. If it does, there is even more need for the exercise of my function as a 'teacher of truthfulness' than I had supposed. Make the *Times* retract its statement, and I retract my charge. In the meantime do not trouble your head about what people say or think of my letters unless they make some helpful suggestion to you. Communicate to me what is useful, nothing else.

"I return to the point at which you interrupted me yesterday. You see that the aristocracy of any nation . . . [as in § 142].

[§ 168, last line. The letter, as originally published, continues:—]

"*26th April.*

"I can't end with this letter after all, or at least I must break it in two, for I have been interrupted in all manner of ways; and last night I was with Carlyle, and he said some things to me which I must set down here—though said to me only, they were good for many to hear. So have patience with me yet for a day.—Always faithfully yours, J. RUSKIN."

[§ 169. The letter, as originally published, began as follows:—]

"*27th April* 1867.

"MY DEAR D——, On Thursday evening last, as I told you, I was with Mr. Carlyle; and he was speaking of the differences in good and evil—between the coast of the Mediterranean in winter and the Thames shore in spring. And the one great difference which he felt bitterly was not in cloud or cold, but in the different temper of the people about him. For the peasantry at Mentone (where he lived all this last winter) were gentle and modest and kind; and he could walk alone, far among the hills, and meet with nothing but quiet human courtesy, and rendering of such simple respect as to an old man is both due and comforting. But in the streets of Chelsea,

number and column of the *Leeds Mercury* contained the following extract from the *New York Times* of April 3, 1867:—

"MR. RUSKIN AND AMERICAN ART.—Not long since an American artist of the Pre-Raphaelite School wrote to Mr. Ruskin for advice upon the subject of art. The eminent English critic, who doubtless has had ten readers in the Northern States for one in any other part of the world, replied in a manner that severely tries our confidence in his judgment and his sincerity. The barbarous manner in which the people of the North, he wrote, had conducted the war upon the Southern people and their patriarchal institutions, had utterly destroyed his interest in American art. True art, in fact, could not flourish among a people so depraved; and he, therefore, advised his friend to abandon all effort to tread the true path in art, and to confine himself to painting such pictures as were suited to the degraded taste of the northern American."]

and of the whole district of London round it, from the Park to the outer country (some twelve or fifteen miles of disorganised, foul, sinful, and most wretched life), he now cannot walk without being insulted, chiefly because he is a grey, old man; and also because he is cleanly dressed—these two conditions of him being wholly hostile, as the mob of the street feel, to their own instincts, and, so far as they appear to claim some kind of reverence and recognition of betterness, to be instantly crushed and jeered out of their way; and this temper of the London populace has been, he said, steadily on the increase for these last twenty years, so that now the streets have become nearly impassable to him, riding or walking, and he must either get through the quietest he can find to the Park, or be fain to walk his rounds under the night, when it cannot be manifest to the public provocation either that he is old or has a whole coat on.[1]

"Now, if you will look at the 25th page of that pamphlet you sent me (the Debates about Church-going), you will find in the speech of Mr. Thomas . . ."

[§ 169, end. Instead of "the speech of our superior carpenter," the letter, as originally published, reads:—]

". . . but by Mr. Carlyle telling me this about his own life, which it appeared to me was better set down at once, when it was told to me (as a contribution to our general knowledge of the lives of serviceable men, and particularly of the rewards bestowed upon them by the approbation of the British public), I am driven . . ."

[1] [A working man at Rochdale, on seeing this passage, wrote to Carlyle informing him that it had "gone the rounds," and making further inquiries. Carlyle replied as follows:—

"Chelsea, *May* 22, 1867.

"Sir,—The thing now 'going the rounds' is untrue, diverges from the fact throughout, and in essentials is curiously the reverse of the fact; an 'incredible' (and at once forgettable) 'thing.' That is the solution of your difficulty. T. Carlyle."

This letter was published in the *London Express* of May 29, 1867, and reprinted in R. H. Shepherd's *Life of Thomas Carlyle*, 1881, vol. ii. p. 250. As Ruskin's passage still "went the rounds," Carlyle sent the following letter to the newspapers:—

"Chelsea, *May* 28, 1867.

"Sir,—In reference to a newspaper paragraph now idly circulating, with my name in it as connected with 'insults on the streets,' and other such matter, permit me to say that it is an untrue paragraph, disagrees with the fact throughout, and in essentials is curiously the reverse of the fact; a paragraph altogether erroneous, misfounded, superfluous, and even absurd. —I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, T. Carlyle."

This appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of May 29, 1867. Ruskin, on seeing it, wrote to Carlyle the following letter (of which a copy was kept in his diary, p. 77):—

"*30th May.*

"My dear Carlyle,—I deeply regret, for many not trivial reasons, that you have been induced to write this letter.

"It seems to me that the only thing which now in justice remains for you

to do, is to furnish me with a succinct statement of what you remember yourself to have said on the occasion in question, and to permit me to substitute that statement, in the edition of collected letters, for the one which has offended you. In any case I shall take no notice of the letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, nor of any comments which may be made upon it.—Ever affectionately yours, J. RUSKIN."

Carlyle's reply is not preserved. Two days later Ruskin wrote again :—

"1*st June*, 1867.

"MY DEAR CARLYLE,—I am under the sorrowful necessity of ignoring your present letter. You have given the lie direct in the most insulting terms possible to you to the man who probably of all men living most honoured you. It is just because he so honours you that he is compelled to require of you to do the right in this matter (but for many reasons besides, and, as I said, none of them trivial), and the right manifestly is that you justify the terms of that letter, or retract them ; and that with all convenient speed.—Always affectionately yours, J. RUSKIN."

Carlyle's reply is again not preserved. On June 3, the *Times* made the matter the subject of a leading article. This elicited the following letter from Carlyle :—

To the Editor of the "Times"

"SIR,—I could still wish, by way of marginal note to your friendly article of Monday last [June 3], to add, for my own sake, and for a much-valued friend's, the two following little bits of commentary :—

"1st. That I by no means join in heavily blaming Mr. Ruskin, and, indeed, do not blame him at all, but the contrary, except for the almost inconceivable practical blunder of printing my name, and then of carelessly hurling topsy-turvy into wild incredibility all he had to report of me—of me, and indirectly of the whole vast multitude of harmless neighbours, whom I live with here, in London and its suburbs—more than 2,000,000 of us, I should think—who all behave by second nature in an obliging, peaceable, and perfectly human manner to each other, and are all struck with amazement at Mr. Ruskin's hasty paragraph upon us.

"2nd. That in regard to the populace or *canaille* of London, to the class distinguishable by behaviour as our non-human, or half-human neighbours, which class is considerably more extensive and miscellaneous, and much more dismal and disgusting than you seem to think, I substantially agree with all that Mr. Ruskin has said of it.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, T. CARLYLE.

"CHELSEA, *June* 7."

This letter (*Times*, June 10) did not appease Ruskin, and the private correspondence continued, for on June 14 he notes in his diary, "Ugly letter from Carlyle in evening." But on June 26 he records that he was "At Carlyle's in evening," and they resumed henceforward their affectionate intercourse. It must be presumed that Ruskin had not in the first instance asked Carlyle's permission to publish the private conversation, and he therefore had no right to attach Carlyle's name to it. He was, however, obviously convinced that his recollection of it was accurate, and he considered that Carlyle should not have given "the lie direct" to it. The explanation is no doubt that Ruskin had taken too much *au grand sérieux* a characteristic piece of humorous exaggeration by Carlyle.]

APPENDIX

I. LETTERS ON "MUNERA PULVERIS" (1863, 1875, 1877)

II. THE DEPRECIATION OF GOLD (1863):—

1. A LETTER TO J. J. RUSKIN
2. A LETTER TO THE "TIMES"
3. "GOLD: A DIALOGUE"

III. LETTERS ON THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND (1864)

IV. LETTERS ON WORK AND WAGES (1865)

V. LETTERS ON SERVANTS AND HOUSES (1865)

VI. LETTERS ON RAILWAYS AND THE STATE (1865, 1868, 1870)

VII. SPEECHES ON TRADES UNIONS AND STRIKES (1868)

VIII. "NOTES ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THE DESTITUTE AND CRIMINAL CLASSES" (1868)

IX. LETTERS ON INUNDATIONS (1871)

X. LETTERS ON "HOW THE RICH SPEND THEIR MONEY" (1873)

XI. "HOME, AND ITS ECONOMIES" (1873)

I

LETTERS ON "MUNERA PULVERIS"

1

BADEN, SWITZERLAND,
26th Oct. 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have your interesting letter. If you can look up the numbers of *Fraser's Magazine* for June, September, to December 1862, and April 1863, you will find more of my political economy. You need not trouble yourself with the bits that are full of Latin and Greek, but read the plain English carefully, as it contains definitions which you will find useful. In basing man's interest on his selfishness, you will find that God thinks better of His creatures, and has based his interests here and for ever on his unselfishness (unless indeed you read Matthew xvi. 24: "If any man will follow me, let him indulge himself, and take up his—purse"; or Timothy vi. 9: "They that will be rich fall into wise and profitable lusts," and so on). Depend upon it that so-called science of political economy is an entirely bastard one; a greater delusion than ever the Papacy was. There *is* a science of political economy, but the law of it is Help, not Competition.

After you have looked at the *Fraser* papers, I shall be glad if you will let me hear from you again. My address will be Denmark Hill, Camberwell, London. Believe me, sincerely yours,

J. RUSKIN.[1]

2

DENMARK HILL, 21*st Dec.* 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am heartily obliged by your interesting letter. It is a great pleasure to me to hear of even so much as one firm which in practice or in any way whatever acknowledges that principle of *pause* in business[2] which I hold to be one, indeed, of the most important in economy, but never expected to see acted upon in my day.

Thank you also for your statement of the points to which you object. I shall be always glad to hear and think over every objection which occurs to readers so candid and earnest as you are; though I may not always have time to reply to them, the statement will be always useful to me. Touching these two points, if I have said anything unjustly derogatory to the mercantile profession, it is only intended to apply to that profession so far as it declaredly forms itself on "acquisitiveness," as the first

[1] [This letter, and the one following, were communicated to Mr. Allen some years ago; they were both addressed to the same correspondent, Mr. Lewis Hartley.]

[2] [*i.e.*, "the tranquil and unanxious" acquisition of a competence as opposed to the fever of money-making: see *Munera Pulveris*, § 152 (above, p. 276). And compare *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 34, where Ruskin bids men "pause in mid-life" and say "enough."]

principle of human nature. Of merchants themselves, I hope I shall always speak with respect—my own father has been one these fifty years.

Of the degrading power of some occupations I fear there can be no doubt; the point has long ago been put past question by the great Greek metaphysicians. But there is no question that the basest of these may occasionally be bravely followed without loss of character. The worst of them are such as are essentially filthy or entirely monotonous.

Believe me, always most truly yours,

MR. LEWIS HARTLEY. J. RUSKIN.

3

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,
9th November 1875.

To the Editor of the "Monetary Gazette"

SIR,—I congratulate you with all my mind on the sense, and with all my heart on the courage, of your last Saturday's leading article, which I have just seen.[1] You have asserted in it the two vital principles of economy, that society cannot exist by reciprocal pilfering, but must produce wealth if it would have it; and that money must not be lent, but administered by its masters.

You have not yet, however, defined wealth itself, or told the ingenuity of the public what it is to produce.

I have never been able to obtain this definition from economists;[2] perhaps, under the pressure of facts, they may at last discover some meaning in mine at the tenth and eleventh pages of *Munera Pulveris*.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. RUSKIN.

4

[AN editorial note explained that a definition of wealth had been given in a previous article (September 18). It was there stated that "wealth does not express so much a tangible reality as a condition of existence." The next week's issue of the *Gazette* (November 20) contained the following (headed "Mr. John Ruskin"):—]

"In reply to our remarks last week we have received a further communication from Mr. Ruskin, from which we make the following extract:—

> "'I am heartily obliged for your letter. . . . I cannot re-write all that is carefully said there ('Munera Pulveris'), but wealth is not a condition except in careless English. Wealthy is a vulgar adjective; rich is the proper one for the condition. My books, pictures, Turkey carpets, and bottles of sherry are wealth, and money is a documentary claim to a proportionate quantity of the wealth of the

[1] [This letter appeared in the *Monetary and Mining Gazette*, November 13, 1875. It was reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 106, under the title, "The Definition of Wealth." The leading article referred to was entitled "What shall we do with it?"]

[2] [Compare Ruskin's remarks at a meeting of the Social Science Association in 1868; below, p. 539. The passages referred to in *Munera Pulveris* are §§ 12–14, giving the statement and explanation of the definition of Value. See above, pp. 153–154.]

world. It is not a medium of exchange, except *as* a claim. You give a man a flock of a hundred sheep, *or* a hundred pounds, making *claim* to the sheep, when he wants them. No man can make money but by diminishing the value of all other money, unless he make the wealth and claims also.

"'You have not seen the principle of my forbidding machinery. If I had you at work with a potter's wheel and a lathe, I would *show* you a difference in the movements which you would remember all your life.'"[1]

5

10*th Oct.* 1877.

To the Editor of the "Socialist"[2]

SIR,—Some Sheffield friend has sent me your fourth number, in the general teaching of which I am thankful to be able to concur without qualification: but let me earnestly beg of you not to confuse the discussion of the principles of Property in Earth, Air, or Water, with the discussion of principles of Property in general.[3] The things which, being our neighbour's, the Mosaic Law commands us not to covet, are by the most solemn Natural Laws, indeed our neighbour's "property," and any attempts to communize these have always ended, and will always end, in ruin and shame.

Do not attempt to learn from America. An Englishman has brains enough to discover for himself what is good for England; and should learn, when he is to be taught anything, from his Fathers, not from his children.

I observe in the first column of your 15th page the assertion by your correspondent of his definition of money as if different from mine. He only weakens my definition with a "certificate of credit" instead of a "promise to pay." What is the use of giving a man "credit"—if you don't engage to pay him?

But I observe that nearly all my readers stop at this more or less metaphysical definition, which I give in *Unto this Last,* instead of going on to the practical statement of immediate need made in *Munera Pulveris.*[4]

The promise to find Labour is one which meets general demand; but the promise to find Bread is the answer needed to immediate demand; and the only sound bases of National Currency are shown both in *Munera Pulveris,* and *Fors Clavigera,* to be bread, fuel, and clothing material, of certified quality.[5] I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. RUSKIN.

[1] [This second letter from Ruskin has not hitherto been reprinted. The allusion to machinery is to a review of *Fors Clavigera* which had appeared in the *Monetary Gazette* of November 13.]

[2] [This letter appeared in the *Socialist, an Advocate of Love, Truth, Justice, etc., etc.* Printed and published by the proprietor, W. Freeland, 52 Scotland Street, Sheffield, November 1877. It was reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace,* 1880, vol. ii. pp. 107–108.]

[3] [The references in the letter are to an article on Property entitled "What should be done?"]

[4] [See *Unto this Last,* § 34 *n.*: "The final and best definition of money is that it is a documentary promise ratified and guaranteed by the nation, to give or find a certain quantity of labour on demand" (above, p. 50). See also *Munera Pulveris,* §§ 21–25 (above, pp. 157–160).]

[5] [See below, p. 489.]

II

THE DEPRECIATION OF GOLD

(1863)

[The following letters (1 and 2) were elicited by an article in the *Times* of September 23, 1863, upon the panic as to the depreciation of gold caused by the fresh discoveries of the metal in California and Australia. Ruskin was at Chamouni at the time, and his father seems to have written asking his opinion on the whole subject. Ruskin's reply is here printed (1). Later, when he had seen the article in the *Times*, he wrote a letter to that journal (2).]

1. A LETTER TO J. J. RUSKIN

Chamouni, *September* 27 [1863].

I have yours of the 24th, but not the *Times* of 23rd spoken of. But if I had, it would be useless, for I cannot put the facts of the currency more clearly than I have already in *Fraser*, December '62, p. 744: see especially the note.[1] Of course gold is only precious as long as people think it so, and it loses its value either when more of it is found, or when other things diminish in quantity. Every destruction of a ship's cargo or warehouse load, in the American war — every lost harvest in Poland—every robbery or arson in Calabria, diminishes the value of every piece of gold in the world. Increase the destruction to the rate of it in a shipwreck or famine, and gold becomes entirely worthless; it does not matter how much of it you have, if you can get nothing to eat with it, nor save your life with it. The rise of prices (*i.e.*, loss of value in money) is much more owing to wanton waste and war than to the Australian or Californian mines. The effect of these might not be felt yet for some time (the absorption of gold is often in full proportion to the discovery of it); but war and waste raise prices at once.

Currency will always be liable to fluctuation in value; but might be materially steadier if based on food. The great difficulty is to find a means of fixing a standard in food; one of the chief advantages of gold is that it can be tested; but you cannot with like accuracy test flour or

[1] [Now *Munera Pulveris*, § 77 *n.* (above, p. 199).]

wine. I have been long considering how to fix a standard for bread and fuel. I would do it, if I were a king; but it is one of the things far more easily *done* than *said*, and I should only be laughed at for proposing a currency founded on the ultimate standard of a ship's biscuit. You will see it *hinted* at, however, in the 2nd column of p. 744.[1] See also the note on various modes of gold-withdrawal from currency in page 746.[2]

The note in page 743[3] is also very important. People will never understand the matter until they suppose an island like England absolutely forbidden to import the precious metals, and consider how its interior commerce could be carried on, and would be, on those terms. They would then see that the only real and essential effect of gold is to excite avarice, and breed every form of vice.

The effect of a war like that in America in lowering gold is partially concealed by the premium as compared with paper, but it is not the less certain. I see that gold is now at 30 to 34 premium. Say, roughly, that you can get seven dollar notes, nominally worth four shillings each, for your sovereign; walk into the first tavern, and for your four-shilling dollar-note you can get only what used to be 1s. 6d. worth of beef; your sovereign is only worth 10s. 6d. in reality—what it would have been without changing it into paper; that is to say, you would have got your eighteenpence worth of beef for two-and-tenpence-farthing, cash.

Of course if your paper is good and you can wait till prices fall again, you make a fortune; but you only make what the people who issued the paper lose, and the fall in gold-value is essential and eternal, dependent on the actual destruction of property, which is irremediable.

2. A LETTER TO THE "TIMES"[4]

[In this article the *Times*, referring to statements by J. E. Cairnes about a serious depreciation of gold, questioned whether such had in fact taken place.]

To the Editor of the "Times"

Sir,—Being out of the way of my letters, I did not, till now, see your excellent article of the 23rd September on the depreciation of gold. Will you allow me, thus late, a very few words in confirmation of your statement of the insufficiency of the evidence hitherto offered on that subject?

The market value of "a pound" depends less on the supply of gold than on the extravagance or economy of the persons holding documentary currency (that is to say, claim to goods). Suppose, for instance, that I hold

[1] [Now *Munera Pulveris*, § 77 (above, p. 200).]
[2] [*Munera Pulveris*, § 81 *n.* (above, pp. 202–203).]
[3] [*Munera Pulveris*, § 75 *n.* (above, p. 198).]
[4] [This letter appeared on October 8, 1863, under the heading "The Depreciation of Gold." It was reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 53–55, and again in the privately-printed pamphlet, "Gold: a *Dialogue*," pp. 9, 10 (see below).]

stock to the value of £500 a year;—if I live on a hundred a year, and lay by four hundred, I (for the time) keep down the prices of all goods to the distributed amount of £400 a year, or, in other words, neutralize the effect on the market of 400 pounds in gold imported annually from Australia. If, instead of laying by this sum in paper, I choose to throw it into bullion (whether gold plate or coin does not matter), I not only keep down the price of goods, but raise the price of gold as a commodity, and neutralize 800 pounds' worth of imported gold. But if I annually spend my entire 500 (unproductively) I annually raise the price of goods by that amount, and neutralize a correspondent diminution in the supply of gold. If I spend my 500 productively, that is to say, so as to produce as much as, or more than I consume, I either leave the market as I find it, or by the excess of production increase the value of gold.

Similarly, whatever I lay by will, as it is ultimately spent by my successors, productively or unproductively, in that degree (*cæteris paribus*) increase or lower the value of gold. These agencies of daily economy have so much more power over the market than the supply from the mine that no statistics of which we are yet in possession are (at least in their existing form) sufficient to prove the dependence of any given phenomena of the market on the rate of metallic supply. The destruction of property in the American war and our European amusements in the manufacture of monster guns and steel "backings"[1] lower the value of money far more surely and fatally than an increased supply of bullion, for the latter may very possibly excite parallel force of productive industry.

But the lowered value of money is often (and this is a very curious case of economical back current) indicated, not so much by a rise in the price of goods, as by a fall in that of labour. The household lives as comfortably as it did on a hundred a year, but the master has to work half as hard again to get it.[2] This increase of toil is to an active nation often a kind of play; men go into it as into a violent game; fathers of families die quicker, and the gates of orphan asylums are choked with applicants; distress and crime spread and fester through a thousand silent channels; but there is no commercial or elementary convulsion; no chasm opens into the abyss through the London clay; no gilded victim is asked of the Guards: the Stock-Exchange falls into no hysterics; and the old lady of Threadneedle Street does not so much as ask for "My fan, Peter."[3]

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

CHAMOUNIX, *Oct.* 2 [1863].

[1] [The supports behind the armour-plate of a man-of-war.]

[2] [On this subject, compare *Unto this Last*, § 71 (above, p. 96).]

[3] [*Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 4, line 116. In a letter to his father (Geneva, October 10, 1863), Ruskin explains the allusion:—

> "'My fan, Peter,' is the Nurse's preparation for an 'agitating interview' (it is nice of Mama recollecting it). You will see throughout she (the Nurse) is in a most touchy state—exactly symbolical of foolish irritability, in a bank as well as anything else. Call the Currency 'Juliet' and we have Turner's 'Juliet and her Nurse' with a witness—fireworks and all. The fan of course is to cool oneself with (or, raise the wind with)."]

3. "GOLD: A DIALOGUE"

[The foregoing letter in the *Times* called forth a reply in *Macmillan's Magazine* for November 1863 (vol. 9, pp. 67–69), entitled "Mr. Ruskin on the Gold Question," and signed "J. E. C." The writer was John Elliot Cairnes (1823–1875), Professor of Political Economy at Trinity College, Dublin, at Galway, and afterwards at University College, London. He examined with mock humility the deliverance of "our oracle," as he called Ruskin; his line of attack is sufficiently indicated in Ruskin's dialogue. The article reached Ruskin in Switzerland, and at the time he took no notice of it. "The *Macmillan* piece of spite," he wrote to his father from Baden (November 3), "is not worth taking the slightest notice of." On reaching home he seems to have been asked by Froude to contribute a reply to *Fraser's Magazine*. This is the Dialogue now printed. He sent it with the following letter:—

> "My dear Froude,
>
> "Here it is—My secretary is true to time—I said it would be so—Mind you print it nicely.
>
> "J. R."

The Dialogue, however, was not inserted. It is understood that Ruskin's father interceded for its suppression.[1] A copy of the MS. was in the possession of Ruskin's servant Crawley, and from this copy, the Dialogue was privately printed in the volume described below.[2]]

1. Early in the morning on the 3rd of last November I was travelling from Schaffhausen to Rheinau through alternate gleams of sunshine and flaws of sleety mists. The great plain beyond the Rhine was divided and dappled by them into chequer work of silver and blue, as far as the foot of the Alps; through the thin woods on the river bank the broken rays ran and returned, marking their courses with white flashes on the foam of the river, which flowed with its autumnal narrowness of clearest green, under

[1] [So stated on the authority of Crawley (Ruskin's servant and amanuensis) in the Preface (p. 11) to the volume described in the next note.]

[2] [The title-page of this little volume was as follows:—

> Gold | a Dialogue | connected with | the subject | of "Munera | Pulveris" | By | John Ruskin | Edited by | H. Buxton Forman | *Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ* | *Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,* | *Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum* | *Munera.* | London | Printed by R. Clay and Sons Limited | 1891.

Octavo, pp. 26. On p. 5 is the intimation "The impression of this little volume is limited to a few copies for private distribution." Preface by H. B. Forman, pp. 7–12. (This consists chiefly of a reprint of the foregoing letter to the *Times* and of a statement of facts, to which some have been added above.) Half-title, p. 13; Dialogue, pp. 15–26. Imprint on an unnumbered page, facing p. 26—"London: Printed by R. Clay & Sons, Limited, Bread Street Hill, and Bungay, Suffolk. *November 1st,* 1891. (Not for sale.)" Issued in parchment boards, lettered in gold up the back: "Gold—John Ruskin. 1891." The dialogue is here printed with numbered paragraphs for convenience of reference.]

the promontory whose chapel, triple-chancelled, forms the landmark by which from far or near the place of the unseen convent is known.[1] These things should have been pleasant to me, but unhappily, as the day broke, I had been examining the roof lines of the silk factories which have just been built[2] on the rapids above Schaffhausen Fall as well as those of the third Railway Hotel which is replacing chamber by chamber the walls of the Castle of Lauffen.[3] Also, during breakfast, I had been inquiring of the waiter, respecting the rival "Hotel Bellevue," whether its "belle vue consisted in the Fall or the factories?" This he did not venture to decide. I asked farther which of these objects the travellers on whom his harvest of half-francs annually depended were the more interested in. On this point also he was uncertain; and, on my assuring him that for my own part, I had come all the way from England out of a childish interest in foam, and did not think that the soot covering the lateral rocks, or the smoke mixing with the spray, in the least added to the general provision for my entertainment, he only opened his eyes, and said: "Mais, Monsieur, il faut bien utiliser le courant d'eau." Whereupon I ordered out the only thing in the establishment likely yet to be old, because the only thing that ought to have been new; and in the corner of the heavy German carriage, its coat of arms large enough to be seen across the Rhine, and with the sleet and dead leaves driving through its broken windows, set out for the island convent, wondering only as I went whether the Angel of the River mourned more over the error of human labour, or errors of human rest, to which he was charged to minister with his incessant waves.

2. The desolate open square before the church, the reedy shallows of its moat, and the ruins of the hill village above, which the conventual power should have kept lovely and perfect, put me in no better train of mind. I made a note or two of the shattered traceries which were little likely to remain through the winter, and drove back to meet the train which would take me to my daily work at Lauffenbourg, work, it may be worth noting for the sake of artists, only to be done in the lateness of the year, when the river leaves bare its rocky bed under the bridge's outmost pile.[4] My letters and books from the Schaffhausen post-office had been thrown on the carriage-seat, and while the officials of the train were entertaining themselves at the Custom-House of the Duchy of Baden, I cut *Macmillan* and looked at Professor Cairnes' letter. I saw at once that, out of the 206 lines of type which it occupied, six, at the top of page 69, did truly deserve some serious reply, for they referred to a difficulty in economical principle which has puzzled wiser persons than Professor Cairnes; namely: how money at a given time can be worth at once more work and less food than it is at another, few reflecting that this is naturally so in times of scarcity, because then less food is also worth more work. But the rest of the letter evidently neither in tone nor matter could justify notice of it, so I let the six

[1] [The island of Rheinau, about three miles below the Falls, with an abbey church and a Benedictine monastery, founded in 778 by the Irish monk, Findan (now a lunatic asylum).]

[2] [There is now a Gun Factory and an Aluminium Factory.]

[3] [Now the Hôtel Schloss Laufen.]

[4] [For Ruskin's sketching work at this time, see the Introduction, above, p. xxxvi. *n.*]

lines take part with the rest, and went on with my Lauffenbourg work without thinking more of the matter. But, as this letter of Professor Cairnes has now been copied with acclamation into various other journals, it becomes worth the few words it needs for extinction; which I will therefore spare to it, with this proviso, that as it is the first, it will be the last I answer of the kind. The simplest mode of reply is always, in such cases, by throwing the objection and its answer into the form of direct dialogue. *P.* shall therefore stand for the Professor whose words I quote from *Macmillan,* and *R.* for myself.

3. *P.* "And first, let us, if we can, understand the language of our oracle."[1]

R. Your capability of understanding it may perhaps depend on your reading it. Every definition of which you profess to stand in need I gave twelve months ago in the December number of *Fraser's Magazine,* of which definitions you have never read one word. I say this thus boldly, because it would be insulting to you to say it doubtfully, for that would imply that your ignorance of these definitions was assumed.

4. *P.* "People talk of laying money by when they lodge it in bank or invest it; but this is not Mr. Ruskin's sense of the words."[2]

R. You would have found had you looked at those earlier statements that it was precisely my sense of the words as it is everybody else's; nevertheless only one out of several senses, for I use the general term "lay by" which means "to put a thing where you can get it again," as opposed to the general term "spend" which means "to put a thing where you cannot get it again." And the primal and very considerable difference between these arrangements of property is the first point to be determined in any economical proceeding. But the general term "lay by" includes three specific terms; first, to hoard the money or keep it as it is; secondly, to invest it in the form of something else; and thirdly, to lend, which is temporarily to transfer your own power over it to some one else. Now all these three specific procedures I had already analyzed,[3] and all three I had in my mind in using the term "lay by." Had I followed them into their ultimate results, my letter would have occupied the *Times'* double sheet and a supplement; space which I fear its Editor would hardly have spared me. The one of those three procedures to which you refer, namely, lending on interest, I will now for your better satisfaction examine a step or two farther than you have done. Let me hear again what you say of it.

5. *P.* "Money lodged in bank or invested as certainly reaches the hands of producers as if employed by its owner directly in an industrial operation."

R. It seems then that out of this one of the three special cases you have looked at only one side; for the largest interests of money and the

[1] [The inverted commas here and elsewhere in the dialogue represent actual quotations from Professor Cairnes' article.]

[2] ["Money lodged in bank or invested," continued Cairnes, "as certainly reaches the hands of producers as if employed by its owner directly in an industrial operation: it is only on this condition that it can yield interest: and the case of productively employing money is considered by Mr. Ruskin under another head. 'Laying by' in Ruskinese can only mean simple hoarding—laying by, for example, in an old stocking."]

[3] [See above, pp. 203 (and *n.*) *seq.*]

occupations of it which are the most profitable to the lender by no means necessarily involve productive industry in the borrower. Neither does the interest of Stock invariably represent a creation of Produce. It very often represents a destruction of Produce. For if I live by usury, not only may the interest paid to me represent ultimately the destruction of twice as much property by the spendthrift or speculator from whom I exact it, but even the interest regularly paid on our vast European capital, so far from representing productive industry, is continually raised by a tax upon it. For instance, we lend a certain sum to a foreign Cabinet, wherewith this Cabinet forges cannon and hires men, with which cannon and men it burns half the harvest of a fruitful country, steals the other half from its peasantry, and pays us the interest of our loan with a share of what it has stolen; we thus differing only from ordinary receivers of stolen goods in the fact of having lent his tools to the housebreaker.[1] Therefore, just because I wished to include the working of each one of these several operations of which you had only specified the semi-operation of one, I use the accurate universal term "lay by," confining myself to this first question, and to the statement of this first fact, which you and all those who name themselves economists ought to have taught us on the threshold of your science, and have as yet neither taught nor known; that it is not the gaining of gold, but the using of gold which enriches or impoverishes a country. You succeeded in getting your letter inserted in a Cambridge Magazine,[2] and there was a peculiar grace and good fortune in this, because I happen to have already given to Cambridge, as well as to my own University, an example of that second mode of "laying by" or "investment," in a kind of documentary currency of which you may well inquire the nature, and of which you will probably never be able to decipher a line.[3] Yet you may possibly understand this commercial fact about it, that what had been paid £2000 for when given to Cambridge, would now be worth £4000 in any auction room in England. This is lowering the value of money to some purpose—as far as regards that particular commodity; and yet the depreciation in question is by no means owing to Australian gold-digging; but to quite other excavation done by many good helpers here in England; patient miners for the sense in human hearts, and the sight in human eyes. I know that your native instinct will at once set you on stopping this sort of mining wherever you hear of it; yet the levels are being driven apace—and you had better meditate beforehand on the falls in the value of money which come to pass, when any new store of treasure has been "imported" out of that goodly old Rocky Mountain range of Sapientia; or from gold washings in the rivers of Temperantia (though the work there is biting cold, and the banks crumbling—though rich—"quæ Liris quietâ mordet aquâ—taciturnus amnis"[4]); falls in value tending at last even to bring your metallic commodity into utter contempt—or even to make men wish it well

[1] [On this aspect of foreign loans, see above, pp. 103–104, 142.]

[2] [*Macmillan's Magazine* was at the time published at Cambridge as well as at London, the firm of Macmillan being originally settled at Cambridge.]

[3] [For Ruskin's gift of drawings by Turner to the University of Cambridge, see Vol. XIII. pp. 557–558.]

[4] [Horace, *Odes*, i. 31, 7–8: What boon, says the poet, shall he ask of Apollo? Not gold nor ivory, nor lands "which the Liris quietly and silently eats away."]

back in the earth it came from—with its worshippers; according to that remarkably Uneconomical Apostolic speech,* "εἰῂ εἰς ἀπώλειαν." You will thus have in several directions to meditate farther, Professor, over the term "lay by."

6. But I used a term in opposition to it; over which it seems you have not yet meditated at all—the word "spend." For that word, in pretending to quote the sense of my letter, you substitute the phrase "employed directly in an industrial operation." It is a pretty phrase—and one which also suits your University audience—doubtless many an undergraduate would be glad to have every piece of documentary currency he had left behind him docketed on its appearance at home—"To directly employed in industrial operations, so much." But then there are so many industrial operations! in old Oxford days—I have seen every fragment of food left on our supper tables industriously thrown into the street—and the floor industriously flooded with wine[1]—while pale mothers and sisters at home were providing for these operations by divers others—dimly feeling, they, in spite of political economy, that there was a difference between "spending" and "laying by." They ought to have felt, you will say, comforted, because in the end—"all reached the hands of producers." I am not sure that the College scouts, who with applause received the ruin, could produce much in the morning except broken glass;—and in that better investment of mine, above spoken of, it plagues me yet that the money never did reach the hand of the producer; that hand was lying then loose and dim under St. Paul's pavement; and no producer of such commodity existed then—nor will exist again. But what do you mean by a "producer"? You have used this word "productive" again and again, and your genius, it is to be supposed, lies in definition as, you say, mine does not. Where is your definition of "production" or of "producers"? Shew it me—yours or any other economist's. Your science is the science of productive industry, and no writer among you all has yet stated what it was you were to produce; Wealth, you say, yes—truly, but what is that? Gold? by your own account the more you have of it, the less you know what to do with it; Pictures and statues? I hope not, for truly, it is probable you know less than others how to produce those. Useful things? yes—but what are they? Is York Cathedral useful, or only the railway embankment which takes you to York? What do you want to go to York for? to see your friends? Are friends useful? And does your economy make you rich in friends? or do you go to York only to build another embankment, or another Cathedral, or only to get more means for doing neither, because you know not which? Or in minor matters, here is a rifle bullet in my right hand, and a viper's fang in my left: which of these is the most useful? One darts a yard only, the other a thousand; if the viper could dart a mile, would it therefore become useful and a rod of help?—your Whitworth and Armstrong vipers, every coil of their spiral welded down hot and their venom turned into Greek fire unquenchable—

* Acts viii. 20.[2]

[1] [For Ruskin's account of an Oxford "wine" in his undergraduate days, see *Crown of Wild Olive*, § 148.]

[2] ["Thy money perish with thee."]

are these wealth according to your divine science? Or do you rest satisfied with thistles instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley? I expect therefore your definitions; but in the meantime, having to do without them, and knowing that it could not be *a priori* asserted of money invested or lent whether the investment or loan would be productive or destructive, I confine myself to the general statement of that first personal agency which is all that can infallibly and directly affect the market. Now therefore repeat to me again what you have to say against that statement.

7. *P.* (Ironically) "It seems that the mere act of 'throwing documentary currency into bullion' (Olympic, I presume, for getting gold for notes over the counter of a bank), is sufficient to neutralize an amount of gold twice as great imported from Australia."

R. "Olympic, you presume." With a little less presumption and a little more attention you might have known accurately what it was Olympic for; since in the paper just referred to,[1] I have examined the difference between documentary and other currency in every one of its details, and you will there find it stated that throwing document into bullion is not merely getting gold over the counter of a Bank, but accepting bullion in payment of any written claim whatsoever, and keeping it when received as bullion, whether as a golden ornament, or a golden piece of plate, or a golden tissue, or a Pala d'oro,[2] or a rouleau of golden coin; and farther, my statement was, not that the mere act of throwing documentary currency into bullion would neutralize twice the amount of bullion, but that act, joined with another more difficult, the self-denial or economy which gives us the power to do so; and this statement I now repeat in entirely non-Olympic terms, not wondering at your objecting to the nobler ones, for that Olympic justice of the Steward of men ill suits the laws of your imaginary science. There are therefore, suppose in vulgar terms, six parcels of goods in the market; we will say flasks of wine, and of these six flasks there are six purchasers, say at a current market price of one pound each, of which purchasers suppose I intended to be one, with documentary currency—a one pound note; but meantime, a peasant finds a sovereign's weight of gold in the ground. On this I withdraw from the market; there are therefore only six purchasers for the six parcels,—the market price is unchanged, but I have lost my wine. Next day I again appear among the purchasers, but the peasant has found another sovereign's weight of gold, and appears also; I now, instead of retiring from the market, buy his gold of him with my note, he gets his flask of wine as he did the day before, there are only six purchasers; the market is unchanged, but I have now a piece of bullion instead of my wine. Now if you had followed out this meaning of mine, and had expressed the whole quantity of existing gold and existing goods in two simple terms, as x and y, and the additions or subtractions from them as $x+1$, $x+2$; $y-1$, $y-2$, etc., you might indeed have shown, with all the advantage of ignorance of my having shown it before, that the final effect on the market would be merely weight for weight of self-denial or of production against gold. But no one doubted

[1] [See *Munera Pulveris*, ch. iii.; above, p. 203 *n.*]

[2] [The gold retable in St. Mark's, Venice, covered with reliefs and enriched with enamels and jewels.]

or inquired of this final effect on the market; that final effect I had stated long ago in these terms—"When the existing wealth or available labour is once fully represented, every piece of money thrown into circulation diminishes the value of every other existing piece in the proportion it bears to their number"[1]—and this *Times* letter never referred to this ultimate effect; it referred to immediate traceable effect, for the entire gist of it was to deny the possibility of connecting any present visible phenomena of price with the influx of gold, because those presently visible phenomena were equally regulated by thousands of other conditions. I pass to your next count, which as I before said, is one of weight.

8. *P.* "Curious, indeed! The increased facility of producing gold and its increased abundance are to lead (through the agency of 'economical back current'—whatever this mysterious Euripus[2] may be) to the result, that people 'have to work half as hard again to get it;' while notwithstanding the increased difficulty of attainment, it continues to be exchanged on the same terms as before."

R. Precisely so, and this, as you very rightly say, Professor, is very curious. Yet not so curious but that, had you read your Adam Smith, you might have known it at the beginning of your studies. "The high price of provisions, by diminishing the funds destined for the maintenance of servants, disposes masters rather to diminish than to increase the number of those they have." . . . "Masters of all sorts, therefore, frequently make better bargains with their servants in dear than in cheap years, and find them more humble and dependent in the former than in the latter. They naturally, therefore, commend the former as more favourable to industry."[3] But though I knew I was thus stating nothing but what among the first elements of his science every economist should know familiarly, I was so well prepared for popular ignorance of it that I drew up another letter to the *Times* on the day after I sent my first, to be ready in case the statement should have been questioned by any of its readers. This letter I am now happy in placing at your service.

To the Editor of the "Times"

CHAMOUNIX, *3rd October* 1863.

SIR,—It is possible that some of your readers may question the assertion made in my letter of the 2nd, that money sometimes commands most work when it commands least food. I did not wish to encumber my statement with details, and it would be impossible except at great length to explain the various action of this law. But here is one simple example of it. Suppose that six men work, each for a fixed number of hours (say eight) for a shilling each—with which they each buy a loaf of bread. Then suppose only four loaves, instead of six, are brought into the market. Each can therefore get only $\frac{2}{3}$ of a loaf for his shilling. Those who are ablest

[1] [See *Munera Pulveris*, § 23 (above, p. 158).]

[2] [The narrow strait, remarkable for its changes of current, which separates Eubœa from the mainland.]

[3] [*The Wealth of Nations*, book i. ch. viii. (vol. i. p. 88 in the Clarendon Press edition).]

for work will at once say to their employer, Give us eighteenpence instead of a shilling, and we'll work twelve hours. Then the employer answers, If you work twelve hours, four men will be enough for my work. I will discharge two, and then as they cannot buy any bread, each of you four will get his loaf for a shilling as he used to do. Tacitly, though not intelligibly, this arrangement is made—two men are discharged and starve: the four live as well as they used to live for their shilling, but have to work four hours a day more, to get it; and the employer saves two shillings.

This seems unfair; but if bread had fallen in price instead of risen, he might have had to pay two shillings more to get his work done.

Phenomena of this kind are of course exceptional, and dependent on certain states of competition and of limitation in the market. The general and dominant law is that when food is cheap, work will be cheap, and when food is dear, so will labour be.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. R.

You have now only one more objection, I think, but it is triple-headed, and sounds fatal—You shall have it printed in capitals.

9. *P.* "THE UPSHOT OF THE WHOLE THEN IS THAT THE GOLD DISCOVERIES WILL RENDER GOLD AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME CHEAPER, DEARER, AND ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGED IN VALUE."

R. Yes, precisely so. That is exactly what my letter was meant to state, only in this slightly expanded form. The gold discoveries will (or may) render gold cheaper, if paid for in goods; dearer, if paid for in work; and absolutely unchanged in value, if paid for in both. Secondly, the gold discoveries will render gold cheaper so far as they encourage an extended idleness; dearer, so far as they encourage an extended labour; and absolutely unchanged in value, if they excite a balance of both. And thirdly,—for your three-headed allegation shall be thrice answered,—they will render gold dearer, if they lead to waste; cheaper, if they lead to economy; absolutely unchanged in value, if neither to the one nor to the other. And so I wish you good-day, Professor.

III

LETTERS ON THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND

(1864, 1873)

1

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[1]

Sir,—In your valuable article of to-day on the strike of the colliers, while you lay down the true and just law[2] respecting all such combinations, you take your stand, in the outset, on a maxim of political economy, which, however trite, stands yet—if I am not deceived—in need of much examination and qualification. "Labour," you say, like every other vendible commodity, "depends for its value on the relation of supply to demand." But, Sir, might it not be asked by any simple and practical person, who had heard this assertion for the first time—as I hope all practical persons will some day hear it for the last time—"Yes; but what does demand depend upon, and what does supply depend upon?" If, for instance, all deathbeds came to resemble that so forcibly depicted in your next following article, and, in consequence, the demand for gin were unlimitedly increased towards the close of human life,[3] would this demand necessitate, or indicate, a relative increase in the "value" of gin as a necessary article of national wealth, and liquid foundation of national prosperity? Or might we not advisably make some steady and generally understood distinction between the terms "value" and "price," and determine at once whether there be, or be not, such a thing as intrinsic "value" or goodness in some things, and as intrinsic unvalue or badness in other things; and as value extrinsic, or according to use, in all things? and whether a demand for intrinsically good things, and a corresponding knowledge of their use, be

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, October 28, 1864, where the letter appeared under the heading "The Law of Supply and Demand." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57.]

[2] [The strike was amongst the South Staffordshire colliers; the law laid down in the article, that of free trade.]

[3] [Upon the then recent and miserable death of an Irish gentleman, who had been an habitual hard drinker.]

not conditions likely, on the whole, to tend towards national wealth? and whether a demand for intrinsically bad things, and relative experience in their use, be not conditions likely to lead to quite the reverse of national wealth, in exact proportion to the facility of the supply of the said bad things? I should be entirely grateful to you, Sir, or to any of your correspondents, if you or they would answer these short questions clearly for me.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Oct.* 26.[1]

2

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[2]

Sir,—I am grateful to your correspondent "Economist" for trying his hand on me, and will be a docile pupil; but I hope his hand is not quite untried hitherto, for it would waste your space, and my time, and your readers' patience, if he taught me what I had afterwards to unlearn. But I think none of these will be wasted if he answers my questions clearly; there are, I am sure, many innocent persons who, like myself, will be glad of the information.

1. He tells me, then, in the outset, "The intrinsic value of commodities is a question outside political economy."

Is that an axiom with all political economists? and may I put it down for future reference? I particularly wish to be assured of this.

2. Assuming, for the present, that I may so set it down, and that exchangeable value is the only subject of politico-economical inquiry, I proceed to my informant's following statement:

"The" (question) "of intrinsic value belongs to the domain of philosophy, morals, or statecraft. The intrinsic value of anything depends on its qualities; the exchangeable value depends on how much there is of it, and how much people want it."

(This "want" of it never, of course, in anywise depending on its qualities.)

Μανθάνω. Accordingly, in that ancient and rashly-speculative adage, "Venture a sprat to catch a herring," it is only assumed that people will always want herrings rather than sprats, and that there will always be fewer of them. No reference is involved, according to economists, to the relative sizes of a sprat and herring.

Farther: Were a fashionable doctor to write an essay on sprats, and increase their display at West-end tables to that extent that unseasonable sprats became worth a guinea a head, while herrings remained at the old

[1] [To this letter an answer (*Daily Telegraph*, October 29) was written by "Economist," writing from "Lloyds, Oct. 28," stating that "Value in political economy, means exchangeable value, not intrinsic value." The rest of his letter is given in Ruskin's reply to it, which follows.]

[2] [From the *Daily Telegraph* of Monday, October 31, 1864, where the letter appeared under the heading "The Law of Supply and Demand." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 58-62.]

nursery rate of one and a half for three-halfpence, would my "recognition" of the value of sprats in paying a guinea for one enable me to dine off it better than I should off that mysterious eleven-pennyworth of herring? Or to take a more elevated instance. There is now on my room wall a water-colour drawing, which was once bought for £30, and for which any dealer would to-morrow give me £300. The drawing is intrinsically worth about one-tenth of what it was when bought for £30, the sky having faded out of it, and many colours having changed elsewhere. But men's minds have changed like the colours, and Lord A. or Sir John B. are now ready to give me £300 instead of £30 for it.

Now, I want to know what it matters to "Economist," or to the Economical Society he (as I understand) represents,[1] or to the British nation generally, whether Lord A. has the bit of coloured paper and I the £300, or Lord A. the £300 and I the bit of paper. The pounds are there, and the paper is there: what does it nationally matter which of us have which?

Farther: What does it nationally matter whether Lord A. gives me £30 or £300 on the exchange? (Mind, I do not say it does not matter—I only want "Economist" to tell me if it does, and how it does.) In one case my lord has £270 more to spend; in the other I have. What does it signify which of us has?

Farther: To us, the exchaugers, of what use is "Economist's" information that the rate of exchange depends on the "demand and supply" of coloured paper and pounds? No ghost need come from the grave to tell us that. But if any economical ghost would tell my lord how to get more pounds, or me how to get more drawings, it might be to the purpose.

But yet farther, passing from specialties to generals:

Let the entire property of the nation be enumerated in the several articles of which it consists—*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, etc.; we will say only three, for convenience sake. Then all the national property consists of $a+b+c$.

I ask, first, what *a* is worth.

"Economist" answers (suppose) 2 *b*.

I ask, next, what *b* is worth.

"Economist" answers (suppose) 3 *c*.

I ask, next, what *c* is worth.

"Economist" answers—$\frac{a}{b}$.

Many thanks. That is certainly Cocker's view of it.

I ask, finally, What is it *all* worth?

"Economist" answers, $1\frac{2}{3}$ *a*, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ *b*, or 10 *c*.

Thanks again. But now, intrinsic value not being in "Economist's" domain, but—if I chance to be a philosopher—in mine, I may any day discover any given intrinsic value to belong to any one of these articles.

Suppose I find, for instance, the value of *c* to be intrinsically zero, then the entire national property = 10 *c* = intrinsically 0.

Shall I be justified in this conclusion?

[1] [The writer presumably communicated personally with Ruskin; there is nothing on the face of the letter to show any connexion with the Economical Society.]

3. In relation to the question of strikes, the difficulty, you told me yourself, Mr. Editor[1] (and doubtless "Economist" will tell me also), depends simply on supply and demand: that is to say, on an under-supply of wages and an over-supply of labourers. Profoundest thanks again; but I, poor blundering, thick-headed collier, feel disposed further to ask, "On what do this underness and overness of supply depend?" Have they any remote connection with marriage, or with improvidence, or with avarice, or with accumulativeness, or any other human weaknesses out of the ken of political economy? And, whatever they arise from, how are they to be dealt with? It appears to me, poor simple collier, that the shortest way of dealing with this "darned" supply of labourers will be by knocking some of them down, or otherwise disabling them for the present. Why is this mode of regulating the supply interdicted to me? and what have Economists to do with the morality of any proceeding whatever? and, in the name of economy generally, what else can I do?[2]

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. RUSKIN.

DENMARK HILL, *Oct.* 29.

3

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[3]

SIR,—Having, unfortunately, occupation enough in my own business for all hours of the day, I cannot undertake to reply to the general correspondence which might, in large supply to my limited demand, propose itself in your columns. If my first respondent, "Economist," or any other person learned in his science, will give me direct answers to the direct questions asked in my Monday's letter, I may, with your permission, follow the points at issue farther; if not, I will trouble you no more. Your correspondent of to-day, Mr. Plummer, may ascertain whether I confuse the terms "value" and "price" by reference to the bottom of the second column in page 787 of *Fraser's Magazine* for June, 1862.[4] Of my opinions respecting the treatment of the working classes he knows nothing, and can guess nothing.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. RUSKIN.

DENMARK HILL, *Nov.* 2.

[1] [See above, p. 499.]

[2] ["Economist" does not seem to have continued his argument. A reply to this letter was however contributed to the paper of November 2 by "John Plummer," writing from Kettering, and dealing with the over-supply of labourers and under-supply of wages, and Ruskin's possible views on the matter. The next letter ended the correspondence.]

[3] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, November 3, 1864, where the letter appeared under the heading "The Law of Supply and Demand." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 63.]

[4] [That is, in the "Essays on Political Economy," since reprinted as *Munera Pulveris*. See § 12 of that book (p. 153, above), where the passage is printed in italics: "The reader must, by anticipation, be warned against confusing value with

4

To the Editor of the "Scotsman" [1]

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Nov. 8th, 1873.

SIR,—In your impression of the 6th inst. I find a report of a lecture delivered by Professor Hodgson in the University of Edinburgh [2] on the subject of "Supply and Demand," in which the Professor speaks of my "denunciations" of the principles he had expounded. Permit me, in a matter respecting which accuracy is of more importance to others than to myself, to correct the Professor's expression. I have never "denounced" the principles expounded by the Professor. I have simply stated that no such principles exist; that no "law of supply and demand," as expounded by Professor Hodgson and modern economists, ever did or can exist.

Professor Hodgson, as reported in your columns, states that "demand regulates supply." He does not appear to entertain the incomparably more important economical question, "What regulates demand?" But without pressing upon him that first question of all, I am content absolutely to contradict and to challenge him before the University of Edinburgh to maintain his statement that "demand regulates supply," and together with it (if he has ventured to advance it) the correlative proposition, "supply regulates demand."

A. Demand does not regulate supply.

For instance—there is at this moment a larger demand for champagne wine in England and Scotland than there was ten years ago; and a much more limited supply of champagne wine.

B. Supply does not regulate demand.

For instance—I can name many districts in Scotland where the supply of pure water is larger than in other nameable localities, but where the inhabitants drink less water and more whisky than in other nameable localities.

I do not therefore denounce the so-called law of supply and demand, but I absolutely deny the existence of such law; and I do in the very strongest terms denounce the assertion of the existence of such a law

cost, or with price. Value is the life-giving power of anything; cost, the quantity of labour required to produce it; price, the quantity of labour which its possessor will take in exchange for it."]

[1] [From the *Scotsman*, November 10, 1873, where the letter appeared under the heading "Mr. Ruskin and Professor Hodgson." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 64, 65.]

[2] [William Ballantyne Hodgson (1815–1880), first Professor of Political Economy and Mercantile Law in the University of Edinburgh, 1871–1880. The passage in his lecture referred to by Ruskin was as follows: "In the principles he had expounded he did not see what there was to draw down the denunciation of Mr. Ruskin, unless it were that that writer took it for granted that economists confounded this law of supply and demand with the moral law—the law of right or wrong—and that these maintained 'whatever is, is right'—that all that was demanded was really desirable, and that all that was not demanded was undesirable and bad."]

before the University of Edinburgh as disgraceful both to its assertor and to the University, unless immediate steps be taken to define, in scientific terms, the limitations under which such statement is to be understood.

I am, etc.,

JOHN RUSKIN.[1]

5

To the Editor of the "Scotsman"[2]

OXFORD, *November* 15, 1873.

SIR,—For Professor Hodgson's "undue encroachments on your space and his own time," I leave you to answer to your readers, and the Professor to console his class. To his criticisms on my language and temper I bow, their defence being irrelevant to the matter in hand. Of his harmless confusion of the word "correlative" with the word "consequent" I take no notice;[3] and his promise of a sifting examination of my economic teaching I anticipate with grateful awe.[4]

But there is one sentence in his letter of real significance, and to that alone I reply. The Professor ventured (he says) to suggest that possibly I with others "believe that economists confused existing demand with wise and beneficial demand, and existing supply with wise and beneficial supply."

I do believe this. I have written all my books on political economy in such belief. And the entire gist of them is the assertion that a real law of relation holds between the non-existent wise demand and the non-existent beneficial supply, but that no real law of relation holds between the existent foolish demand and the existent mischievous supply.

That is to say (to follow Professor Hodgson with greater accuracy into his lunar illustrations), if you ask for the moon, it does not follow that you

[1] [To this letter Professor Hodgson replied by a very long one printed in the *Scotsman* of November 14, which called forth the next letter from Ruskin.]

[2] [From the *Scotsman*, November 18, 1873, where the letter appeared under the heading "Mr. Ruskin and Professor Hodgson." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 66–68.]

[3] [The reference is to the following passage in the lecture: "As he styles this second statement the correlative of the first, I may be permitted to ask whether the statement that the moon's attraction regulates the flow and ebb of the tides has for its correlative the statement that the flow and ebb of the tides regulate the attraction of the moon?"]

[4] ["I hereby promise Mr. Ruskin that ere very many months are over he shall have in print a sifting examination of his economic teaching. Meanwhile I must address myself to the supply of a more urgent demand, and discharge my duty to my class." Hodgson, it seems, often referred in his lectures to Ruskin's economic writings, but the promised book in reply was never published (*Life and Letters of W. B. Hodgson*, edited by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, 1883, p. 183). He was still engaged upon it at the time of his death. "I have on the stocks," he wrote in 1880, "fully written indeed, and only needing revision, transcription, and annotation, a book in reply to Ruskin's *Unto this Last*. The foundation of Ruskin Societies in London shows the need of some antidote to his bane" (*ibid.*, p. 325).]

will get it; nor is your satisfaction more secure if you ask for sixpence from a Poor-Law guardian; but if you limit your demand to an honest penny, and endeavour to turn it by honest work, the divine law of supply will, in the plurality of cases, answer that rational and therefore divine demand.

Now, Professor Hodgson's statement, as reported in your columns, was that "demand regulates supply." If his assertion, in his lecture, was the qualified one, or that "wise demand regulates beneficial supply," your reporter is much to be blamed, the Professor's class profoundly to be congratulated, and this correspondence is at an end; while I look forward with deepest interest to the necessary elucidations by the Professor of the nature of wisdom and benefit; neither of these ideas having been yet familiar ones in common economical treatises. But I wrote under the impression that the Professor dealt hitherto, as it has been the boast of economists to deal, with things existent, and not theoretical (and assuredly the practical men of this country expect their children to be instructed by him in the laws which govern existing things); and it is therefore only in the name of your practical readers that I challenged him, and to-day repeat my challenge, in terms from which I trust that he will not again attempt to escape by circumambient criticism of my works,[1] to define, in scientific terms, the limits under which his general statement that "supply regulates demand" is to be understood. That is to say, whether he, as Professor of Political Economy, is about to explain the relations (A) of rational and satiable demand with beneficial and benevolently-directed supply; or (B) of irrational and insatiable demand with mischievous and malevolently-directed supply; or (C) of a demand of which he cannot explain the character with a supply of which he cannot predict the consequence?

I am, etc.,
J. RUSKIN.

[1] [Professor Hodgson's letter had quoted, with criticism, several passages from *Fors Clavigera*, *Munera Pulveris*, and *Time and Tide*.]

IV

LETTERS ON WORK AND WAGES

(1865)

1

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"[1]

Sir,—I read your *Gazette* so attentively that I am always falling into arrears, and have only to-day arrived at your last week's articles on strikes, arbitration, etc., which afford me the greatest satisfaction, but nevertheless embarrass me somewhat. Will you permit me to ask for a word or two of further elucidation?

I am an entirely selfish person, and having the means of indulging myself (in moderation), should, I believe, have led a comfortable life had it not been for occasional fits and twinges of conscience, to which I inherit some family predisposition, and from which I suffer great uneasiness in cloudy weather. Articles like yours of Wednesday,[2] on the proper attention to one's own interests, are very comforting and helpful to me; but, as I said, there are yet some points in them I do not understand.

Of course it is right to arrange all one's business with reference to one's own interest; but what will the practical difference be ultimately between such arrangement and the old and simple conscientious one? In those bygone days, I remember, one endeavoured, with such rough estimate as could be quickly made, to give one's Roland for one's Oliver; if a man did you a service, you tried in return to do as much for him; if he broke your head, you broke his, shook hands, and were both the better for it. Contrariwise, on this modern principle of self-interest, I understand very well

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 18, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Strikes *v.* Arbitration." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 69–71.]

[2] [The articles alluded to were, one upon "Strikes and Arbitration Courts," in the *Gazette* of Wednesday, the 12th, and one on "The *Times* on Trade Arbitration," in the *Gazette* of Thursday, the 13th. The former dealt with the proposal to decide questions raised by strikes by reference to courts of arbitration. Amongst the sentences contained in it, and alluded to by Ruskin, were the following: "Phrases about the 'principles of right and justice' are always suspicious and generally fallacious." "The rate of wages is determined exclusively by self-interest." "There is no such thing as a 'fair' rate of wages or a 'just' rate of wages."]

that if a man does me a service, I am always to do the least I can in return for it; but I don't see how I am always to get more out of him than he gets out of me. I dislike any references to abstract justice as much as you do, but I cannot see my way to keeping this injustice always in my own favour; and if I cannot, it seems to me the matter may as well be settled at first, as it must come to be settled at last, in that disagreeably just way.

Thus, for instance, in producing a piece of iron for the market, one man digs it, another smelts it, another puddles it, and I sell it. We get so much between us four; and I suppose your conscientious people would say that the division of the pay should have some reference to the hardness of the work, and the time spent in it. It is true that by encouraging the diggers and puddlers to spend all they get in drink, and by turning them off as soon as I hear they are laying by money, it may yet be possible to get them for some time to take less than I suppose they should have; but I cannot hide from myself that the men are beginning to understand the game a little themselves; and if they should, with the help of those confounded—(I beg pardon! I forgot that one does not print such expressions in Pall Mall)—education-mongers, learn to be men, and to look after their own business as I do mine, what am I to do? Even at present I don't feel easy in telling them that I ought to have more money than they because I know better how to spend it, for even this involves a distant reference to notions of propriety and principle which I would gladly avoid. Will you kindly tell me what is best to be done (or said)?

I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

Easter Monday, 1865.

2

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" [1]

SIR,—I am not usually unready for controversy, but I dislike it in spring, as I do the east wind (*pace* Mr. Kingsley), and I both regret having given occasion to the only dull leader which has yet [2] appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the necessity I am involved in of dissecting the same, instead of a violet, on which I was about this morning to begin operations.

But I see, Sir, that you mean fairly, and that you have careful thinkers and writers on your staff. And I will accept your battle, if you will fight with short swords, which is clearly your interest, for such another article

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 21, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading of "Work and Wages." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 72–74.]

[2] [The *Gazette* was at this time of little more than eight weeks' standing. The dull leader was that in the *Gazette* of April 19, entitled "Masters and Men," and dealt entirely with Ruskin's letter on strikes. The "*pace* Mr. Kingsley" alludes, of course, to his "Ode to the North-East Wind."]

would sink the *Gazette;* and mine, for I have no time to answer speculations on what you writers suppose my opinions may be, "if we understand" them.

You shall understand them utterly, as I already understand yours. I will not call yours "fallacies" *a priori;* you shall not call mine so. I will not tell you of your "unconscious" meanings; you shall not tell me of mine.[1] But I will ask you the plainest questions, and make to you the plainest answers my English will admit of, on one point at a time only, expecting you also to ask or answer as briefly, without divergence or deprecation. And twenty lines will always contain all I would say, at any intervals of time you choose.

For example: I said I must "dissect" your leader, meaning that I should have to take a piece of it, as I would of my flower, and deal with that first; then with its sequences.

I take this sentence then:—"He (Mr. R.) seems to think that apart from the question of the powers of the parties, there is some such thing as a just rate of wages. He seems to be under the impression that the wages ought to be proportioned, not to the supply and demand of labour and capital, but 'to the hardship of the work and the time spent in it.'"

Yes, Sir, I am decisively under that impression,—as decisively as ever Greek coin was under *its* impression. You will beat me out of all shape, if you can beat me out of this. Will you join issue on it, and are these following statements clear enough for you, either to accept or deny, in as positive terms?—

I. A man should in justice be paid for two hours' work twice as much as for one hour's work, and for *n* hours' work *n* times as much, if the effort be similar and continuous.

II. A man should in justice be paid for difficult or dangerous work proportionately more than for easy and safe work, supposing the other conditions of the work similar.

III. (And now look out, for this proposition involves the ultimate principle of all just wages.) If a man does a given quantity of work for me, I am bound in justice to do, or procure to be done, a precisely equal quantity of work for him; and just trade in labour is the exchange of equivalent quantities of labour of different kinds.

If you pause at this word "equivalent," you shall have definition of it in my next letter. I am sure you will in fairness insert this challenge, whether you accept it or decline.

I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.[2]

DENMARK HILL, *Thursday, April* 20.

[1] [The leader had begun by speaking of Ruskin's previous letter as "embodying fallacies, pernicious in the highest degree," and concluded by remarking how "easily and unconsciously he glided into the true result of his principles."]

[2] [In reply, the *Gazette* denied "each of the three propositions to be true," on grounds stated in the quotations given in the following letter.]

3

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"[1]

SIR,—I accept your terms,[2] and reply in the fewest words I can.

I. You "see no injustice in hiring a fly for 2s. 6d. for the first hour and 1s. 6d. for each succeeding one." Nor I either; so far from it, that I never give a cabman less than a shilling; which I doubt not is your practice also, and a very proper one. The cabmen make no objection, and you could not have given a neater instance of the proportion of payment to labour which you deny. You pay in the first hour for the various trouble involved in taking the man off his stand, and for a proportion of the time during which he has waited for the chance of your custom. That paid, you hire him by the formula which I state, and you deny.

II. "Danger and difficulty have attractions for some men." They have, and if, under the influence of those attractions, they choose to make you a present of their labour, for love (in your own terms, "as you give a penny to a beggar"), you may accept the gift as the beggar does, without question of justice. But if they do not choose to give it you, they have a right to higher payment. My guide may perhaps, for love, play at climbing Mont Blanc with me; if he will not, he has a right to be paid more than for climbing the Breven.

III. "Mr. Ruskin can define justice, or any other word, as he chooses."

It is a gracious permission; but suppose justice be something more than a word! When you derived it from *jussum*[3] (falsely, for it is not derived from *jussum*, but from the root of *jungo*),[4] you forgot, or ignored, that the Saxons had also a word for it, by which the English workman still pleads for it; that the Greeks had a word for it, by which Plato and St. Paul reasoned of it; and that the Powers of Heaven have, presumably, an idea of it with which it may be well for "our interests" that your definition, as well as mine, should ultimately correspond, since their "definitions" are commonly not by a word but a blow.

But accepting for the nonce your own conception of it as "the fulfilment of a compulsory agreement" ("the wages," you say, "which you *force*

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 25, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Work and Wages." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 75–77.]

[2] [These "terms" were that the *Gazette* should have the right of determining how much of the proposed controversy was worth its space.]

[3] [In the article of April 12. "Right and justice," said the *Gazette*, "are law phrases, implying the existence of fixed rules, which confer powers and impose commands on those whom they affect. If a man contracts to work for another for a week for a pound's wages, then right and justice have a meaning. . . . Till the contract is made, neither side has any rights at all, nor can anything be said to be just (*jussum*, commanded) between them."]

[4] [The Latin *jus* being kindred with the kindred Sanscrit *yu*, to join; compare ζεύγνυμι, jungo; justice thus meaning what is binding, or obliging. English workmen, in demanding justice, plead for their rights; and Plato and St. Paul reason of δίκη or τὸ δίκαιον—as in Colossians iv. 1: "give unto your servants that which is just," and in Romans vii. 12 (quoted in the next letter).]

the men to take, and they can *force* you to pay"), allow me to ask your definition of force, or compulsion. As thus: (*Case* 1.) I agree with my friend that we will pay a visit to Mr. A. at two in the morning. My friend agrees with me that he will hold a pistol to Mr. A.'s head. Under those circumstances, I agree with Mr. A. that I shall remove his plate without expression of objection on his part.—Is this agreement, in your sense, "*jussum*"? (*Case* 2.) Mr. B. goes half through the ice into the canal on a frosty morning. I, on the shore, agree with Mr. B. that I shall have a hundred pounds for throwing him a rope. Is this agreement validly "*jussum*"?

The first of these cases expresses in small compass the general nature of arrangements under compulsory circumstances over which one of the parties has entire control. The second, that of arrangements made under circumstances accidentally compulsory, when the capital is in one party's hands exclusively. For you will observe Mr. B. has no right whatever to the use of my rope: and that capital (though it would probably have been only the final result of my operations with respect to Mr. A.) makes me completely master of the situation with reference to Mr. B.

I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.[1]

DENMARK HILL, *Saturday, April* 22, 1865.

4

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"[2]

SIR,—I have not hastened my reply to your last letter, thinking that your space at present would be otherwise occupied; having also my own thoughts busied in various directions, such as you may fancy; yet busied chiefly in a sad wonder, which perhaps you would not fancy. I mourn for Mr. Lincoln,[3] as man should mourn the fate of man, when it is sudden and supreme. I hate regicide as I do populicide—deeply, if phrenzied; more deeply, if deliberate. But my wonder is in remembering the tone of the English people and press respecting this man during his life; and in comparing it with their sayings of him in his death. They caricatured and reviled him when his cause was poised in deadly balance—when their

[1] [For the *Gazette's* reply to this, see the notes to the following letter. In the course of the reply it was said: "Justice, as we use it, expresses merely the conformity of an action to any rule whatever, good or bad. An act may be just with reference to one rule, unjust with reference to another."]

[2] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 2, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Work and Wages." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 78–85, where in line 63 "matter" was misprinted "matters."]

[3] [President Lincoln had been shot while in his private box at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on the night of April 14, 1865, and died early the next morning. His assassin, J. Wilkes Booth, was pursued to Caroline County, Virginia, where he was fired on by the soldiery and killed. A letter was found upon him ascribing his conduct to his devotion to the Southern States.]

praise would have been grateful to him, and their help priceless. They now declare his cause to have been just, when it needs no aid; and his purposes to have been noble, when all human thoughts of them have become vanity, and will never so much as mix their murmurs in his ears with the sentence of the Tribunal which has summoned him to receive a juster praise and tenderer blame than ours.

I have twice (I see) used the word "just" inadvertently, forgetting that it has no meaning, or may mean (you tell me) quite what we choose; and that so far as it has a meaning, "the important question is not whether the action is just." Indeed when I read this curious sentence in your reply on Tuesday last, "Justice, as we use it, implies merely the conformity of an action to any rules whatever, good or bad," I had nearly closed the discussion by telling you that there remained no ground on which we could meet, for the English workmen, in whose name I wrote to you, asked, not for conformity with bad rules, but enactment of good ones. But I will not pounce upon these careless sentences, which you are forced to write in all haste, and at all disadvantage, while I have the definitions and results determined through years of quiet labour, lying ready at my hand. You never meant what you wrote (when I said I would not tell you of unconscious meanings, I did not promise not to tell you of unconscious wants of meaning); but it is for you to tell *me* what you mean by a bad rule, and what by a good one. Of the law of the Eternal Lawgiver it is dictated that "the commandment is holy, and just, and good."[1] Not merely that it is a law; but that it is such and such a law. Are these terms senseless to you? or do you understand by them only that the observance of that law is generally conducive to our interests? And if so, what *are* our interests? Have we ever an interest in *being* something, as well as in getting something; may not even all getting be at last summed in being? is it not the uttermost of interests to be just rather than unjust? Let us leave catching at phrases, and try to look in each other's faces and hearts; so define our thoughts; then reason from them. [See below.][2]

Yet, lest you say I evade you in generalities, here is present answer point by point.

I. "The fare has nothing to do with the labour in preparing the fly for being hired."—Nor, of course, the price of any article with the labour expended in preparing it for being sold? This will be a useful note to the next edition of Ricardo. [The price depends on the relative forces of the buyer and the seller. The price asked by the seller no doubt depends on the labour expended. The price given by the buyer depends on the degree in which he desires to possess the thing sold, which has nothing to do with the labour laid out on it.]

The answer to your instances[3] is that all just price involves an allowance for average necessary, not for unnecessary, labour. The just price

[1] [Romans vii. 12.]

[2] [The interpolations in square brackets are the remarks of the *Gazette*, thus made in Ruskin's letter as it appeared in its columns.]

[3] [One of the instances given by the *Gazette* on this point was that a sovereign made of Californian gold will not buy more wool at Sydney than a sovereign made of Australian gold, although far more labour will have been expended in bringing it to Sydney.]

of coals at Newcastle does not involve an allowance for their carriage to Newcastle. But the just price of a cab at a stand involves an allowance to the cabman for having stood there. [Why? who is to determine what is necessary?]

II. "This admits the principle of Bargaining." No, Sir; it only admits the principle of Begging. If you like to ask your guide to give you his legs for nothing, or your workman his arms for nothing, or your shopkeeper his goods for nothing, and they consent, for love, or for play,—you are doubtless both dignified and fortunate; but there is no question of trade in the matter; only of Alms. [We mean by Alms money or goods given merely from motives of benevolence, and without return. In the case supposed the guide goes one mile to please himself, and ten more for hire, which satisfies him. How does he give Alms? He goes for less money than he otherwise would require because *he* likes the job, not because his employer likes it. The Alms are thus given by himself to himself.]

III. It is true that "every one can affix to words any sense he chooses." But if I pay for a yard of broadcloth, and the shopman cuts me three-quarters, I shall not put up with my loss more patiently on being informed that Bishop Butler meant by justice something quite different from what Bentham meant by it, or that to give for every yard, three-quarters, is the rule of that establishment. [If the word "yard" were as ambiguous as the word "justice," Mr. Ruskin ought to be much obliged to the shopman for defining his sense of it, especially if he gave you full notice before he cut the cloth.]

Farther, it is easy to ascertain the uses of words by the best scholars —[Nothing is more difficult. To ascertain what Locke meant by an "idea," or Sir W. Hamilton by the word "inconceivable," is no easy task.]—and well to adopt them, because they are sure to be founded on the feelings of gentlemen.—[Different gentlemen feel and think in very different ways. Though we differ from Mr. Ruskin, we hope he will not deny this.] Thus, when Horace couples his *tenacem propositi* with *justum*, he means to assert that the tenacity is only noble which is justified by uprightness, and shows itself by insufferance of the *jussa "prava jubentium."*[1] And although Portia does indeed accept your definition of justice from the lips of Shylock, changing the divine "who sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not"[2] into the somewhat less divine "who sweareth to his neighbour's hurt and changeth not"; and though she carries out his and your conception of such justice to the uttermost, the result is not, even in Shylock's view of it, "for the interest of both parties."

IV. To your two final questions "exhausting" (by no means, my dear Sir, I assure you) "the points at issue,"[3] I reply in both cases, "No." And

[1] [*Odes* iii. 3, 1–2.]

[2] [Psalms xv. 4.]

[3] [The *Gazette's* criticism on the previous letter had concluded thus:—

"The following questions exhaust the points at issue between Mr. Ruskin and ourselves:—

"Is every man bound to purchase any service or any goods offered him at a 'just' price, he having the money?

"If yes, there is an end of private property.

"If no, the purchaser must be at liberty to refuse to buy if it suits his interest to

to your plaintive "why should they do so?" while, observe, I do not admit it to be a monstrous requirement of men that they should sometimes sacrifice their own interests, I would for the present merely answer that I have never found my own interests seriously compromised by my practice, which is, when I cannot get the fair price of a thing, not to sell it, and when I cannot give the fair price of a thing, not to buy it. The other day, a dealer in want of money offered me a series of Hartz minerals for two-thirds of their value. I knew their value, but did not care to spend the entire sum which would have covered it. I therefore chose forty specimens out of the seventy, and gave the dealer what he asked for the whole.

In the example you give, it is *not* the interest of the guide to take his fifty francs rather than nothing; because all future travellers, though they could afford the hundred, would then say, "You went for fifty; we will give you no more." [Does a man say to a broker, "You sold stock yesterday at 90; I will pay no more to-day"?] And for me, if I am not able to pay my hundred francs, I either forego Mont Blanc, or climb alone; and keep my fifty francs to pay at another time, for a less service, some man who also would have got nothing otherwise, and who will be honestly paid, by what I give him, for what I ask of him.

I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

SATURDAY, 29*th April*, 1865.

do so. Suppose he does refuse, and thereupon the seller offers to lower his price, it being his interest to do so, is the purchaser at liberty to accept that offer?

"If yes, the whole principle of bargaining is admitted, and the 'justice' of the price becomes immaterial.

"If no, each party of the supposition is compelled by justice to sacrifice their interest. Why should they do so?

"The following is an example:—The 'just' price of a guide up Mont Blanc is (suppose) 100 francs. I have only 50 francs to spare. May I without injustice offer the 50 francs to a guide, who would otherwise get nothing, and may he without injustice accept my offer? If not, I lose my excursion, and he loses his opportunity of earning 50 francs. Why should this be?"

In addition to the above interpolations in the present letter, the *Gazette* appended a note to this letter, in which it declared its definition of justice to be a quotation from memory of Austin's definition ("Justice is the conformity of a given object to a determinate law"), adopted by him from Hobbes, and after referring Ruskin to Austin (see *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, vol. i. p. 232 *n.*, in the edition of 1861) for the *moral* bearings of the question, concluded by summing up its views, which it doubted if Ruskin understood, and insisting on the definition of "justice" as "conformity with any rule whatever, good or bad," and on that of *good* rules as "those which promote the general happiness of those whom they affect." (See the next letter.)]

5

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"[1]

SIR,—I am under the impression that we are both getting prosy, or, at all events, that no one will read either my last letter, or your comments upon it, in the places in which you have so gracefully introduced them. For which I am sorry, and you, I imagine, are not.

It is true that differences of feeling may exist among gentlemen; yet I think that gentlemen of all countries agree that it is rude to interrupt your opponent while he is speaking; for a futile answer gains no real force by becoming an interjection; and a strong one can abide its time. I will therefore pray you, in future, if you publish my letters at all, to practise towards them so much of old English manners as may yet be found lingering round some old English dinner-tables; where, though we may be compelled by fashion to turn the room into a greenhouse, and serve everything cold, the *pièces de résistance* are still presented whole, and carved afterwards.

Of course it is open to you to reply that I dislike close argument. Which little flourish being executed, and if you are well breathed—*en garde*, if you please.

I. Your original position was that wages (or price) bear *no* relation to hardship of work. On that I asked you to join issue. You now admit, though with apparent reluctance, that "the price asked by the seller, no doubt, depends on the labour expended."

The price asked by the seller has, I believe, in respectable commercial houses, and respectable shops, very approximate relation to the price paid by the buyer. I do not know if you are in the habit of asking, from your wine-merchant or tailor, reduction of price on the ground that the sum remitted will be "alms to themselves"; but, having been myself in somewhat intimate connection with a house of business in the City,[2] not dishonourably accounted of during the last forty years, I know enough of their correspondents in every important town in the United Kingdom to be sure that they will bear me witness that the difference between the prices asked and the prices taken was always a very "imaginary" quantity.

But urging this no farther for the present, and marking, for gained ground, only your admission that "the price asked depends on the labour expended," will you farther tell me, whether that dependence is constant, or variable? If constant, under what law? if variable, within what limits?

II. "The alms are thus given by himself to himself." I never said they were not. I said it was a question of alms, not of trade. And if your original leader had only been an exhortation to English workmen to consider every diminution of their pay, in the picturesque though perhaps

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 9, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Work and Wages." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 86–90.]

[2] [That of Messrs. Ruskin, Telford, and Domecq, in which Ruskin's father was senior partner: see Vol. I. p. xxiv., and *Præterita*, i. §§ 5, 24, 48, 149; ii. §§ 177 *seq.*]

somewhat dim, religious light[1] of alms paid by themselves to themselves, I never should have troubled you with a letter on the subject. For, singular enough, Sir, this is not one of the passages of your letters, however apparently indefensible, which I care to attack.

So far from it, in my own serious writings I have always maintained that the best work is done, and can only be done, for love.[2] But the point at issue between us is not whether there *should* be charity, but whether there *can* be trade; not whether men may give away their labour, but whether, if they do not choose to do so, there is such a thing as a price for it. And my statement, as opposed to yours, is briefly this,—that for all labour, there is, under given circumstances, a just price approximately determinable; that every conscious deflection from this price towards zero is either gift on the part of the labourer, or theft on the part of the employer; and that all payment in conscious excess of this price is either theft on the part of the labourer, or gift on that of the employer.

III. If you wish to substitute the word "moral" for "just" in the above statement, I am prepared to allow the substitution; only, as you, not I, introduced this new word, I must pray for your definition of it first, whether remembered from Mr. Hobbes, or original.

IV. I am sorry you doubt my understanding your views; but, in that case, it may be well to ask for a word or two of farther elucidation.

"Justice," you say, is "conformity with any rule whatever, good or bad." And "good rules are rules which promote the general happiness of those whom they affect." And bad rules are (therefore) rules which promote the general misery of those whom they affect? Justice, therefore, may as often as not promote the general misery of those who practise it? Do you intend this?*

Again: "Good rules are rules which promote the general happiness of those whom they affect." But "the greatest happiness of the greatest number is best secured by laying down no rule at all" (as to the price of "labour").

Do you propose this as a sequitur? for if not, it is merely a *petitio principii*, and a somewhat wide one. Before, therefore, we branch into poetical questions concerning happiness, we will, with your permission, and according to my original stipulation, that we should dispute only of one point at a time, determine the matters already at issue. To which end, also, I leave without reply some parts of your last letter; not without a little strain on the ἔρκος ὀδόντων,[3] for which I think, Sir, you may give me openly, credit, if not tacitly, thanks.

I am, Sir, your obliged servant,

DENMARK HILL, *May* 4. JOHN RUSKIN.

* "Yes. But, generally speaking, rules are beneficial; hence, generally speaking, justice is a good thing in fact. A state of society might be imagined in which it would be a hideously bad thing."—[Footnote answer of the *Gazette*.]

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[1] [Milton: *Il Penseroso*, 159.]

[2] [See *A Joy for Ever*, § 98 (Vol. XVI. p. 83); *Modern Painters*, vol. v. (Vol. VII. p. 449); *Unto this Last*, § 52 *n.* (above, p. 71); and compare a later passage in § 41 of *The Crown of Wild Olive*. "None of the best head-work in art, literature, or science, is ever paid for. . . . It is indeed very clear that God means all thoroughly good work and talk to be done for nothing."]

[3] [Homer: *Iliad*, iv. 350; *Odyssey*, x. 328, etc.]

6

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" [1]

Sir,—I have long delayed my reply to your notes on my last letter, partly being otherwise busy—partly in a pause of surprise and doubt how low in the elements of ethics we were to descend.

Let me, however, first assure you that I heartily concur in your opening remarks, and shall be glad to spare useless, and avoid discourteous, words. When you said, in your first reply to me, that my letter embodied fallacies which appeared to you pernicious in the highest degree, *I* also "could not consider this sort of language well judged." When you called one of your own questions an answer, and declared it to be "simple and perfectly conclusive," I thought the flourish might have been spared; and for having accused you of writing carelessly, I must hope your pardon; for the discourtesy, in my mind, would have been in imagining you to be writing with care.

For instance, I should hold it discourteous to suppose you unaware of the ordinary distinction between law and equity: yet no consciousness of such a distinction appears in your articles. I should hold it discourteous to doubt your acquaintance with the elementary principles laid down by the great jurists of all nations respecting Divine and Human law; yet such a doubt forces itself on me if I consider your replies as deliberate. And I should decline to continue the discussion with an opponent who could conceive of justice as (under any circumstances) "an hideously bad thing," if I did not suppose him to have mistaken the hideousness of justice, in certain phases, to certain persons, for its ultimate nature and power.

There may be question respecting these inaccuracies of thought; there can be none respecting the carelessness of expression which causes the phrases "are" and "ought to be" to alternate in your articles as if they were alike in meaning.

I have permitted this, that I might see the course of your argument in your own terms, but it is now needful that the confusion should cease. That wages *are* determined by supply and demand is no proof that under any circumstances they must be,—still less that under all circumstances they ought to be. Permit me, therefore, to know the sense in which you use the word "ought" in your paragraph lettered *b*, page 832 [2] (second column), and to ask whether the words "due," "duty," "devoir," and other such, connected in idea with the first and third of the "præcepta juris" of Justinian, quoted by Blackstone as a summary of the whole doctrine of law (*honeste vivere,—alterum non lædere,—suumque cuique tribuere*), are without meaning to you except as conditions of agreement? [3] Whether, in fact,

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 22, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Work and Wages." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 91–95.]

[2] [Viz., "Wages ought to be proportioned to the supply and demand of labour and capital, and not to the hardship of the work and the time spent on it."]

[3] ["Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi. . . . Jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, justi atque injusti scientia." The third precept is given above. Justinian, *Inst.* i. 1–3; and see Blackstone, vol. i. section 2, "Of the Nature of Laws in General."]

there be, in your view, any *honos*, absolutely; or whether we are to launch out into an historical investigation of the several kinds of happiness enjoyed in lives of rapine, of selfish trade, and of unselfish citizenship, and to decide only upon evidence whether we will live as pirates, as pedlars, or as gentlemen? If so, while I shall be glad to see you undertake, independently, so interesting an inquiry, I must reserve my comments on it until its close.

But if you admit an absolute idea of a "devoir" of one man to another, and of every honourable man to himself, tell me why you dissent from my statement of the terms of that debt in the opening of this discussion. Observe, I asked for no evangelical virtue of returning good for evil:[1] I asked only for the Sinaitic equity of return in good for good, as for Sinaitic equity of return in evil for evil. "Eye for eye," "tooth for tooth"[2]—be it so; but will you thus pay according to the *lex talionis* and not according to the *lex gratiæ*?[3] Your debt is on both sides. Does a man take of your life, you take also of his. Shall he give you of his life, and will you not give him also of yours? If this be not your law of duty to him, tell me what other there is, or if you verily believe there is none.

But you ask of such repayment, "Who shall determine how much?"[4] I took no notice of the question, irrelevant when you asked it; but in its broad bearing it is the one imperative question of national economy. Of old, as at bridge-foot of Florence, men regulated their revenge by the law of demand and supply, and asked in measureless anger, "Who shall determine how much?" with economy of blood, such as we know. That "much" is now, with some approximate equity, determined at the judgment seat; but for the other debt, the debt of love, we have no law but that of the wolf, and the locust, and the "fishes of the sea, which have no ruler over them."[5] The workmen of England—of the world, ask for the return—as of wrath, so of reward by law; and for blood resolutely spent, as for that recklessly shed; for life devoted through its duration, as for that untimely cast away; they require from you to determine, in judgment, the equities of "Human Retribution."

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. Ruskin.[6]

May 20, 1865.

[1] [See 1 Samuel xxiv. 17.]

[2] [Exodus xxi. 24.]

[3] [By the *lex talionis*, incorporated in the ancient Roman law of the XII. Tables, the penalty was simple retaliation (*talio*); to which Ruskin opposes the law of grace. "Pay" was misprinted "pray" in *Arrows of the Chace*.]

[4] [See above, second interpolation of the *Gazette*, on p. 512.]

[5] [Habakkuk i. 14; quoted in *Unto this Last*, § 46 (above, p. 63).]

[6] [The discussion was not continued beyond this letter, the *Gazette* judging any continuance useless, the difference between Ruskin and themselves being "one of first principles." In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of May 1, 1867, Ruskin wrote another letter on the same subject; this he reprinted in *Time and Tide*, see above, p. 473. In connexion with "strikes," Ruskin's contributions to a discussion of 1868 should be read (see Appendix vii.; below, pp. 536 *seq.*).]

V

LETTERS ON SERVANTS AND HOUSES

(1865)

1. DOMESTIC SERVANTS—MASTERSHIP

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [1]

SIR,—You so seldom write nonsense, that you will, I am sure, pardon your friends for telling you when you do. Your article on servants to-day is nonsense. It is just as easy and as difficult now to get good servants as it ever was.[2] You may have them, as you may have pines and peaches, for the growing, or you may even buy them good, if you can persuade the good growers to spare you them off their walls; but you cannot get them by political economy and the law of supply and demand.

There are broadly two ways of making good servants; the first, a sound, wholesome, thorough-going slavery—which was the heathen way, and no bad one neither, provided you understand that to make real "slaves" you must make yourself a real "master" (which is not easy). The second is the Christian's way: "whoso delicately bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the last."[3] And as few people want their servants to become their sons, this is not a way to their liking. So that, neither having courage or self-discipline enough on the one hand to make themselves nobly dominant after the heathen fashion, nor tenderness or justice enough to make themselves nobly protective after the Christian, the present public thinks to manufacture servants bodily out of powder and hay-stuffing—mentally by early instillation of Catechism and other mechanico-religious appliances—and economically, as you helplessly suggest, by the law of supply and demand,[4] with such results as we all see, and most of us more or less feel, and shall feel daily more and more to our cost and selfish sorrow.

Sir, there is only one way to have good servants; that is, to be

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, September 5, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Domestic Servants." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 135–137, under the heading "Domestic Servants—Mastership."]

[2] [This article, after commenting on "the good old times," remarked that it is now "a social fact, that the hardest thing in the world to find is a good servant."]

[3] ["He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the length."—Proverbs xxix. 21.]

[4] ["We have really," said the article, "no remedy to suggest: the evil seems to be curable only by some general distress which will drive more people into seeking service, and so give employers a greater choice. At present the demand appears to exceed the supply, and servants are careless about losing their places through bad behaviour."]

worthy of being well served. All nature and all humanity will serve a good master, and rebel against an ignoble one. And there is no surer test of the quality of a nation than the quality of its servants, for they are their masters' shadows, and distort their faults in a flattened mimicry. A wise nation will have philosophers in its servants' hall; a knavish nation will have knaves there; and a kindly nation will have friends there. Only let it be remembered that "kindness" means, as with your child, so with your servant, not indulgence, but care.—I am, Sir, seeing that you usually write good sense, and "serve" good causes, your servant to command,

J. RUSKIN.[1]

DENMARK HILL, *Sept.* 2.

2. DOMESTIC SERVANTS—EXPERIENCE

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[2]

SIR,—I thank you much for your kind insertion of my letter, and your courteous and graceful answer to it. Others will thank you also; for your suggestions are indeed much more *ad rem* than my mere assertions of principle; but both are necessary. Statements of practical difficulty, and the immediate means of conquering it, are precisely what the editor of a powerful daily journal is able to give; but he cannot give them justly if he ever allow himself to lose sight of the eternal laws which in their imperative bearings manifest themselves more clearly to the retired student of human life in the phases of its history. My own personal experience—if worth anything—has been simply that wherever I myself knew how a thing should be done, and was resolved to have it done, I could always get subordinates, if made of average good human material, to do it, and that, on the whole, cheerfully, thoroughly, and even affectionately; and my wonder is usually rather at the quantity of service they are willing to do for me, than at their occasional indolences, or fallings below the standard of seraphic wisdom and conscientiousness. That they *shall* be of average human material, it is, as you wisely point out, every householder's business to make sure. We cannot choose our relations, but we can our servants; and what sagacity we have and knowledge of human nature cannot be better employed. If your house is to be comfortable, your

[1] [To this letter the *Daily Telegraph* of September 6 replied by a leader, in which, whilst expressing itself alive to "the sympathy for humanity, and appreciation of the dignity which may be made to underlie all human relations," displayed by Ruskin, it complained that he had only shown "how to cook the cook when we catch her," and not how to catch her. After some detailed remarks on the servants of the day, which seemed "to be more *ad rem* than Mr. Ruskin's eloquent axioms," it concluded by expressing a hope "that he would come down from the clouds of theory, and give to a perplexed public a few plain, workable instructions how to get hold of good cooks and maids, coachmen and footmen." Ruskin replied to it, and to a large amount of further correspondence on the subject, in the next two letters in the *Daily Telegraph*.]

[2] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, September 7, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Domestic Servants." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139, under the heading "Domestic Servants—Experience."]

servants' hearts must be sound, as the timber and stones of its walls; and there must be discretion in the choice, and time allowed for the "settling" of both. The luxury of having pretty servants must be paid for, like all luxuries, in the penalty of their occasional loss; but I fancy the best sort of female servant is generally in aspect and general qualities like Sydney Smith's "Bunch,"[1] and a very retainable creature. And for the rest, the dearth of good service, if such there be, may perhaps wholesomely teach us that, if we were all a little more in the habit of serving ourselves in many matters, we should be none the worse or the less happy.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. RUSKIN.

DENMARK HILL, *Sept.* 6.

3. DOMESTIC SERVANTS—SONSHIP AND SLAVERY

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[2]

SIR,—I have been watching the domestic correspondence in your columns with much interest, and thought of offering you a short analysis of it when you saw good to bring it to a close,[3] and perhaps a note or two of my own experience, being somewhat conceited on the subject just now, because I have a gardener who lets me keep old-fashioned plants in the greenhouse, understands that my cherries are grown for the blackbirds, and sees me gather a bunch of my own grapes without making a wry face. But your admirable article of yesterday causes me to abandon my purpose; the more willingly, because among all the letters you have hitherto published there is not one from any head of a household which contains a complaint worth notice. All the masters or mistresses whose letters are thoughtful or well written say they get on well enough with their servants; no part has yet been taken in the discussion by the heads of old families. The servants' letters, hitherto, furnish the best data; but the better class of servants are also silent, and must remain so. Launce, Grumio, or Fairservice may have something to say for themselves; but you will hear nothing from Old Adam nor from carefu' Mattie.[4] One proverb from

[1] ["A man-servant was too expensive; so I caught up a little garden-girl, made like a milestone, put a napkin in her hand, christened her Bunch, and made her my butler. The girls taught her to read, Mrs. Sydney to wait, and I undertook her morals; Bunch became the best butler in the county" (Sydney Smith's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 207, where several other anecdotes of Bunch are given). For other references to Sydney Smith's domestic economy, see Vol. VII. p. 357 *n.*]

[2] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, September 18, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Domestic Servants." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 140–151, under the heading "Domestic Servants—Sonship and Slavery."]

[3] [In the "admirable article" of September 15, in which the main features of the voluminous correspondence received by the *Daily Telegraph* on the subject were shortly summed up.]

[4] [For these characters, see *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Launce), *Taming of the Shrew* (Grumio), *Rob Roy* (Fairservice and Mattie), and *As You Like It* (Old Adam). For Andrew Fairservice, see *Fiction, Fair and Foul*, §§ 29–31; *Præterita*, i. § 71; iii. § 71; *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 65 and 92; and Vol. V. p. 337. For a passing reference to Launce, see Vol. VI. p. 441.]

Sancho, if we could get it, would settle the whole business for us; but his master and he are indeed "no more." I would have walked down to Dulwich to hear what Sam Weller had to say; but the high-level railway went through Mr. Pickwick's parlour two months ago, and it is of no use writing to Sam, for, as you are well aware, he is no penman. And, indeed, Sir, little good will come of any writing on the matter. "The cat will mew, the dog will have his day."[1] You yourself, excellent as is the greater part of what you have said, and to the point, speak but vainly when you talk of "probing the evil to the bottom." This is no sore that can be probed, no sword nor bullet wound. This is a plague spot. Small or great, it is in the significance of it, not in the depth, that you have to measure it. It is essentially bottomless, cancerous; a putrescence through the constitution of the people is indicated by this galled place. Because I know this thoroughly, I say so little, and that little, as your correspondents think, who know nothing of me, and as you say, who might have known more of me, unpractically. Pardon me, I am no seller of plasters, nor of ounces of civet. The patient's sickness is his own fault, and only years of discipline will work it out of him. That is the only really "practical" saying that can be uttered to him. The relation of master and servant involves every other—touches every condition of moral health through the State. Put that right, and you put all right; but you will find it can only come ultimately, not primarily, right; you cannot begin with it. Some of the evidence you have got together is valuable, many pieces of partial advice very good. You need hardly, I think, unless you wanted a type of British logic, have printed a letter in which the writer accused (or would have accused, if he had possessed Latinity enough) all London servants of being thieves because he had known one robbery to have been committed by a nice-looking girl.[2] But on the whole there is much common sense in the letters; the singular point in them all, to my mind, being the inapprehension of the breadth and connection of the question, and the general resistance to, and stubborn rejection of, the abstract ideas of sonship and slavery, which include whatever is possible in wise treatment of servants. It is very strange to see that, while everybody shrinks at abstract suggestions of there being possible error in a book of Scripture,[3] your sensible English housewife fearlessly rejects Solomon's opinion when it runs slightly counter to her own, and that not one of your

[1] [*Hamlet*, v. 1, line 316.]

[2] [This refers to a letter in which the writer gave an account of a robbery by a housemaid, and, drawing from her conduct the moral "put not your trust in London servants," concluded by signing his letter, "Ab *hoc* disce omnes."]

[3] [The last volume of Bishop Colenso's work on *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* was published in the April of the year in which these letters were written, and his deposition by the Bishop of Capetown had but recently been reversed by the Privy Council. It is to the discussion aroused by his book that Ruskin indirectly refers. The English bishops had previously (1863) resolved to inhibit Colenso from preaching in their dioceses; Tait, then Bishop of London, opposed this resolution, and secured the adoption by the bishops of a joint address to Colenso, instead of the collective inhibition. To Tait's moderating influence in this matter Ruskin probably refers above (see p. 475 *n.*); for other passages illustrating Ruskin's interest in the matter, and his admiration of Colenso, see Vol. XIV. p. 285 and *n.*, and Vol. XV. p. 443.]

many correspondents seems ever to have read the Epistle to Philemon.[1] It is no less strange that while most English boys of ordinary position hammer through their Horace at one or other time of their school life, no word of his wit or his teaching seems to remain by them: for all the good they get out of them, the *Satires* need never have been written. The Roman gentleman's account of his childhood and of his domestic life possesses no charm for them; and even men of education would sometimes start to be reminded that his "*noctes cœnæque Deum!*"[2] meant supping with his merry slaves on beans and bacon. Will you allow me, on this general question of liberty and slavery, to refer your correspondents to a paper of mine touching closely upon it, the leader in the *Art Journal* for July last?[3] and to ask them also to meditate a little over the two beautiful epitaphs on Epictetus and Zosima, quoted in the last paper of the *Idler*?[4]

> "I, Epictetus, was a slave; and sick in body, and wretched in poverty; and beloved by the gods."
> "Zosima, who while she lived was a slave only in her body, has now found deliverance for that also."

How might we, over many an "independent" Englishman, reverse this last legend, and write—

> "This man, who while he lived was free only in his body, has now found captivity for that also."

I will not pass without notice—for it bears also on wide interests—your correspondent's question, how my principles differ from the ordinary economist's view of supply and demand.[5] Simply in that the economy I have taught, in opposition to the popular view, is the science which not merely ascertains the relations of existing demand and supply, but determines what *ought* to be demanded and what *can* be supplied. A child demands the moon, and, the supply not being in this case equal to the demand, is wisely accommodated with a rattle; a footpad demands your purse, and is supplied according to the less or more rational economy of the State, with that or a halter; a foolish nation, not able to get into its head that free trade does indeed mean the removal of taxation from its imports, but not of supervision from them, demands unlimited foreign beef, and is supplied with the cattle murrain and the like. There may be all manner of demands, all manner of supplies. The true political economist regulates these; the false political economist leaves them to be regulated by (not

[1] [The reference is of course to Onesimus, a servant, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved."]

[2] [*Satires*, ii. 6, 65.]

[3] [The leader in the *Art Journal* is chapter vi. of *The Cestus of Aglaia*, where "the infinite follies of modern thought, centred in the notion that liberty is good for a man, irrespectively of the use he is likely to make of it," are discussed at some length. See now Vol. XIX.]

[4] [The epitaphs quoted are not in the *Idler* itself, but in the "Essay on Epitaphs" printed at the end of some editions of it. The epitaph on Epictetus is quoted also in *Modern Painters:* see Vol. VI. p. 22 *n.*]

[5] [This refers to a letter signed "W. B." in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 12.]

Divine) Providence. For, indeed, the largest final demand anywhere reported of, is that of hell; and the supply of it (by the broad gauge line) would be very nearly equal to the demand at this day, unless there were here and there a swineherd or two who could keep his pigs out of sight of the lake.

Thus in this business of servants everything depends on what sort of servant you at heart wish for or "demand." If for nurses you want Charlotte Winsors, they are to be had for money; but by no means for money, such as that German girl who, the other day, on her own scarce-floating fragment of wreck, saved the abandoned child of another woman, keeping it alive by the moisture from her lips.[1] What kind of servant do you want? It is a momentous question for you yourself—for the nation itself. Are we to be a nation of shopkeepers, wanting only shop-boys; or of manufacturers, wanting only hands;[2] or are there to be knights among us, who will need squires—captains among us, needing crews? Will you have clansmen for your candlesticks, or silver plate? Myrmidons at your tents, ant-born, or only a mob on the Gillies' Hill?[3] Are you resolved that you will never have any but your inferiors to serve you, or shall Enid ever lay your trencher with tender little thumb,[4] and Cinderella sweep your hearth, and be cherished there? It *might* come to that in time, and plate and hearth be the brighter; but if your servants are to be held your inferiors, at least be sure they *are* so, and that you are indeed wiser, and better-tempered, and more useful than they. Determine what their education ought to be, and organize proper servants' schools, and there give it them. So they will be fit for their position, and will do honour to it, and stay in it: let the masters be as sure they do honour to theirs, and are as willing to stay in that. Remember that every people which gives itself to the pursuit of riches, invariably, and of necessity, gets the scum uppermost in time, and is set by the genii, like the ugly bridegroom in the *Arabian Nights*, at its own door with its heels in the air, showing its shoe-soles instead of a Face. And the reversal is a serious matter, if reversal be even possible, and it comes right end uppermost again, instead of to conclusive Wrong end.

I suppose I am getting unpractical again. Well, here is one practical morsel, and I have done. One or two of your correspondents have spoken of the facilities of servants for leaving their places. Drive that nail home, Sir. A large stray branch of the difficulty lies there. Many and many

[1] [Charlotte Winsor (compare *Ethics of the Dust*, § 117) was at this time under sentence of death for the murder of a child, which had been entrusted to her charge. The anecdote of her heroic anti-type may be read in the *Times* of August 23, 1865. The girl was a Swiss, Anna Meyer, from Solothurn.

[2] [On this question, compare *Unto this Last*, § 81 (above, p. 110).]

[3] [Ruskin refers to the fabled descent of the Myrmidons, who accompanied Achilles to the Trojan war, from ants (*μύρμηκες*), whose faithful diligence they imitated. The story of the mob of servants and camp-followers at Bannockburn, who had been collected by Robert Bruce on the height called thereafter the Gillies' Hill, is told in Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* (x.).]

[4] [*The Marriage of Geraint*:—

> "Geraint had longing in him evermore
> To stoop and kiss the tender little thumb
> That crost the trencher as she laid it down."]

a time I have heard Mr. Carlyle speak of this,[1] and too often I have felt it myself as one of the evils closely accompanying the fever of modern change in the habits and hopes of life. My own architectural work drives me to think of it continually. Round every railroad station, out of the once quiet fields, there bursts up first a blotch of brick-fields, and then of ghastly houses, washed over with slime into miserable fineries of cornice and portico. A gentleman would hew for himself a log hut, and thresh for himself a straw bed, before he would live in such; but the builders count safely on tenants—people who know no quietness nor simplicity of pleasure, who care only for the stucco, and lodge only in the portico, of human life—understanding not so much as the name of House or House-*Hold*. They and their servants are always "bettering themselves" divergently.

You will do good service at least in teaching any of these who will listen to you, that if they can once make up their minds to a fixed state of life, and a fixed income, and a fixed expenditure—if they can by any means get their servants to stay long enough with them to fit into their places and know the run of the furrows—then something like service and mastership, and fulfilment of understood and reciprocal duty, may become possible; no otherwise. I leave this matter to your better handling, and will trespass on your patience no more. Only, as I think you will get into some disgrace with your lady correspondents for your ungallant conclusions respecting them[2]—which I confess surprised me a little, though I might have been prepared for it if I had remembered what order the husband even of so good a housewife as Penelope was obliged to take with some of her female servants after prolonged absence,[3]—I have translated a short passage of Xenophon's Economics[4] for you, which may make your peace if you will print it. I wish the whole book were well translated; meantime, your lady readers must be told that this is part of a Greek country gentleman's account of the conversation he had with his young wife (a girl of fifteen only), a little while

[1] [Two years later Carlyle published some remarks on the subject in his "Shooting Niagara: and After?" (*Miscellanies*, vol. vii. p. 204, People's Edition).]

[2] [The "admirable article" which had closed the discussion advised mistresses to resemble those of the good old days, and to deserve good servants, if they wished to secure them. It, somewhat inconsistently with the previous articles, declared that the days of good service would not be found altogether past, if it was remembered that by derivation "domestic" meant "homelike," and "family" one's servants, not one's children.]

[3] [See *Odyssey*, xxii.]

[4] [See "The Economist of Xenophon," since (1875) translated and published in *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, edited by Ruskin (ch. vii. §§ 37–43). Ruskin in his Preface to the volume speaks of the book as containing "first, a faultless definition of wealth" . . . "secondly, the most perfect ideal of kingly character and kingly government given in literature" . . . and "thirdly, the ideal of domestic life." It may be interesting to note an earlier and quaint estimate of the work, given in "Xenophon's Treatise of Housholde—imprinted at London, in Fleet Street, by T. Berthelet, 1534," where the dialogue is described as "ryght counnyngly translated out of the Greke tongue into Englysshe by Gentian Hervet at the desyre of Mayster Geffrey Pole, whiche boke for the welthe of this realme I deme very profitable to be red."]

after their marriage, when "she had got used to him," and was not frightened at being spoken gravely to. First they pray together; and then they have a long happy talk, of which this is the close:—

"But there is one of the duties belonging to you," I said, "which perhaps will be more painful to you than any other, namely, the care of your servants when they are ill." "Nay," answered my wife, "that will be the most pleasing of all my duties to me, if only my servants will be grateful when I minister rightly to them, and will love me better." And I, pleased with her answer, said, "Indeed, lady, it is in some such way as this that the queen of the hive is so regarded by her bees, that, if she leave the hive, none will quit her, but all will follow her." Then she answered, "I should wonder if this office of leader were not yours rather than mine, for truly my care and distribution of things would be but a jest were it not for your inbringing." "Yes," I said, "but what a jest would my inbringing be if there were no one to take care of what I brought. Do not you know how those are pitied of whom it is fabled that they have always to pour water into a pierced vessel?" "Yes; and they *are* unhappy, if in truth they do it," said she. "Then also," I said, "remember your other personal cares. Will all be sweet to you when, taking one of your maidens who knows not how to spin, you teach her, and make her twice the girl she was; or one who has no method nor habit of direction, and you teach her how to manage a house, and make her faithful and mistress-like and every way worthy, and when you have the power of benefiting those who are orderly and useful in the house, and of punishing any one who is manifestly disposed to evil? But what will be sweetest of all, if it may come to pass, will be that you should show yourself better even than *me*, and so make me your servant also: so that you need not fear in advancing age to be less honoured in my house; but may have sure hope that in becoming old, by how much more you have become also a noble fellow-worker with me, and joint guardian of our children's possessions, by so much shall you be more honoured in my household. For what is lovely and good increases for all men—not through fairness of the body, but through strength and virtue in things pertaining to life." And this is what I remember chiefly of what we said in our first talk together.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Sept.* 16.

4. MODERN HOUSES

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[1]

Sir,—I trust you will hold the very able and interesting letter from "W. H. W.,"[2] which you publish to-day, excuse enough for my briefly trespassing on your space once more. Indeed, it has been a discomfort to me that I have not yet asked the pardon of your correspondent, "A

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, October 17, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Modern Houses." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 152–156.]

[2] [The letter of "W. H. W." commenced by stating that the writer had "waited till the discussion . . . about domestic servants was brought to a close to make a few remarks on a subject touched on in Ruskin's last letter—domestic architecture." It then gave a "graphic description" of "W. H. W.'s" own modern villa and its miseries, and concluded by asking Ruskin if nothing could be done.]

Tenant, not at will" (Sept. 21),[1] for the apparent discourtesy of thought of which he accused me. He need not have done so: for although I said "a gentleman would hew for himself a log hut" rather than live in modern houses, I never said he would rather abandon his family and his business than live in them; and your correspondent himself, in his previously written letter, had used precisely the same words. And he must not suspect that I intend to be ironical in saying that the prolonged coincidence of thought and word in the two letters well deserves the notice of your readers, in the proof it gives of the strength and truth of the impression on both minds. "W. H. W.'s" graphic description of his house is also sorrowfully faithful to the facts of daily experience; and I doubt not that you will soon have other communications of the same tenor, and all too true.

I made no attempt to answer "A Tenant, not at will," because the subject is much too wide for any detailed treatment in a letter; and you do not care for generalisations of mine. But I am sure your two correspondents, and the large class of sufferers which they represent, would be very sincerely grateful for some generalisations of yours on this matter. For, Sir, surely of all questions for the political economist, this of putting good houses over people's heads is the closest and simplest. The first question in all economy, practically as well as etymologically, must be this, of lodging. The "Eco" must come before the "Nomy." You must have a house before you can put anything into it; and preparatorily to laying up treasure, at the least dig a hole for it. Well, Sir, here, as it seems to my poor thinking, is a beautiful and simple problem for you to illustrate the law of demand and supply upon. Here you have a considerable body of very deserving persons "demanding" a good and cheap article in the way of a house. Will you or any of your politico-economic correspondents explain to them and to me the Divinely Providential law by which, in due course, the supply of such cannot but be brought about for them?

There is another column in your impression of to-day to which, also, I would ask leave to direct your readers' attention—the 4th of the 3rd page; and especially, at the bottom of it, Dr. Whitmore's account of Crawford Place,[2] and his following statement that it is "a kind of

[1] ["A Tenant, not at will" had written to point out the coincidence that he had, before the publication of Ruskin's third letter, himself begun a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* on the subject of houses, in parts of which, strangely enough, he had used expressions very similar to those of Ruskin (see above, p. 524). He had described his modern suburban villa as "one of an ugly mass of blossoms lately burst forth from the parent trunk—a brickfield"; and declared that if it were not that people would think him mad, he "would infinitely rather live in a log hut of his own building" than in a builder's villa. He concluded by saying that all the houses were the same, and that therefore, until Ruskin could point out honest-built dwellings neglected while the "villas" were all let, it was not quite fair of him to assume that "suburban villains" utterly wanted the true instinct of gentlemen which would lead to the preference of log huts to plaster palaces.]

[2] [The account consisted of a report presented by Dr. Whitmore, as Metropolitan Officer of Health to the district, to the Marylebone Representative Council. Describing the miseries of Crawford Place, which was left in an untenantable condition, while the landlords still got high rents for it, he added that "property of this

property constituting a most profitable investment"; and I do so in the hope that you will expand your interpretation of the laws of political economy so far as to teach us how, by their beneficent and inevitable operation, good houses must finally be provided for the classes who live in Crawford Place, and such other places; and, without necessity of eviction, also for the colliers of Cramlington (*vide* 2nd column of the same 3rd page).[1] I have, indeed, my own notions on the subject, but I do not trouble you with them, for they are unfortunately based on that wild notion of there being a "just" price for all things, which you say in your article of Oct. 10, on the Sheffield strikes, "has no existence but in the minds of theorists."[2] The *Pall Mall Gazette*, with which journal I have already held some discussion on the subject,[3] eagerly quoted your authority on its side, in its impression of the same evening; nor do I care to pursue the debate until I can inform you of the continuous result of some direct results which I am making on my Utopian principles. I have bought a little bit of property of the Crawford Place description, and mending it somewhat according to my notions, I make my tenants pay me what I hold to be a "just" price for the lodging provided. That lodging I partly look after, partly teach the tenants to look after for themselves; and I look a little after them, as well as after the rents. I do not mean to make a highly profitable investment of their poor little rooms; but I do mean to sell a good article, in the way of house room, at a fair price; and hitherto my customers are satisfied, and so am I.[4]

In the meantime, being entirely busy in other directions, I must leave the discussion, if it is to proceed at all, wholly between you and your readers. I will write no word more till I see what they all have got to say, and until you yourself have explained to me, in its anticipated results, the working — as regards the keeping out of winter and rough weather—of the principles of Non-iquity (I presume that is the proper politico-economic form for the old and exploded word Iniquity); and so I remain, Sir, yours, etc.,

J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Oct.* 16.

description, let out in separate rooms to weekly tenants, constitutes a most profitable investment," according to the degree of flinty determination exercised in collecting the rents.]

[1] [This alludes to an account of the position of the Cramlington colliers after seventeen days of strike. The masters attempted to evict the pitmen from their houses, an attempt which the pitmen met partly by serious riot and resistance, and partly by destroying the houses they were forced to leave.]

[2] ["Such a thing as a 'just price,' either for labour or for any other commodity, has, with all submission to Mr. Ruskin, no existence save in the minds of theorists." (*Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 10, quoted by the *Pall Mall* in its "Epitome of the Morning Papers" on the same day).]

[3] [The discussion with the *Gazette* consisted of the "Work and Wages" letters (see *ante*, pp. 506–517).]

[4] [See *Fors Clavigera*, 1877, Letter 78 (Notes and Correspondence).]

VI

RAILWAYS AND THE STATE

(1865, 1868, 1870)

1

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[1]

SIR,—Will you allow me a few words with reference to your excellent article of to-day on railroads.[2] All you say is true. But of what use is it to tell the public this? Of all the economical stupidities of the public—and they are many—the out-and-out stupidest is underpaying their pointsmen; but if the said public choose always to leave their lines in the hands of companies—that is to say, practically, of engineers and lawyers—the money they pay for fares will always go, most of it, into the engineers' and lawyers' pockets. It will be spent in decorating railroad stations with black and blue bricks,[3] and in fighting bills for branch lines. I hear there are more bills for new lines to be brought forward this year than at any previous session. But, Sir, it might do some little good if you were to put it into the engineers' and lawyers' heads that they might for some time to come get as much money for themselves (and a little more safety for the public) by bringing in bills for doubling laterally the present lines as for ramifying them; and if you were also to explain to the shareholders that it would be wiser to spend their capital in preventing accidents attended by costly damages, than in running trains at a loss on opposition branches. It is little business of mine—for I am not a railroad traveller usually more than twice in the year; but I don't like to hear of people's being smashed, even when it is all their fault; so I will ask you merely to reprint this passage from my article on Political Economy in *Fraser's Magazine* for April 1863, and so leave the matter to your handling:

. . . . . .[4]

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

DENMARK HILL, *Dec.* 7. J. RUSKIN.

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, December 8, 1865, where the letter appeared under the heading "Our Railway System." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.]

[2] [An article which, dealing directly with some recent railway accidents, commented especially on the overcrowding of the lines.]

[3] [On this form of "waste," see above, p. 390 and *n.*]

[4] ["Essays on Political Economy" (*Fraser's Magazine*, April 1863, p. 449); now *Munera Pulveris*, § 128; see above, p. 252. The passage is set out below, p. 535.]

2

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[1]

Sir,—You terminate to-day a discussion which seems to have been greatly interesting to your readers, by telling them the "broad fact, that England is no longer big enough for her inhabitants."[2]

Might you not, in the leisure of the recess, open with advantage a discussion likely to be no less interesting, and much more useful—namely, how big England may be made for economical inhabitants, and how little she may be made for wasteful ones? Might you not invite letters on this quite radical and essential question—how money is truly made, and how it is truly lost, not by one person or another, but by the whole nation?

For, practically, people's eyes are so intensely fixed on the immediate operation of money as it changes hands, that they hardly ever reflect on its first origin or final disappearance. They are always considering how to get it from somebody else, but never how to get it where that somebody else got it. Also, they very naturally mourn over their loss of it to other people, without reflecting that, if not lost altogether, it may still be of some reflective advantage to them. Whereas, the real national question is not who is losing or gaining money, but who is making and who destroying it. I do not of course mean making money, in the sense of printing notes or finding gold. True money cannot be so made. When an island is too small for its inhabitants, it would not help them to one ounce of bread more to have the entire island turned into one nugget, or to find bank notes growing by its rivulets instead of fern leaves. Neither, by destroying money, do I mean burning notes, or throwing gold away. If I burn a five-pound note, or throw five sovereigns into the sea, I hurt no one but myself; nay, I benefit others, for everybody with a pound in his pocket is richer by the withdrawal of my competition in the market. But what I want you to make your readers discover is how the *true* money is made that will get them houses and dinners; and on the other hand how money is truly lost, or so diminished in value that all they can get in a year will not buy them comfortable houses, nor satisfactory dinners.

Surely this is a question which people would like to have clearly answered for them, and it might lead to some important results if the answer were acted upon. The riband-makers at Coventry, starving, invite the ladies of England to wear ribands. The compassionate ladies of England invest

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, July 31, 1868, where the letter appeared under the heading "Is England big enough?" Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 115–118.]

[2] [The discussion had been carried on in a series of letters from a great number of correspondents under the heading of "Marriage or Celibacy," its subject being the pecuniary difficulties in the way of early marriage. The *Daily Telegraph* of July 30 concluded the discussion with a leading article, in which it characterised the general nature of the correspondence, and of which the final words were those quoted by Ruskin.]

themselves in rainbows,[1] and admiring economists declare the nation to be benefited. No one asks where the ladies got the money to spend in rainbows (which is the first question in the business), nor whether the money so spent will ever return again, or has really faded with the faded ribands and disappeared for ever. Again, honest people every day lose quantities of money to dishonest people. But that is merely a change of hands much to be regretted; but the money is not therefore itself lost; the dishonest people must spend it at last somehow. A youth at college loses his year's income to a Jew. But the Jew must spend it instead of him. Miser or not, the day must come when his hands relax. A railroad shareholder loses his money to a director; but the director must some day spend it instead of him. That is not—at least in the first fact of it—*national* loss. But what the public need to know is, how a final and perfect *loss* of money takes place, so that the whole nation, instead of being rich, shall be getting gradually poor. And then, indeed, if one man in spending his money destroys it, and another in spending it makes more of it, it becomes a grave question in whose hands it is, and whether honest or dishonest people are likely to spend it to the best purpose. Will you permit me, Sir, to lay this not unprofitable subject of inquiry before your readers, while, to the very best purpose, they are investing a little money in sea air?

Very sincerely yours,
J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *July* 30.

3

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [2]

Sir,—The ingenious British public seems to be discovering, to its cost, that the beautiful law of supply and demand does not apply in a pleasant manner to railroad transit.[3] But if they are prepared to submit patiently to the "natural" laws of political economy, what right have they to complain? The railroad belongs to the shareholders; and has not everybody a right to ask the highest price he can get for his wares? The public have a perfect right to walk, or to make other opposition railroads for themselves, if they please, but not to abuse the shareholders for asking as much as they think they can get.

Will you allow me to put the *real* rights of the matter before them in a few words.

Neither the roads nor the railroads of any nation should belong to any private persons. All means of public transit should be provided at public

[1] [Ribands shot with various colours, much in vogue at the date of Ruskin's letter.]

[2] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, August 6, 1868, where the letter appeared under the heading "Increased Railway Fares." Reprinted (under the heading "The Ownership of Railways") in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 119–121.]

[3] [In the *Daily Telegraph* of August 3 appeared eight letters, all of which, under the heading of "Increased Railway Fares," complained of the price of tickets on various lines having been suddenly raised. In the issue of August 4 eighteen letters appeared on the subject, whilst in that of the 5th there were again eight letters. Ruskin's letter was one of four in the issue of the 6th.]

expense, by public determination where such means are needed, and the public should be its own "shareholder."

Neither road, nor railroad, nor canal should ever pay dividends to anybody. They should pay their working expenses, and no more. All dividends are simply a tax on the traveller and the goods, levied by the person to whom the road or canal belongs, for the right of passing over his property. And this right should at once be purchased by the nation, and the original cost of the roadway—be it of gravel, iron, or adamant—at once defrayed by the nation, and then the whole work of the carriage of persons or goods done for ascertained prices, by salaried officers, as the carriage of letters is done now.

I believe, if the votes of the proprietors of all the railroads in the kingdom were taken *en masse*, it would be found that the majority would gladly receive back their original capital, and cede their right of "revising" prices of railway tickets. And if railway property *is* a good and wise investment of capital, the public need not shrink from taking the whole off their hands. Let the public take it. (I, for one, who never held a rag of railroad scrip in my life, nor ever willingly travelled behind an engine where a horse could pull me, will most gladly subscribe my proper share for such purchase according to my income.) Then let them examine what lines pay their working expenses and what lines do not, and boldly leave the unpaying embankments to be white over with sheep, like Roman camps, take up the working lines on sound principles, pay their drivers and pointsmen well, keep their carriages clean and in good repair, and make it as wonderful a thing for a train, as for an old mail coach, to be behind its time; and the sagacious British public will very soon find its pocket heavier, its heart lighter, and its "passages" pleasanter, than any of the three have been, for many a day.

I am, Sir, always faithfully yours,

J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Aug. 5.*

4

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [1]

Sir,—I had not intended again to trespass on your space until I could obtain a general idea of the views of your correspondents on the questions you permitted me to lay before them in my letters of the 31st July [2] and 5th inst.; but I must ask you to allow me to correct an impression likely to be created by your reference to that second letter in your interesting article on the Great Eastern Railway, and to reply briefly to the question of your correspondent "S." on the same subject.[3]

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, August 10, 1868, where the letter appeared under the heading "Railway Economy." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 122–128.]

[2] [Written on July 30, published on July 31.]

[3] [The *Daily Telegraph* of Saturday, August 8, contained an article on the "Increased Railway Fares"; in which, commenting on Ruskin's statement that, given the law of political economy, the railways might ask as much as they could get, it

You say that I mistook the charge against the railway companies in taunting my unfortunate neighbours at Sydenham[1] with their complaints against the operation of the law of supply and demand, and that it was because the companies neglected that law that they suffered.

But, Sir, the law of supply and demand, as believed in by the British public under the guidance of their economists, is a natural law regulating prices, which it is not at all in their option to "neglect." And it is precisely because I have always declared that there is no such natural law, but that prices can be, and ought to be, regulated by laws of expediency and justice, that political economists have thought I did not understand their science, and you now say I laugh at it. No, Sir, I laughed only at what was clearly no science, but vain endeavour to allege as irresistible natural law, what is indeed a too easily resisted prudential law, rewarding and chastising us according to our obedience. So far from despising true political economy, based on such prudential law, I have for years been chiefly occupied in defending its conclusions, having given this definition of it in 1862. "Political Economy is neither an art nor a science; but a system of conduct and legislature founded on the sciences, including the arts, and impossible except under certain conditions of moral culture."[2]

And, Sir, nothing could better show the evil of competition as opposed to the equitable regulation of prices than the instance to which you refer your correspondent "Fair Play"—the agitation in Brighton for a second railway. True prudential law would make one railway serve it thoroughly, and fix the fares necessary to pay for thorough service. Competition will make two railways (sinking twice the capital really required); then, if the two companies combine, they can oppress the public as effectively as one could; if they do not, they will keep the said public in dirty carriages and in danger of its life, by lowering the working expenses to a minimum in their antagonism.

Next, to the question of your correspondent "S.," "what I expect the capitalist to do with his money," so far as it is asked in good faith I gladly reply, that no one's "expectations" are in this matter of the slightest consequence; but that the moral laws which properly regulate the disposition

said that Ruskin mistook "the charge against the companies. While they neglected the 'law of supply and demand,' they suffered: now that they obey that law, they prosper." The latter part of the article dealt with a long letter signed "Fair Play," which was printed in the *Daily Telegraph* of the same day. "To Mr. Ruskin, who laughs at Political Economy," concluded the article, "and to 'Fair Play,' who thinks that Parliament is at the bottom of all the mischief, we commend a significant fact. An agitation is now on foot in Brighton to have a second railway direct to London. What is the cause of this? Not the Legislature, but the conduct of the Brighton Company in raising its fares. That board, by acting in the spirit of a monopoly, has provoked retaliation, and the public now seeks to protect itself by the aid of a competing line."

The letter of the correspondent "S." (also in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 8) began by asking "what the capitalist is to do with his money, if the Government works the railways on the principle of the Post Office."]

[1] [Several of the letters had been written by residents in the neighbourhood of Sydenham.]

[2] ["Essays on Political Economy" (*Fraser's Magazine*, June 1862, p. 784), now reprinted in *Munera Pulveris*, § 1: see above, p. 147.]

of revenue, and the physical laws which determine returns proportioned to the wisdom of its employment, are of the greatest consequence; and these may be briefly stated as follows:

1. All capital is justly and rationally invested which supports productive labour (that is to say, labour directly producing or distributing good food, clothes, lodging, or fuel); so long as it renders to the possessor of the capital, and to those whom he employs, only such gain as shall justly remunerate the superintendence and labour given to the business, and maintain both master and operative happily in the positions of life involved by their several functions. And it is highly advantageous for the nation that wise superintendence and honest labour should both be highly rewarded. But all rates of interest or modes of profit on capital, which render possible the rapid accumulation of fortunes, are simply forms of taxation, by individuals, on labour, purchase, or transport; and are highly detrimental to the national interests, being, indeed, no means of national gain, but only the abstraction of small gains from many to form the large gain of one. For, though inequality of fortune is not in itself an evil, but in many respects desirable, it is always an evil when unjustly or stealthily obtained, since the men who desire to make fortunes by large interest are precisely those who will make the worst use of their wealth.

2. Capital sunk in the production of objects which do not immediately support life (as statues, pictures, architecture, books, garden-flowers, and the like) is beneficially sunk if the things thus produced are good of their kind, and honestly desired by the nation for their own sake; but it is sunk ruinously if they are bad of their kind, or desired only for pride or gain. Neither can good art be produced as an "investment." You cannot build a good cathedral if you only build it that you may charge sixpence for entrance.

3. "Private enterprise" should never be interfered with, but, on the contrary, much encouraged, so long as it is indeed "enterprise" (the exercise of individual ingenuity and audacity in new fields of true labour), and so long as it is indeed "private," paying its way at its own cost, and in no wise harmfully affecting public comforts or interests. But "private enterprise" which poisons its neighbourhood, or speculates for individual gain at common risk, is very sharply to be interfered with.

4. All enterprise, constantly and demonstrably profitable on ascertained conditions, should be made public enterprise, under Government administration and security; and the funds now innocently contributed, and too often far from innocently absorbed, in vain speculation, as noted in your correspondent "Fair Play's" excellent letter,[1] ought to be received by Government, employed by it, not in casting guns, but in growing corn and feeding cattle, and the largest possible legitimate interest returned without risk to these small and variously occupied capitalists, who cannot look after their own money. We should need another kind of Government to do this for us, it is true; also it is true that we can get it, if we choose; but we must recognise the duties of governors before we can elect the men fit to perform them.

[1] ["Fair Play's" letter noted the result of investments made in bubble railways, generally by "honest country folks" or "poor clergymen and widows."]

The benefit of these several modes of right investment of capital would be quickly felt by the nation, not in the increase of isolated or nominal wealth, but in steady lowering of the prices of all the necessaries and innocent luxuries of life, and in the disciplined, orderly, and in that degree educational employment of every able-bodied person. For, Sir (again with your pardon), my question "Is England big enough?"[1] was not answered by the sad experience of the artisans of Poplar. Had they been employed in earthbuilding instead of in shipbuilding, and heaped the Isle of Dogs itself into half as much space of good land, capable of growing corn instead of mosquitoes, they would actually have made habitable England a little bigger by this time;[2] and if the first principle of economy in employment were understood among us—namely, always to use whatever vital power of breath and muscle you have got in the country before you use the artificial power of steam and iron for what living arms can do, and never plough by steam while you forward your ploughman to Quebec—those old familiar faces need not yet have looked their last at each other from the deck of the *St. Lawrence*. But on this subject I will ask your permission to write you in a few days some farther words.[3]

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Aug.* 9.

5

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[4]

Sir,—I am very busy, and have not time to write new phrases. Would you mind again reprinting (as you were good enough to do a few days ago[5]) a sentence from one of the books of mine which everybody said were frantic when I wrote them? You see the date—1863.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. Ruskin.

Denmark Hill, *Nov.* 29, 1870.

[1] [See above, p. 529.]

[2] [Alluding to an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 8, headed "East-End Emigrants," which, after remarking that "Mr. Ruskin's question, Is England big enough?" had been just answered rather sadly by a number of Poplar artisans, described the emigration to Quebec on board the *St. Lawrence* of these inhabitants of the Isle of Dogs, and how, as the ship left the dock, "there were many tears shed, as old, familiar faces looked on each other for the last time."]

[3] [Never, it seems, written; or, if written, not published.]

[4] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, November 30, 1870, where the letter appeared under the heading "Railway Safety." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, vol. ii. pp. 131, 132. The letter was elicited by a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* of November 29, 1870, upon railway accidents, and the means of their prevention, *à propos* of two recent accidents which had occurred, both on the same day (November 26, 1870) on the London and North-Western Railway.]

[5] [A passage from the *Crown of Wild Olive* was reprinted in a letter on the Franco-Prussian War (*Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 7, 1870). The letter was included in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. p. 34, and will be found in a later volume of this edition.]

I have underlined the words I want to be noticed, but, as you see, made no change in a syllable.

"Already the Government, not unapproved, carries letters and parcels for us. Larger packages may in time follow—even general merchandise; why not, at last, ourselves? Had the money spent in local mistakes and vain private litigations on the railroads of England been laid out, instead, under proper Government restraint, on really useful railroad work, *and had no absurd expense been incurred in ornamenting stations*, we might already have had—what ultimately it will be found we MUST have—*quadruple rails, two for passengers, and two for traffic, on every great line;* and we might have been carried in swift safety, and watched and warded by well-paid pointsmen, for half the present fares."[1]

[1] [This passage—from *Munera Pulveris*, § 128 (above, p. 252)—from "Had the money" to the end was also printed (without italics) in the letter given on p. 528, above.]

VII

SPEECHES ON TRADES UNIONS AND STRIKES

(1868)

1

MR. RUSKIN[1] was certain that political economy as it would one day be understood was a true science. He was not so sure that, as it had been hitherto explained, it was a true science. He had ventured to resist that theory of political economy which laid down that man was a predatory animal by nature, and to assert that he was by nature an affectionate animal, and that his economy ought to be based upon the affections.[2] What, he asked, would be the relations of mistress and servant when the former looked upon the latter as a predatory animal? Could a household so constituted

[1] [These remarks were made at a special meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held on July 4, 1868, in the large room of the Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, to consider a series of resolutions on trades unions and strikes. The resolution supported by Ruskin was as follows: "That, while lamenting and deprecating the abuses of some of the trades unions, or of the associations of employers, this meeting cordially approves of combinations for legitimate purposes, such as the careful and calm consideration of matters of common interest among both classes." Mr. Gladstone occupied the chair, and was among the speakers. The report here given appeared in the *Sessional Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1867–1868:* London, 1868, pp. 405–407. It has not hitherto been reprinted; but a very similar report appeared in the *Observer*, July 5; the *Times*, July 6; and the *Daily Telegraph*, July 6. This was reprinted in *Igdrasil*, December 1891, vol. iii. pp. 185–186, and thence in the privately-issued *Ruskiniana*, part ii., 1892, pp. 207–208. Another report, interspersed with critical replies to Ruskin, appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of July 6, 1868: this was reprinted in the "Notes and Correspondence" of *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 28. Ruskin refers again to the matter in *Eagle's Nest*, § 63.]

[2] [In the newspapers the report began as follows: "Mr. Ruskin also supported the resolution, and said he hoped that political economy would at some future day become a science; but without wishing to depreciate the labours of its professors, he hardly considered that it occupied that position at present. Too many of its students, like a former speaker, looked upon man as a predatory animal, while man, on the contrary, was an affectionate animal, and until the mutual interest of classes was based upon affection, difficulties must continue between those classes." The "former speaker' was (according to the *Pall Mall* report) Mr. Dering.]

be conducted on proper principles? Before endeavouring to teach political economy as a science, it was necessary to consider whether it required any additions to complete it. No doubt, combination was a safeguard to workmen; but in connexion with it, there were two points to be aimed at—one was to meet the abuses which ignorance had introduced, and the other was to direct combination, most quickly and certainly, to the obtaining of the utmost possible good. There was one point in respect to which he felt political economy had especially failed. He heard it perpetually said that trades unions had interfered with the natural law of wages. In a pamphlet published at the office of the Association this passage occurred:—

> "So far again as trades unions are associated for combined but peaceful action in the matter of wages or hours of work, though I should look on such action as a needless, and even injurious, interference with natural laws, still, in these cases, while we may have to lament ignorance, we have not to condemn crimes" (*Measures for Putting an End to the Abuses of Trades Unions*, by Frederick Hill).

A natural law could not be interfered with. It was not a law at all if it could be interfered with. There were natural laws of the distribution of the wages founded on the particular habits of men at any given time. What was meant by political economists was the operation of the laws of hostility under certain conditions of persuasion in the minds of the two classes. Under these conditions certain results followed. He had drawn up[1] the following series of questions with respect to natural laws, which he wished to put to professors of political economy:—

1. It is stated in a paper read before the jurisprudence section of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and afterwards published at their office, that "without the capitalist labour could accomplish nothing (p. 4)."[2] But for long periods of time in some parts of the world the accumulation of money was forbidden, and in others it was impossible. Has labour never accomplished anything in such districts?

2. Supposing that, in the present state of England, capital is necessary, are capitalists so? In other words, is it needful for right operation of capital that it should be administered under the arbitrary power of one person?

3. Whence is all capital first derived?

4. If capital is spent in paying wages for labour or manufacture which brings no return (as the labour of an acrobat or manufacturer of fireworks), is such capital lost or not? and if lost, what is the effect of such loss on the future wages fund?

5. If under such circumstances it is lost, and can only be recovered (much more recovered with interest) when it has been spent in wages for productive labour or manufacture, what labours and manufactures are

[1] [The newspaper reports omitted most of the above passage ("Before endeavouring . . . results followed"), reading: ". . . on proper principles? The principle of trades union was doubtless a safeguard to workmen, but it should be cleared of abuses introduced by the ignorance of the men, and then directed to its proper end—the introduction of comfort and happiness into as many homes of the kingdom as possible. He had carefully considered and prepared in a loving spirit the following series of questions, which he thought should be put to eminent professors of political economy on behalf of the working men of England."]

[2] [Another reference to the pamphlet by Mr. Hill (an Inspector of Prisons).]

productive, and what are unproductive? Do all capitalists know the difference? and are they always desirous to employ men in productive labours and manufactures, and in these only?

6. Considering the unemployed and purchasing public as a great capitalist, employing the workmen and their masters both, what results happen finally to this purchasing public if it employs all its manufacturers in unproductive labour? and what if it employs them all in productive labour?

7. If there are thirty workmen, ready to do a day's work, and there is only a day's work for one of them to do, what is the effect of the natural laws of wages on the other twenty-nine?

8. Is it a natural law that for the same quantity or piece of work wages should be sometimes high, sometimes low? With what standard do we properly or scientifically compare them, in calling them high or low? and what is the limit of their possible lowness under natural laws?

9. In what manner do natural laws affect the wages of officers under Government in various countries?

10. "If any man will not work, neither should he eat." Does this law apply to all classes of society?[1]

These were questions which workmen wanted solving, for them, and in their name he submitted them for solution.

2

Mr. Ruskin was willing to second the amendment[2] with a slight modification.[3] He thought it strange that the Association, whilst trying to solve this question, should meet in a room where working men could not watch the discussion. The main object of the meeting was to give information

[1] [Compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 136.]

[2] [These remarks were made at the adjourned special meeting on July 15, 1868, and were printed in the *Sessional Proceedings*, pp. 425–426. A shorter report appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, July 16, 1868. The newspaper report was reprinted in *Igdrasil*, December 1891, vol. iii. pp. 186–187, and thence in the privately-issued *Ruskiniana*, part ii., 1892, pp. 208–209. Mr. Newmarch had moved: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the interests of both workmen and employers, instead of being opposed, are in harmony and indeed identical; it being, for example, for the benefit of each class that that rate of wages should always be adopted which, on the one hand, is not so high as to drive away capital, and, on the other, not so low as to drive away labourers." Mr. Tom Hughes opposed the motion, and Colonel Torrens moved the following amendment: "That it is expedient in the interests both of workmen and employers that wages should, so far as the fluctuations of trade may permit, be so adjusted as to avoid equally those extreme rates which tend to drive away capital and those depressed rates which are inadequate to afford the working man comfortable subsistence for himself and his family."]

[3] [The words "Mr. Ruskin . . . modification" are here inserted from the newspaper report, which continued: "It was strange that on the great problem of the age, which every day becomes of more cruel importance on one side, and of greater pecuniary importance on the other, which is exciting evil passions on both sides—evil most influential where it is concealed—the discussion should be slipped away into a room where the working man could not watch it."]

to workmen, but it was not they alone who wanted it. In 1862,[1] he challenged, without result, Mr. J. S. Mill to give him a definition of wealth, which was confused with money, but had nothing to do with it. In a luxuriant country, where you could get everything you wanted without it, money would be worthless; as it would be equally in a country where you could not for a fortune obtain a grain of corn or a draught of water. Wealth was represented by the possessions of a country, and not by the symbol, money—a truth which it was not to the interest of capitalists to make known. Such simple things were evaded in discussions, and many of us required to be told them. He objected to the distinction drawn between employers and employed.[2] We ought all to be employed; and we ought to work with the right means at the right things. Then came the distinction between capital and labour. Capital meant tools to be used by labourers, who ought not to have to borrow them and pay for the use of them, but who ought to be masters of their tools, whether they were pickaxes or steam-engines. Capital was wanting, but was it absolutely necessary it should be in the hands of one person? Savings in the bank were capital; let labourers unite and obtain tools with those savings. Some people worked at things that were useless and wrong, and capital paid for labour which was not of much use. It was necessary men should know whether they were usefully employed or not. He would suggest a resolution in this form:[3] "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the interests of workmen and their employers are at present opposed, and can only become identical when all are equally employed in defined labour and recognised duty, and all, from the highest to the lowest, are paid fixed salaries, proportioned to the value of their services and sufficient for their honourable maintenance in the situations of life properly occupied by them." He would, however, ask Mr. Torrens to alter his amendment by proposing that wages should be adjusted "by a fixed standard."[4]

[1] [The newspaper in a shorter version of this passage gave incorrectly "1858." The reference is to the Preface of 1862 to *Unto this Last* (see above, p. 18).]

[2] [The words "He objected . . . employed" are here inserted from the newspaper report.]

[3] [In the newspaper report: "finally, at the request of the meeting, he submitted the amendment he had prepared, as follows . . ."]

[4] [In the newspaper report he asked Colonel Torrens if he would alter his resolution by inserting after "so adjusted" the words "by a fixed standard." Colonel Torrens declined to insert the words "because he thought it impossible to fix a standard," and ultimately a new resolution, of a non-committal character, was adopted. Subsequently another subject was discussed, the following motion being proposed: "That, considering how important it is that a knowledge of some of the simpler laws of political economy, on the practical application of which such momentous interests depend, should be acquired before the mind becomes biassed and the passions aroused, this meeting is of opinion that, however elementary the school, such instruction should always form part of the education." Mr. Vernon Lushington opposed, on the ground that political economy was indeterminate, and that arbitration was the proper remedy. "Mr. Ruskin," says the report, "strongly supported the motion. Principles must be taught before arbitration is possible."]

VIII

EMPLOYMENT FOR THE DESTITUTE POOR AND CRIMINAL CLASSES

(1868)

1

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [1]

SIR,—Your admirable leader of to-day [2] will do great good; but it will do more if you complete it by pointing out the chief reason for the frequent failure of almsgiving in accomplishing any real benefit to the poor. No almsgiving of money is so helpful as almsgiving of care and thought; the giving of money without thought is indeed continually mischievous; but the invective of the economist against *in*discriminate charity is idle, if it be not coupled with pleading for discriminate charity, and, above all, for that charity which discerns the uses that people may be put to, and helps them by setting them to work in those services. That is the help beyond all others; find out how to make useless people useful, and let them earn their money instead of begging it. Few are so feeble as to be incapable of all occupation, none so faultful but that occupation, well chosen, and kindly compelled, will be medicine for them in soul and body. I have lately drawn up a few notes for private circulation on possible methods of employment for the poor.[3] The reasons which weighed with me in not publishing them have now ceased to exist; and in case you should think the paper worth its room in your columns, and any portion of it deserving your ratification, I send it you herewith, and remain your faithful servant,

J. RUSKIN.

DENMARK HILL, S.E., *Dec.* 24.

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, December 26, 1868, under the heading given above Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192.]
[2] [A Christmas article on Charity.]
[3] [See the following pages.]

2

NOTES ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THE DESTITUTE AND CRIMINAL CLASSES[1]

The first great fact on which all wise and enduring legislation respecting labour must be founded, is, that the character of men depends more on their occupations than on any teaching we can give them, or principles with which we can imbue them.

The[2] employment forms the habits of body and mind, and these are the constitution of the man—the greater part of his moral or persistent nature, whatever effort, under special excitement, he may make to change or overcome them. Employment is the half, and the primal half, of education—it is the warp of it; and the fineness or the endurance of all subsequently woven pattern depends wholly on its straightness and strength. And whatever difficulty there may be in tracing through past history the remoter connexions of event and cause, one chain of sequence is always clear: the formation, namely, of the character of nations by their employments, and the determination of their final fate by their character. The moment and the first direction of circumstances, of decisive revolutions, often depend on accident; but their persistent course, and their consequences, depend wholly on the nature of the people. The passing of the Reform Bill by the late English Parliament[3] may have been more or less accidental: the results of the measure now rest on the character of the English people, as it has been developed by their recent interests, occupations, and habits of life. Whether as a body, they employ their new

[1] [This paper first appeared as a pamphlet, of which the title-page is as follows:—

First Notes on | the General Principles of | Employment for the Destitute | and Criminal Classes. | By John Ruskin, A.M. | For private circulation only. | 1868.

Octavo, pp. 11. The imprint is: "London: Strangeways and Walden, printers, 28 Castle Street, Leicester Sq." Issued stitched and without wrappers.

A *second edition*, which was a reprint of the first, with additional matter (see subsequent notes), has the following title-page:—

Notes | on the General Principles | of Employment | for the Destitute and Criminal | Classes. | For Private Circulation only. | 1868.

Octavo, pp. 15. The imprint (on the reverse of the title-page and at the foot of the last page) is: "London: Strangeways and Walden, Printers, 28 Castle St., Leicester Sq." Issued stitched and without wrappers.

Ruskin enclosed a copy of the second edition in the letter above given, and the greater portion of the pamphlet appeared in the same issue of the *Daily Telegraph*.

In the following year Ruskin incorporated the later edition of the pamphlet, with still further additions and slight alterations (as indicated in subsequent footnotes), in *The Queen of the Air*, §§ 127–134.

The complete pamphlet was reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 193–204.]

[2] [From this point forward the pamphlet was reprinted in *The Queen of the Air*.]

[3] [The Reform Bill of 1867. The late Parliament had been dissolved on November 11, and the new one had just sat (December 10, 1868).]

powers for good or evil will depend not on their facilities for knowledge, nor even on the general intelligence they may possess, but on the number of persons among them whom wholesome employments have rendered familiar with the duties, and temperate in their estimate of the promises of life.

But especially in passing[1] laws respecting the treatment or employment of improvident and more or less vicious persons it is to be remembered that as men are not to be made heroes by an act of heroism, but must be brave before they can perform it, so they are not made villains by the commission of a crime, but were villains before they committed it; and that the right of public interference with their conduct begins when they begin to corrupt themselves, not merely at the moment when they have proved themselves hopelessly corrupt.

All measures of reformation are effective in exact proportion to their timeliness: partial decay may be cut away and cleansed; incipient error corrected; but there is a point at which corruption can no more be stayed, nor wandering recalled; it has been the manner of modern philanthropy to remain passive until that precise period, and to leave the rich to perish and the foolish to stray, while it exhausted itself in frantic exertions to raise the dead and reform the dust.[2]

The recent direction of a great weight of public opinion against capital punishment is, I think,[3] the sign of an awakening perception that punishment is the last and worst instrument in the hands of the legislature for the prevention of crime.

The true instruments of reformation are employment and reward—not punishment. Aid the willing, honour the virtuous, and compel the idle into occupation, and there will be no need for the compelling of any into the great and last indolence of death. The beginning of all true reformation among the criminal classes depends on the establishment of institutions for their active employment, while their criminality is still unripe, and their feelings of self-respect, capacities of affection, and sense of justice not altogether quenched. That those who are desirous of employment should be always able to find it, will hardly, at the present day, be disputed; but that those who are undesirous of employment should of all persons be the most strictly compelled to it,[4] the public are hardly yet convinced. If the danger[5] of the principal thoroughfares in their capital

[1] [In *Queen of the Air*, "framing" for "passing"; and, two lines lower, "by the performance of an act of heroism."]

[2] [A frequent theme with Ruskin: see, for instance, *A Joy for Ever*, § 184 (Vol. XVI. p. 169 and *n.*).]

[3] [In *Queen of the Air*, "trust" for "think." The subject of capital punishment attracted much attention in 1868 in connexion with the Act passed in that year (31 Vict. c. 24), enacting that executions should take place within the walls of prisons, instead of publicly. On the motion to go into committee on the Bill (April 21), an amendment had been moved in the House of Commons proposing to abolish capital punishment. Ruskin himself, however—though he rejoiced in the direction of men's minds to other methods of prevention than punishment—was by no means opposed to capital punishment: see *Fors Clavigera*, Letters 35, 42, 80.]

[4] [See above, *Unto this Last*, Preface, § 6 (p. 22), and *Munera Pulveris*, § 159 (p. 281).]

[5] ["Danger," in the pamphlet and *Queen of the Air;* misprinted "damage" in *Arrows of the Chace.* For a reference to the danger of the streets, see above,

city, and the multiplication of crimes more ghastly than ever yet disgraced a nominal civilization, do not convince them, they will not have to wait long before they receive sterner lessons. For our neglect of the lower orders has reached a point, at which it begins to bear its necessary fruit, and every day makes the harvest darker and more sure.[1]

The[2] general principles by which employment should be regulated may be briefly stated as follows:

1. There being three great classes of mechanical powers at our disposal, namely, (*a*) vital muscular power; (*b*) natural mechanical power of wind, water, and electricity; and (*c*) artificially produced mechanical power; it is the first principle of economy to use all available vital power first, then the inexpensive natural forces, and only at last to have recourse to artificial power.[3] And this, because it is always better for a man to work with his own hands to feed and clothe himself, than to stand idle while a machine works for him; and if he cannot by all the labour healthily possible to him, feed and clothe himself, then it is better to use an inexpensive machine —as a wind mill or water mill—than a costly one like a steam-engine, so long as we have natural force enough at our disposal. Whereas at present we continually hear economists regret that the water-powers of the cascades or streams of a country should be lost, but hardly ever that the muscular power of its idle inhabitants should be lost; and, again, we see vast districts, as the south of Provence, where a strong wind * blows steady all day long for six days out of seven throughout the year, without a wind-mill, while men are continually employed a hundred miles to the north, in digging fuel to obtain artificial power.

But the principal point of all to be kept in view is that in every idle arm and shoulder throughout the country there is a certain quantity of force, equivalent to the force of so much fuel; and that it is mere insane waste to dig for coal for our force, while the vital force is unused; and not only unused, but, in being so, corrupting and polluting itself. We waste our coal and spoil our humanity at one and the same instant. Therefore, whenever there is an idle arm, always save coal with it, and the stores of England will last all the longer. And precisely the same argument answers the common one about "taking employment out of the hands of the industrious labourer." Why, what is "employment" but the putting out of vital force instead of mechanical force? We are continually in search of means of strength,—to pull, to hammer, to fetch, to carry; we waste our future resources to get power, while we leave all the living fuel

* In order fully to utilize this natural power, we only require[4] machinery to turn the variable into a constant velocity—no insurmountable difficulty.

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p. 233 *n.* Two lines above, the "un" in "undesirous" was italicised; and after "yet convinced," the *Queen of the Air* reads "; and they must be convinced." Then, two lines lower, it reads "are not enough" for "do not convince them."]

[1] [In *Queen of the Air*, ". . . every day makes the fields, not whiter, but more sable, to harvest" (the reference being to John iv. 35).]

[2] [The *Daily Telegraph* reprinted the pamphlet from this point to the end.]

[3] [See above (p. 195).]

[4] [In *Queen of the Air*, "require only." This note was not contained in the first edition of the pamphlet, and was not reprinted by the *Daily Telegraph*.]

to burn itself out in mere pestiferous breath and production of its variously noisome forms of ashes! Clearly, if we want fire for force, we want men for force first. The industrious hands *must* have so much to do that they can do no more, or else we need not use machines to help them: then use the idle hands first. Instead of dragging petroleum with a steam-engine, put it on a canal, and drag it with human arms and shoulders. Petroleum cannot possibly be in a hurry to arrive anywhere. We can always order that, and many other things, time enough before we want it So the carriage of everything which does not spoil by keeping may most wholesomely and safely be done by water-traction and sailing vessels, and no healthier work nor better discipline can men be put to than such active porterage.

2. In employing all the muscular power at our disposal, we are to make the employments we choose as educational as possible. For a wholesome human employment is the first and best method of education, mental as well as bodily. A man taught to plough, row or steer well, and a woman taught to cook properly and make dress neatly, are already educated in many essential moral habits. Labour considered as a discipline has hitherto been thought of only for criminals; but the real and noblest function of labour is to prevent crime, and not to be *Re*formatory but Formatory.

3. The third great principle of employment is, that whenever there is pressure of poverty to be met, all enforced occupation should be directed to the production of useful articles only, that is to say, of food, of simple clothing, of lodging, or of the means of conveying, distributing, and preserving these. It is yet little understood by economists, and not at all by the public, that the employment of persons in a useless business cannot relieve ultimate distress. The money given to employ riband-makers at Coventry is merely so much money withdrawn from what would have employed lace-makers at Honiton, or makers of something else, as useless, elsewhere. We *must* spend our money in some way, at some time, and it cannot at any time be spent without employing somebody. If we gamble it away, the person who wins it must spend it; if we lose it in a railroad speculation, it has gone into some one else's pockets, or merely gone to pay navvies for making a useless embankment, instead of to pay riband or button makers for making useless ribands or buttons; we cannot lose it (unless by actually destroying it) without giving employment of some kind, and therefore, whatever quantity of money exists, the relative quantity of employment must some day come out of it; but the distress of the nation signifies that the employments given have produced nothing that will support its existence. Men cannot live on ribands, or buttons, or velvet, or by going quickly from place to place; and every coin spent in useless ornament, or useless motion, is so much withdrawn from the national means of life. One of the most beautiful uses of railroads is to enable A. to travel from the town of X. to take away the business of B. in the town of Y.; while, in the meanwhile, B. travels from the town of Y. to take away A.'s business in the town of X. But the national wealth is not increased by these operations.[1] Whereas every coin spent in cultivating

[1] [The passage "One of the most . . . operations" was added in *Queen of the Air.*]

ground, in repairing lodgings, in making necessary and good roads, in preventing danger by sea or land, and in carriage of food or fuel where they are required, is so much absolute and direct gain to the whole nation. To cultivate land round Coventry makes living easier at Honiton, and every house well built in Edinburgh makes lodgings cheaper in Glasgow and London.

4th, and lastly. Since for every idle person some one else must be working somewhere to provide him with clothes and food, and doing therefore double the quantity of work that would be enough for his own needs, it is only a matter of pure justice to compel the idle person to work for his maintenance himself. The conscription has been used in many countries to take away labourers who supported their families from their useful work, and maintain them for purposes chiefly of military display at public expense. Since this has[1] been long endured by the most civilized nations, let it not be thought that they would not much more gladly endure a conscription which should seize only the vicious and idle already living by criminal procedures at the public expense, and which should discipline and educate them to labour, which would not only maintain themselves, but be serviceable to the commonwealth. The question is simply this: we *must* feed the drunkard, vagabond, and thief. But shall we do so by letting them rob us of their food, and do no work for it; or shall we give them their food in appointed quantity, and enforce their doing work which shall be worth it, and which, in process of time, will redeem their own characters, and make them happy and serviceable members of society?[2]

The different classes of work for which bodies of men could be consistently organized might ultimately become numerous; these following divisions of occupation may at once be suggested.

1. *Road-making.*—Good roads to be made wherever needed, and kept in constant repair; and the annual loss on unfrequented roads in spoiled horses, strained wheels, and time, done away with.

2. *Bringing in of Waste Land.*—All waste lands not necessary for public health, to be made accessible and gradually reclaimed; chiefly our wide and waste seashores. Not our mountains nor moorland. Our life depends on them, more than on the best arable we have.[3]

3. *Harbour-making.*—The deficiencies of safe or convenient harbourage in our smaller ports to be remedied; other harbours built at dangerous points of coast, and a disciplined body of men always kept in connection with the pilot and lifeboat services. There is room for every order of intelligence in this work, and for a large body of superior officers.

4. *Porterage.*—All heavy goods not requiring speed in transit, to be carried (under preventive duty on transit by railroad) by canal boats, employing men for draught, and the merchant shipping service extended by sea; so that no ships may be wrecked for want of hands, while there are idle ones in mischief on shore.

[1] [Misprinted "had" in *Arrows of the Chace;* six lines lower, "must" was italicised in ed. 2 of the pamphlet and *Queen of the Air.*]

[2] [Here the first edition of the pamphlet ends; the remaining sentences being contained in the second edition. In *Queen of the Air* they followed the preceding passages after an interval. The following italics were used in ed. 2 of the pamphlet and in *Queen of the Air.*]

[3] [The passage "chiefly . . . we have" was added in *Queen of the Air.*]

5. *Repair of Buildings.*—A body of men in various trades to be kept at the disposal of the authorities in every large town for consistent repair of buildings, especially the houses of the poorer orders, who, if no such provision were made, could not employ workmen on their own houses, but would simply live with rent walls and roofs.

6. *Dress-making.*—Substantial dress, of standard material and kind, strong shoes, and stout bedding, to be manufactured for the poor, so as to render it unnecessary for them, unless by extremity of improvidence, to wear cast clothes, or be without sufficiency of clothing.[1]

7. *Works of Art.*—Schools to be established on thoroughly sound principles of manufacture and use of materials, and with simple and, for given periods, unalterable modes of work; first in pottery, and embracing gradually metal work, sculpture, and decorative painting; the two points insisted upon, in distinction from ordinary commercial establishments, being perfectness of material to the utmost attainable degree;[2] and the production of everything by hand-work, for the special purpose of developing personal power and skill in the workman.

The two last departments, and some subordinate branches of the others, would include the service of women and children.

[1] [On this subject compare *Sesame and Lilies*, § 36 *n.*, 130, 137.]
[2] [Compare *A Joy for Ever*, §§ 43 (Vol. XVI. p. 44).]

IX

ROMAN INUNDATIONS

1

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [1]

Sir,—May I ask you to add to your article on the inundation of the Tiber [2] some momentary invitation to your readers to think with Horace rather than to smile with him?

In the briefest and proudest words he wrote of himself he thought of his native land chiefly as divided into the two districts of violent and scanty waters:

> "Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,
> Et qua, pauper aquæ, Daunus agrestium
> Regnavit populorum." [3]

Now the anger and power of that "tauriformis Aufidus" is precisely because "regna Dauni præfluit"—because it flows past the poor kingdoms which it should enrich. Stay it there, and it is treasure instead of ruin. And so also with Tiber and Eridanus. They are so much gold, at their sources,—they are so much death, if they once break down unbridled into the plains.

At the end of your report of the events of the inundation, it is said that the King of Italy expressed "an earnest desire to do something, as far as science and industry could effect it, to prevent or mitigate inundations for the future."

Now science and industry can do, not "something," but everything, and not merely to mitigate inundations—and, deadliest of inundations, because perpetual, maremmas—but to change them into national banks instead of debts.

The first thing the King of any country has to do is to manage the streams of it.

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, January 12, 1871, where the letter appeared under the heading "Roman Inundations." Reprinted in *Fors Clavigera*, 1873, Letter 33 (Notes and Correspondence). Also reprinted (under the heading "A King's First Duty") in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 159–161.]

[2] [On December 27 there was a disastrous inundation of the Tiber, and a great part of Rome was flooded. The *Daily Telegraph* in its leading article of January 10, 1871, on the subject, began by quoting from the "very neatest," "sparkling," "light-hearted" ode of Horace, "Jam satis terris nivis" (Horace, *Odes*, i. 2).]

[3] [The quotations in the letter are from *Odes*, iv. 14, 25, and from the celebrated ode beginning "Exegi monumentum ære perennius" (*Odes*, iii. 30).]

If he can manage the streams, he can also the people; for the people also form alternately torrent and maremma, in pestilential fury or pestilential idleness. They also will change into living streams of men, if their Kings literally "lead them forth beside the waters of comfort."[1] Half the money lost by this inundation of Tiber, spent rightly on the hill-sides last summer, would have changed every wave of it into so much fruit and foliage in spring where now there will be only burning rock. And the men who have been killed within the last two months, and whose work, and the money spent in doing it, have filled Europe with misery which fifty years will not efface,[2] had they been set at the same cost to do good instead of evil, and to save life instead of destroying it, might, by this 10th of January, 1871, have embanked every dangerous stream at the roots of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Po, and left to Germany, to France, and to Italy an inheritance of blessing for centuries to come—they and their families living all the while in brightest happiness and peace. And now! Let the Red Prince look to it; red inundation bears also its fruit in time.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

Jan. 10.

2

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"[3]

SIR,—The letter to which you do me the honour to refer, in your yesterday's article on the Tiber, entered into no detail,[4] because I had already laid the plans spoken of before the Royal Institution in my lecture there last February;[5] in which my principal object was to state the causes of the incalculably destructive inundations of the Rhone, Toccia, and Ticino, in 1868; and to point out that no mountain river ever was or can be successfully embanked in the valleys; but that the rainfall must be arrested on the high and softly rounded hill surfaces, before it reaches any ravine in which its force can be concentrated. Every mountain farm ought to have a dyke about two feet high—with a small ditch within it—carried at intervals in regular, scarcely perceptible incline, across its fields;—with discharge into a reservoir large enough to contain a week's maximum rainfall on the area of that farm in the stormiest weather—the higher uncultivated land being guarded over larger spaces with bolder embankments. No drop

[1] [Psalms xxiii. 2 (Prayer-book version).]

[2] [This letter, it will be noticed, was written during the bombardment of Paris in the Franco-Prussian war. The "Red Prince" (Frederick Charles, so called from the colour of his favourite Hussar uniform) was at the time checking the attempts to relieve Paris from the south.]

[3] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 19, 1871, where the letter appeared under the heading "The Remedy for Inundations." Reprinted (under the heading "A Nation's Defences") in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 162–164.]

[4] [The *Pall Mall Gazette* had quoted part of the preceding letter ("The King of Italy . . . burning rock"), and had spoken of "a remedy which Mr. Ruskin himself appears to contemplate, though he describes it in rather a nebulous manner."]

[5] ["A Talk respecting Verona and its Rivers," February 4, 1870. Printed in *Verona and other Lectures* (1894), and now in Vol. XIX. of this edition.]

of water that had once touched hill ground ought ever to reach the plains till it was wanted there: and the maintenance of the bank and reservoir, once built, on any farm, would not cost more than the keeping up of its cattle-sheds against chance of whirlwind and snow.

The first construction of the work would be costly enough; and, say the Economists, "would not pay." I never heard of any National Defences that did! Presumably, we shall have to pay more income tax next year, without hope of any dividend on the disbursement. Nay—you must usually wait a year or two before you get paid for any great work, even when the gain is secure. The fortifications of Paris did not pay, till very lately; they are doubtless returning cent. per cent. now, since the kind of rain falls heavy within them which they were meant to catch. Our experimental embankments against (perhaps too economically cheap) shot at Shoeburyness, are property which we can only safely "realize" under similarly favourable conditions. But my low embankments would not depend for their utility on the advent of a hypothetical foe, but would have to contend with an instant and inevitable one; yet with one who is only an adversary if unresisted; who, resisted, becomes a faithful friend — a lavish benefactor.

Give me the old bayonets in the Tower, if I can't have anything so good as spades; and a few regiments of "volunteers" with good Engineer officers over them, and, in three years' time, an Inundation of Tiber, at least, shall be Impossible.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
JOHN RUSKIN.

DENMARK HILL, *Jan.* 19, 1871.

3

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph"[1]

SIR,—I did not see your impression of yesterday until too late to reply to the question of your correspondent in Rome;[2] and I am hurried to-day; but will send you to-morrow a precise statement of what I believe can be done in the Italian uplands. The simplest and surest beginning would be the purchase, either by the Government or by a small company formed in Rome, of a few plots of highland in the Apennines, now barren for want of water, and valueless; and the showing what could be made of them by terraced irrigation such as English officers have already introduced in many parts of India. The Agricultural College at Cirencester ought, I think, to be able to send out two or three superintendents, who would direct rightly the first processes of cultivation, choosing for purchase

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, February 4, 1871, where the letter appeared under the heading "Roman Inundations." Reprinted (under the heading "The Waters of Comfort") in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 165–166.]

[2] [The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* had written that Ruskin's letter of January 10 had been translated into Italian and had set people thinking, and he asked Ruskin to write and state the case once more.]

good soil in good exposures, and which would need only irrigation to become fruitful; and by next summer, if not by the end of this, there would be growing food for men and cattle where now there is only hot dust; and I do not think there would be much further question "where the money was to come from." The real question is only, "Will you *pay* your money in advance for what is actually new land added to the kingdom of living Italy?" or "Will you pay it under call from the Tiber every ten or twenty years as the price of the work done by the river for your destruction?"

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. Ruskin.

Oxford, *Feb.* 3.

4

To the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph" [1]

Sir,—In this month, just thirty years ago, I was at Naples, and the days were nearly as dark as these, but with clouds and rain, not fog. The streets leading down from St. Elmo became beds of torrents.[2] A story went about—true or not I do not know, but credible enough—of a child's having been carried off by the gutter and drowned at the bottom of the hill. At last came indeed what, in those simple times, people thought a serious loss of life. A heavy storm burst one night above a village on the flank of the Monte St. Angelo, a mile or two south of Pompeii. The limestones slope steeply there under about three feet of block earth. The water peeled a piece of the rock of its earth, as one would peel an orange, and brought down three or four acres of the good soil in a heap on the village at midnight, driving in the upper walls, and briefly burying some fourteen or fifteen people in their sleep—and, as I say, in those times there was some talk even about fourteen or fifteen. But the same kind of thing takes place, of course, more or less, among the hills in almost every violent storm, generally with the double result of ruining more ground below than is removed from the rocks above; for the frantic streams mostly finish their work with a heap of gravel and blocks of stone like that which came down the ravine below the glacier of Greppond[3] about ten years ago, and destroyed, for at least fifty years to come, some of quite the best land in Chamouni.

In slower, but ceaseless process of ruin, the Po, Arno, and Tiber steadily remove the soil from the hills, and carry it down to their deltas. The Venetians have contended now for a thousand years in vain even with the Brenta and the minor streams that enter their lagoons, and have

[1] [From the *Daily Telegraph*, February 7, 1871, where the letter appeared under the heading "The Streams of Italy." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 167–171.]

[2] [In *February* 1841: see the letter on a landslip near Giagnano, given in Vol. I. pp. 211–212.]

[3] [This is the glacier at the foot of the Aiguille Blaitière: see Vol. V. p. xxix.]

only kept their canals clear by turning the river south to Malamocco with embankments which have unhealthily checked the drainage of all the flat country about Padua.

And this constant mischief takes place, be it observed, irrespective of inundation. All that Florence, Pisa, and Rome have suffered and suffer periodically from floods is so much mischief added to that of increasing maremmas, spoiled harbourages, and lost mountain-ground.

There is yet one further evil. The snow on the bared rock slips lower and melts faster; snows which in mossy or grass ground would have lain long, and furnished steadily flowing streams far on into summer, fall or melt from the bare rock in avalanche and flood, and spend in desolation in a few days what would have been nourishment for half the year. And against all this there are no remedies possible in any sudden or external action. It is the law of the Heaven which sends flood and food, that national prosperity can only be achieved by national forethought and unity of purpose.

In the year 1858 I was staying the greater part of the summer at Bellinzona, during a drought as harmful as the storms of ten years later. The Ticino sank into a green rivulet; and not having seen the right way to deal with the matter, I had many a talk with the parroco of a little church whose tower I was drawing, as to the possibility of setting his peasants to work to repair the embankment while the river was low. But the good old priest said, sorrowfully, the peasants were too jealous of each other, that no one would build anything or protect his own ground for fear his work might also benefit his neighbours.[1]

But the people of Bellinzona are Swiss, not Italians. I believe the Roman and Sienese races, in different ways, possess qualities of strength and gentleness far more precious than the sunshine and rain upon their mountains, and, hitherto, as cruelly lost. It is in them that all the real power of Italy still lives; it is only by them, and by what care, and providence, and accordant good will ever be found in them, that the work is to be done, not by money; though, if money were all that is needed, do we in England owe so little to Italy of delight that we cannot so much as lend her spades and pickaxes at her need? Would she trust us? Would her government let us send over some engineer officers and a few sappers and miners, and bear, for a time, with an English instead of a French "occupation" of her barrenest hills?[2]

But she does not need us. Good engineers she has, and has had many since Leonardo designed the canals of Lombardy. Agriculturists she has had, I think, among her gentlemen a little before there were gentlemen farmers in England; something she has told us of agriculture, also, pleasantly by the reeds of Mincio and among the apple blossoms wet with Anio. Her streams have learned obedience before now: Fonte Branda and the Fountain of Joy flow at Siena still;[3] the rivulets that make

[1] [See above, p. 97 *n.*]

[2] [The reference is to the French occupation of Rome, which had come to an end, owing to the war with Prussia, in August 1870.]

[3] [For Fonte Branda at Siena, see *Præterita*, iii. § 86 (where the reference is to *Inferno*, xxx. 78); and for Fonte Gaia (so called from the joy caused by the arrival of water in the interior of the city in 1343), see *The Fountain of Siena: an Episode*

green the slopes of Casentino may yet satisfy true men's thirst. "Where is the money to come from?" Let Italy keep her souls pure, and she will not need to alloy her florins. The only question for her is whether still the mossy rock and the "rivus aquæ" are "in votis"[1] or rather the racecourse and the boulevard—the curses of England and of France.

At all events, if any one of the Princes of Rome will lead, help enough will follow to set the work on foot, and show the peasants, in some narrow district, what can be done. Take any arid piece of Apennine towards the sources of the Tiber; let the drainage be carried along the hill-sides away from the existing water-courses; let cisterns, as of old in Palestine, and larger reservoirs, such as we now can build, be established at every point convenient for arrest of the streams; let channels of regulated flow be established from these over the tracts that are driest in summer; let ramparts be carried, not along the river banks, but round the heads of the ravines, throwing the water aside into lateral canals; then terrace and support the looser soil on all the steeper slopes; and the entire mountain side may be made one garden of orange and vine and olive beneath; and a wide blossoming orchard above; and a green highest pasture for cattle, and flowers for bees—up to the edge of the snows of spring.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

JOHN RUSKIN.

OXFORD, *Feb.* 3.

in the Life of John Ruskin, by A. A. Isaacs, 1900 (the letters by Ruskin there included are reprinted in a later volume of this edition). In the preceding sentence Ruskin refers to Virgil (*Georgics*, iii. 13–15):—

"Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius et tenera prætexit arundine ripas"—

and Horace (*Odes*, i. 7, 13):—

"Et præceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis."

"Anio" (the river of Tivoli) has hitherto been misprinted "Arno." In the following sentence the reference is to *Inferno*, xxx. 62–65, thus translated by Cary:—

"When living, full supply
Ne'er lack'd me of what most I coveted;
One drop of water now, alas! I crave.
The rills, that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Casentino . . ."]

[1] [Here, again, there has hitherto been a misprint—namely, "rotis" for "votis." Ruskin clearly referred (saying, however, *rivus* instead of *fons*) to Horace, *Satires*, ii. 6, 1, 2:—

"Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons."]

X

LETTERS ON "HOW THE RICH SPEND THEIR MONEY"

(1873)

1

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" [1]

Sir,—Here, among the hills, I read little, and withstand, sometimes for a fortnight together, even the attractions of my *Pall Mall Gazette*. A friend, however, sent me, two days ago, your article signed W. R. G., on spending of money (January 13),[2] which, as I happened to have over-eaten myself the day before, and taken perhaps a glass too much besides of quite priceless port (Quarles Harris, twenty years in bottle), would have been a great comfort to my mind, showing me that if I had done some harm to myself, I had at least conferred benefit upon the poor by these excesses, had I not been left in some painful doubt, even at the end of W. R. G.'s most intelligent illustrations, whether I ought not to have exerted myself further in the cause of humanity, and by the use of some cathartic process, such as appears to have been without inconvenience practised by the ancients, enabled myself to eat two dinners instead of one. But I write to you to-day, because if I were a poor man, instead of a (moderately) rich one, I am nearly certain that W. R. G.'s paper would suggest to me a question, which I am sure he will kindly answer in your

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 24, 1873, where the letter appeared under the heading "How the Rich Spend their Money." Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 98, 99.]

[2] [The article, or rather letter, dealt with a paper on "The Labour Movement" by Mr. Goldwin Smith in the *Contemporary Review* of December 1872, and especially with the following sentences in it: "When did wealth rear such enchanted palaces of luxury as it is rearing in England at the present day? Well do I remember one of those palaces, the most conspicuous object for miles round. Its lord was, I dare say, consuming the income of some hundreds of the poor labouring families around him. The thought that you are spending on yourself annually the income of six hundred labouring families seems to me as much as a man with a heart and a brain can bear." W. R. G.'s letter argued that this "heartless expenditure all goes into the pockets" of the poor families, who are thus benefited by the selfish luxuries of the lord in his palace. For another reference to Mr. Goldwin Smith, see *Time and Tide*, Appendix viii. (above, p. 478). "W. R. G." was W. R. Greg (see below, p. 559: for an allusion to his *Creed of Christendom*, see Vol. XVI. p. 169).]

columns, namely, "These means of living, which this generous and useful gentleman is so fortunately disposed to bestow on me—where does he get them himself?"

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. RUSKIN.

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON, *Jan.* 23.

2

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" [1]

SIR,—I am disappointed of my *Gazette* to-day, and shall be grievously busy to-morrow. I think it better, therefore, to follow up my own letter, if you will permit me, with a simple and brief statement of the facts, than to wait till I see your correspondent W. R. G.'s reply, if he has vouchsafed me one.[2]

These are the facts. The laborious poor produce "the means of life" by their labour. Rich persons possess themselves by various expedients of a right to dispense these "means of life," and keeping as much means as they want of it for themselves, and rather more, dispense the rest, usually only in return for more labour from the poor, expended in producing various delights for the rich dispenser. The idea is now gradually entering poor men's minds, that they may as well keep in their own hands the right of distributing "the means of life" they produce; and employ themselves, so far as they need extra occupation, for their own entertainment or benefit, rather than that of other people. There is something to be said, nevertheless, in favour of the present arrangement, but it cannot be defended in disguise; and it is impossible to do more harm to the cause of order, or the rights of property, than by endeavours, such as that of your correspondent, to revive the absurd and, among all vigorous thinkers, long since exploded notion of the dependence of the poor upon the rich.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. RUSKIN.

January 28.

3

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" [3]

SIR,—I have my *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 28th to-day, and must at once, with your permission, solemnly deny the insidiosity of my question, "Where does the rich man get his means of living?" I don't myself see how a more straightforward question could be put! So straightforward indeed that I particularly dislike making a martyr of myself in answering it, as I must this blessed day—a martyr, at least, in the way of witness;

[1] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 29, 1873, where the letter appeared under the same heading. Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 100, 101.]

[2] [W. R. G. had replied in a letter published on January 28 to "Mr. Ruskin's insidious question," which he characterised as lacking "relevancy to the point at issue."]

[3] [From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 31, 1873, where the letter appeared under the same heading. Reprinted in *Arrows of the Chace*, 1880, vol. ii. pp. 102–104.]

for if we rich people don't begin to speak honestly with our tongues, we shall, some day soon, lose them and our heads together, having for some time back, most of us, made false use of the one and none of the other. Well, for the point in question then, as to means of living: the most exemplary manner of answer is simply to state how I got my own, or rather how my father got them for me. He and his partners entered into what your correspondent mellifluously styles "a mutually beneficent partnership,"[1] with certain labourers in Spain. These labourers produced from the earth annually a certain number of bottles of wine. These productions were sold by my father and his partners, who kept nine-tenths, or thereabouts, of the price themselves, and gave one-tenth, or thereabouts, to the labourers.[2] In which state of mutual beneficence my father and his partners naturally became rich, and the labourers as naturally remained poor. Then my good father gave all his money to me (who never did a stroke of work in my life worth my salt, not to mention my dinner), and so far from finding his money "grow" in my hands, I never try to buy anything with it, but people tell me "money isn't what it was in your father's time, everything is so much dearer."[3] I should be heartily glad to learn from your correspondent as much pecuniary botany as will enable me to set my money a-growing; and in the meantime, as I have thus given a quite indubitable instance of my notions of the way money is made, will he be so kind as to give us, not an heraldic example in the dark ages (though I suspect I know more of the pedigree of money, if it comes to that, than he does),[4] but a living example of a rich gentleman who *has* made his money by saving an *equal* portion of profit in some mutually beneficent partnership with his labourers?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. Ruskin.

Brantwood, Coniston,
King Charles the Martyr, 1873.

P.S.—I see by Christie and Manson's advertisement that some of the best bits of work of a good labourer I once knew, J. M. W. Turner (the original plates, namely, of the "Liber Studiorum"), are just going to be destroyed by some of his affectionate relations. May I beg your correspondent to explain, for your readers' benefit, this charming case of hereditary accumulation?[5]

[1] [W. R. G. had declared that the rich man (or his ancestors) got the money "by co-operation with the poor . . . by, in fact, entering into a mutually beneficent partnership with them, and advancing them their share of the joint profits . . . paying them beforehand, in a word."]

[2] [See above, p. 514.]

[3] [See Ruskin's account of his fortune in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 76 (Notes and Correspondence).]

[4] [W. R. G. had written: "In nine cases out of ten, in the case of acquired wealth, we should probably find, were the pedigree traced fairly and far back enough, that the original difference between the now rich man and the now poor man was, that the latter habitually spent all his earnings, and the former habitually saved a portion of his in order that it might accumulate and fructify."]

[5] [There was, however, justification for the action of the next-of-kin in destroying the plates. They were quite worn out, and their destruction prevented their being bought by some unscrupulous dealer and used to the detriment of Turner's reputation.]

XI

HOME, AND ITS ECONOMIES[1]

(1873)

1. In the March number of the *Contemporary Review* appeared two papers,[2] by writers of reputation, which I cannot but hope their authors will perceive upon reflection to have involved errors only the more grave in that they have become, of late, in the minds of nearly all public men, facile and familiar. I have, therefore, requested the editor's permission to offer some reply to both of these essays, their subjects being intimately connected.

The first of which I speak was Mr. Herbert Spencer's, which appeared under the title of "The Bias of Patriotism." But the real subject of the paper (discussed in its special extent, with singular care and equity) was only the bias of National vanity; and the debate was opened by this very curious sentence,—"Patriotism is nationally, that which Egoism is individually."[3]

Mr. Spencer would not, I think, himself accept this statement, if put into the clear form, "What is Egoism in one man, is Patriotism in two or more, and the vice of an individual, the virtue of a multitude." * But it is strange,—however strictly Mr. Spencer may of late have confined his attention to metaphysical or scientific subjects, disregarding the language of historical or imaginative literature—it is strange, I repeat, that so careful

* I take due note that Mr. Spencer partly means by his adverbial sentence that Patriotism is individual Egoism, expecting its own central benefit through the Nation's circumferent benefit, as through a funnel: but, throughout, Mr. Spencer confuses this sentiment, which he calls "reflex egoism," with the action of "corporate conscience."

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[1] [This paper first appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, May 1873, vol. 21, pp. 927–937. It was reprinted in *On the Old Road*, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 179–201 (§§ 131–147), and again in the second edition of that work, 1899, vol. iii. pp. 183–205 (§§ 131–147). The paragraphs are here re-numbered.]

[2] [These were, first, Herbert Spencer's "Bias of Patriotism," being the ninth chapter of his "Study of Sociology," first published in the *Contemporary Review*; and, secondly, Mr. W. R. Greg's "What is culpable luxury?" See below, § 6.]

[3] [For another criticism of this saying, see *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, Preface to Xenophon's *Economist*, § 19; see also Vol. XII. p. 42 and *n.*, and Vol. XVI. p. 71. It will be seen that in the latter passage Ruskin admits that patriotism (as popularly misunderstood) often comes very near to Spencer's definition.]

a student should be unaware that the term "patriotism" cannot, in classical usage, be extended, to the action of a multitude. No writer of authority ever speaks of a nation as having felt, or acted, patriotically. Patriotism is, by definition, a virtue of individuals; and so far from being in those individuals a mode of egoism, it is precisely in the sacrifice of their egoism that it consists. It is the temper of mind which determines them to defer their own interests to those of their country.

2. Supposing it possible for any parallel sentiment to animate a nation as one body, it could have reference only to the position it held among other families of the world. The name of the emotion would then be properly "Cosmism," and would signify the resolution of such a people to sacrifice its own special interests to those of Mankind. Cosmism hitherto has indeed generally asserted itself only in the desire of the Cosmic nation that all others should adopt its theological opinions, and permit it to adopt their personal property; but Patriotism has truly existed, and even as a dominant feeling, in the minds of many persons who have been greatly influential on the fates of their races, and that one of our leading philosophers should be unconscious of the nature of this sentiment, and ignorant of its political power, is to be noted as painfully characteristic of the present state of England itself.

3. It does not indeed follow that a feeling of which we are unaware is necessarily extinguished in us; and the faculties of perception and analysis are always so paralyzed by the lingual ingenuities of logic that it is impossible to say, of any professed logician, whether he may not yet be acting under the real force of ideas of which he has lost both the consciousness and conception. No man who has once entangled himself in what Mr. Spencer defines, farther on, as the "science of the relations implied by the conclusions, exclusions, and overlappings of classes," can be expected during the rest of his life to perceive more of any one thing than that it is included, excluded, or overlapped by something else; which is in itself a sufficiently confused state of mind, and especially harmful in that it permits us to avoid considering whether our intellectual linen is itself clean, while we concern ourselves only to ascertain whether it is included, excluded, or overlapped by our coat collar. But it is a grave phenomenon of the time that patriotism—of all others—should be the sentiment which an English logician is not only unable to define, but attempts to define as its precise contrary. In every epoch of decline, men even of high intellectual energy have been swept down in the diluvium of public life, and the crystalline edges of their minds worn away by friction with blunted ones; but I had not believed that the whole weight of the depraved mob of modern England, though they have become incapable alike of fidelity to their own country, and alliance with any other, could so far have perplexed one of our exactest students as to make him confuse heroism with conceit, and the loves of country and of home with the iniquities of selfishness. Can it be only a quarter of a century since the Last Minstrel died—and have we already answered his "Lives there a man?" with the calm assertion that there live no other than such; and that the "wretch concentered all in self"[1] is the "Patriot" of our generation.

[1] [*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto vi. stanza 1: "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead," etc.]

4. Be it so. Let it even be admitted that egoism is the only power conceivable by a modern metaphysician to be the spring of mental energy; just as chemical excitement may be the only power traceable by the modern physician as the source of muscular energy. And still Mr. Spencer's subsequent analysis is inaccurate, and unscholarly. For egoism does not necessarily imply either misapprehension or mismeasurement. There are modes of the love of our country which are definitely selfish, as a cat's of the hearthrug, yet entirely balanced and calm in judicial faculty; passions which determine conduct, but have no influence on opinion. For instance, I have bought for my own exclusive gratification, the cottage in which I am writing, near the lake-beach on which I used to play when I was seven years old. Were I a public-spirited scientific person, or a benevolently pious one, I should doubtless, instead, be surveying the geographical relations of the Mountains of the Moon, or translating the Athanasian Creed into Tartar-Chinese. But I hate the very name of the public, and labour under no oppressive anxiety either for the advancement of science, or the salvation of mankind. I therefore prefer amusing myself with the lake-pebbles, of which I know nothing but that they are pretty; and conversing with people whom I can understand without pains, and who, so far from needing to be converted, seem to me on the whole better than myself. This is moral egoism, but it is not intellectual error. I never form, much less express, any opinion as to the relative beauties of Yewdale crag and the Mountains of the Moon; nor do I please myself by contemplating, in any exaggerated light, the spiritual advantages which I possess in my familiarity with the Thirty-nine Articles. I know the height of my neighbouring mountains to a foot; and the extent of my real possessions, theological and material, to an article. Patriotic egoism attaches me to the one; personal egoism satisfies me in the other; and the calm selfishness with which Nature has blest all her unphilosophical creatures, blinds me to the attractions—as to the faults—of things with which I have no concern, and saves me at once from the folly of contempt, and the discomfort of envy. I might have written, as accurately, "the discomfort of contempt"; for indeed the forms of petulant rivalry and self-assertion which Mr. Spencer assumes to be developments of egoism, are merely its diseases; (taking the word "disease" in its most literal meaning). A man of sense is more an egoist in modesty than a blockhead is in boasting; and it is neither pride nor self-respect, but only ignorance and ill-breeding, that either disguise the facts of life, or violate its courtesies.

5. It will not, I trust, be thought violation of courtesy to a writer of Mr. Spencer's extending influence, if I urge on his attention the danger under which metaphysicians are always placed of supposing that the investigation of the processes of thought will enable them to distinguish its forms. As well might the chemist, who had exhaustively examined the conditions of vitreous fusion, imagine himself therefore qualified to number or class the vases bent by the breath of Venice. Mr. Spencer has determined, I believe, to the satisfaction of his readers, in what manner thoughts and feelings are constructed; it is time for him now to observe the results of the construction, whether native to his own mind, or discoverable in other intellectual territories. Patriotism is, however, perhaps the last emotion he can now conveniently study in England, for

the temper which crowns the joy of life with the sweetness and decorum of death can scarcely be manifested clearly in a country which is fast rendering herself one whose peace is pollution, and whose battle, crime; within whose confines it is loathsome to live, and in whose cause it is disgraceful to die.

6. The chief causes of her degradation were defended, with delicate apology, in the second paper to which I have above referred; the modification by Mr. W. R. Greg of a letter which he had addressed, on the subject of luxurious expenditure and its economical results, to the *Pall Mall Gazette;* and which Mr. Greg states to have given rise in that journal to a controversy in which four or five combatants took part, the looseness of whose notions induced him to express his own more coherent ones in the *Contemporary Review.*[1]

I am sorry to find that Mr. Greg looked upon my own poor part in that correspondence as controversial. I merely asked him a question which he declared to be insidious and irrelevant (not considering that if it were the one, it could not be the other), and I stated a few facts respecting which no controversy was possible, and which Mr. Greg, in his own terms, "sedulously abstained" from noticing.

But Mr. Greg felt my question to be insidious because it made him partly conscious that he had only examined one half of the subject he was discussing, and even that half without precision.

Mr. Goldwin Smith had spoken of a rich man as consuming the means of living of the poor. Mr. Greg, in reply, pointed out how beneficially the rich man spent what he had got. Upon which I ventured to inquire "how he got it"; which is indeed precisely the first of all questions to be asked when the economical relations of any man with his neighbour are to be examined.

7. Dick Turpin is blamed—suppose—by some plain-minded person for consuming the means of other people's living. "Nay," says Dick to the plain-minded person, "observe how beneficently and pleasantly I spend whatever I get!"

"Yes, Dick," persists the plain-minded person; "but how do you get it?"

"The question," says Dick, "is insidious and irrelevant."

Do not let it be supposed that I mean to assert any irregularity or impropriety in Dick's profession—I merely assert the necessity for Mr. Greg's examination, if he would be master of his subject, of the manner of Gain in every case, as well as the manner of Expenditure. Such accounts must always be accurately rendered in a well-regulated society.

"Le lieutenant adressa la parole au capitaine, et lui dit qu'il venoit d'enlever ces mannequins, remplis de sucre, de cannelle, d'amandes, et de raisins secs, à un épicier de Bénavente. . . . Après qu'il eut rendu compte de son expédition au bureau, les dépouilles de l'épicier furent portées dans l'office. Alors il ne fut plus question que de se réjouir. . . . Je débutai par le buffet, que je parai . . . de plusieurs bouteilles de ce bon vin que le Seigneur Rolando m'avoit vanté."[2]

[1] [See the letters on "How the Rich Spend their Money" (reprinted from the *Pall Mall*), above, pp. 553–555, where the origin of the discussion is explained.]

[2] [Le Sage, *Gil Blas*, book i. ch. v. Dots are here inserted where Ruskin omitted passages.]

8. Mr. Greg strictly confines himself to an examination of the benefits conferred on the public by this so agreeable festivity; but he must not be surprised or indignant that some inquiry should be made as to the resulting condition of the épicier de Bénavente.

And it is all the more necessary that such inquiry be instituted when the captain of the expedition is a minion, not of the moon, but of the sun; and dazzling, therefore, to all beholders. "It is heaven which dictates what I ought to do upon this occasion," * says Henry of Navarre; "my retreat out of this city,[1] before I have made myself master of it, will be the retreat of my soul out of my body." "Accordingly all the quarter which still held out, we forced," says M. de Rosny, "after which the inhabitants, finding themselves no longer able to resist, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a small iron chest in my way, in which I found about four thousand gold crowns."

I cannot doubt that the Baron's expenditure of this sum would be in the highest degree advantageous to France and to the Protestant religion. But complete economical science must study the effect of its abstraction on the immediate prosperity of the town of Cahors; and even beyond this —the mode of its former acquisition by the town itself, which perhaps, in the economies of the nether world, may have delegated some of its citizens to the seventh circle.[2]

9. And the most curious points in the partiality of modern economical science are that while it always waives this question of ways and means with respect to rich persons, it studiously pushes it in the case of poor ones; and while it asserts the consumption of such an article of luxury as wine (to take that which Mr. Greg himself instances) to be economically expedient, when the wine is drunk by persons who are not thirsty, it asserts the same consumption to be altogether inexpedient, when the privilege is extended to those who are. Thus Mr. Greg dismisses, in one place, with compassionate disdain, the extremely vulgar notion "that a man who drinks a bottle of champagne worth five shillings, while his neighbour is in want of actual food, is in some way wronging his neighbour"; and yet Mr. Greg himself, elsewhere,[3] evidently remains under the equally vulgar impression that the twenty-four millions of much thirstier persons who spend fifteen per cent. of their incomes in drink and tobacco, are wronging their neighbours by that expenditure.

10. It cannot, surely, be the difference in degree of refinement between malt liquor and champagne which causes Mr. Greg's undefined sensation of

* I use the current English of Mrs. Lennox's translation, but Henry's real saying was (see the first—green leaf—edition of Sully[4]), "It is written above what is to happen to me on every occasion." "Toute occasion" becomes "cette occasion" in the subsequent editions, and finally "what is to happen to me" (ce que doit être fait de moi) becomes "what I ought to do" in the English.

[1] [Cahors. See the *Memoirs of the Duke of Sully*, book 1. (Bohn's 1856 edition, vol. i. pp. 118–119).]

[2] [Where violence and brutality are punished. See Dante's *Inferno*, canto xii. (quoted above, p. 220).]

[3] [See the *Contemporary Review* at pp. 618 and 624.]

[4] [The first edition of this work (surreptitiously printed at the Château de Sully in 1638) is known as the edition "des Trois V verts," having a device of three V's in green on the title-page beneath a scroll of green leaves.]

moral delinquency and economical error in the one case, and of none in the other; if that be all, I can relieve him from his embarrassment by putting the cases in more parallel form. A clergyman writes to me, in distress of mind, because the able-bodied labourers who come begging to him in winter, drink port wine out of buckets in summer. Of course Mr. Greg's logical mind will at once admit (as a consequence of his own very just *argumentum ad hominem* in a previous page[1]) that the consumption of port wine out of buckets must be as much a benefit to society in general as the consumption of champagne out of bottles; and yet, curiously enough, I am certain he will feel my question, "Where does the drinker get the means for his drinking?" more relevant in the case of the imbibers of port than in that of the imbibers of champagne. And although Mr. Greg proceeds, with that lofty contempt for the dictates of nature and Christianity which radical economists cannot but feel, to observe that "while the natural man and the Christian would have the champagne drinker forego his bottle, and give the value of it to the famishing wretch beside him, the radical economist would condemn such behaviour as distinctly criminal and pernicious," he would scarcely, I think, carry out with the same triumphant confidence the conclusions of the unnatural man and the anti-Christian, with respect to the labourer as well as the idler; and declare that while the extremely simple persons who still believe in the laws of nature, and the mercy of God, would have the port-drinker forego his bucket, and give the value of it to the famishing wife and child beside him, "the radical economist would condemn such behaviour as distinctly criminal and pernicious."

11. Mr. Greg has it indeed in his power to reply that it is proper to economise for the sake of one's own wife and children, but not for the sake of anybody else's. But since, according to another exponent of the principles of Radical Economy, in the *Cornhill Magazine*,[2] a well-conducted agricultural labourer must not marry till he is forty-five, his economies, if any, in early life, must be as offensive to Mr. Greg on the score of their abstract humanity, as those of the richest bachelor about town.

12. There is another short sentence in this same page, of which it is difficult to overrate the accidental significance.

"The superficial observer," says Mr. Greg, "recollects a text which he heard in his youth, but of which he never considered the precise applicability—'He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none.'"[3]

The assumptions that no educated Englishman can ever have heard that text except in his youth, and that those who are old enough to remember having heard it, "never considered its precise applicability," are surely rash, in the treatment of a scientific subject. I can assure Mr. Greg that a few grey-headed votaries of the creed of Christendom still read—though perhaps under their breath—the words which early associations have made precious to them; and that in the by-gone days, when that Sermon on

[1] [Viz., That if the expenditure of an income of £30,000 a year upon luxuries is to rob the poor, so *pro tanto* is the expenditure of so much of an income of £300 as is spent on anything beyond "the simplest necessaries of life."]

[2] [Referring to two anonymous articles on "The Agricultural Labourer," in the *Cornhill Magazine*, January and June 1873, vol. 27, pp. 215 and 307.]

[3] [Luke iii. 11.]

the Mount was still listened to with respect by many not illiterate persons, its meaning was not only considered, but very deliberately acted upon.

13. Even the readers of the *Contemporary Review* may perhaps have some pleasure in retreating from the sunshine of contemporary science, for a few quiet moments, into the shadows of that of the past, and hearing in the following extracts from two letters of Scott's (the first describing the manner of life of his mother, whose death it announces to a friend, the second, anticipating the verdict of the future on the management of his estate by a Scottish nobleman) what relations between rich and poor were possible, when philosophers had not yet even lisped in the sweet numbers of Radical Sociology.

"She was a strict economist, which she said enabled her to be liberal; out of her little income of about £300 a year she bestowed at least a third in well-chosen charities, and with the rest, lived like a gentlewoman, and even with hospitality more general than seemed to suit her age; yet I could never prevail on her to accept of any assistance. You cannot conceive how affecting it was to me to see the little preparations of presents which she had assorted for the New Year, for she was a great observer of the old fashions of her period—and to think that the kind heart was cold which delighted in all these arts of kindly affection." [1]

"The Duke is one of those retired and high-spirited men who will never be known until the world asks what became of the huge oak that grew on the brow of the hill, and sheltered such an extent of ground. During the late distress, though his own immense rents remained in arrears, and though I know he was pinched for money, as all men were, but more especially the possessors of entailed estates, he absented himself from London in order to pay, with ease to himself, the labourers employed on his various estates. These amounted (for I have often seen the roll and helped to check it) to nine hundred and fifty men, working at day wages, each of whom on a moderate average might maintain three persons, since the single men have mothers, sisters, and aged or very young relations to protect and assist. Indeed it is wonderful how much even a small sum, comparatively, will do in supporting the Scottish labourer, who in his natural state is perhaps one of the best, most intelligent, and kind-hearted of human beings; and in truth I have limited my other habits of expense very much since I fell into the habit of employing mine honest people. I wish you could have seen about a hundred children, being almost entirely supported by their fathers' or brothers' labour, come down yesterday to dance to the pipes, and get a piece of cake and bannock, and pence a-piece (no very deadly largess) in honour of Hogmanay. I declare to you, my dear friend, that when I thought the poor fellows, who kept these children so neat, and well taught, and well behaved, were slaving the whole day for eighteen pence or twenty pence at most, I was ashamed of their gratitude, and of their becks and bows. But after all, one does what one can, and it is better twenty families should be

[1] [From Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ch. xlvi. (vol. vi. p. 173, ed. of 1839). Mrs. Scott died 24th December 1819.]

comfortable according to their wishes and habits, than that half that number should be raised above their situation." [1]

14. I must pray Mr. Greg farther to observe, if he has condescended to glance at these remains of almost pre-historic thought, that although the modern philosopher will never have reason to blush for any man's gratitude, and has totally abandoned the romantic idea of making even so much as one family comfortable according to their wishes and habits, the alternative suggested by Scott, that half "the number should be raised above their situation" may become a very inconvenient one if the doctrines of Modern Equality and competition should render the other half desirous of parallel promotion.

15. It is now just sixteen years since Mr. Greg's present philosophy of Expenditure was expressed with great precision by the Common Councilmen of New York, in their report on the commercial crisis of 1857, in the following terms:*—

"Another erroneous idea is that luxurious living, extravagant dressing, splendid turn-outs and fine houses, are the cause of distress to a nation. No more erroneous impression could exist. Every extravagance that the man of 100,000 or 1,000,000 dollars indulges in, adds to the means, the support, the wealth of ten or a hundred who had little or nothing else but their labour, their intellect, or their taste. If a man of 1,000,000 dollars spends principal and interest in ten years, and finds himself beggared at the end of that time, he has actually made a hundred who have catered to his extravagance, employers or employed, so much richer by the division of his wealth. He may be ruined, but the nation is better off and richer, for one hundred minds and hands, with 10,000 dollars apiece, are far more productive than one with the whole." [2]

Now that is precisely the view also taken of the matter by a large number of Radical Economists in England as well as America; only they feel that the time, however short, which the rich gentleman takes to divide his property among them in his own way, is practically wasted; and even worse, because the methods which the gentleman himself is likely to adopt for the depression of his fortune will not, in all probability, be conducive to the elevation of his character. It appears, therefore, on moral as well as economical grounds, desirable that the division and distribution should at once be summarily effected; and the only point still open to discussion in the views of the Common Councilmen is to what degree of minuteness they would think it advisable to carry the subsequent subdivision.

16. I do not suppose, however, that this is the conclusion which Mr. Greg

* See the *Times* of November 23rd of that year.

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[1] [From the same, ch. xliii. (vol. vi. p. 17). The Duke is Charles, fourth Duke of Buccleuch (1772–1819). "Hogmanay" is the name given in Scotland to the last day of the year; also called "Cake-day."]

[2] [Quoted also in *A Joy for Ever*, § 138 *n.* (Vol. XVI. p. 123).]

is desirous that the general anti-Christian public should adopt; and in that case, as I see by his paper in the last number of the *Contemporary*,[1] that he considers the Christian life itself virtually impossible, may I recommend his examination of the manners of the pre-Christian? For I can certify him that this important subject, of which he has only himself imperfectly investigated one side, had been thoroughly investigated on all sides, at least seven hundred years before Christ; and from that day to this, all men of wit, sense, and feeling have held precisely the same views on the subjects of economy and charity, in all nations under the sun. It is of no consequence whether Mr. Greg chooses the experience of Bœotia, Lombardy, or Yorkshire, nor whether he studies the relation of work to-day or under Hesiod, Virgil, or Sydney Smith.[2] But it is desirable that at least he should acquaint himself with the opinions of some such persons, as well as with those of the Common Councilmen of New York; for though a man of superior sagacity may be pardoned for thinking, with the friends of Job, that Wisdom will die with him,[3] it can only be through neglect of the existing opportunities of general culture that he remains distinctly under the impression that she was born with him.

17. It may perhaps be well that, in conclusion, I should state briefly the causes and terms of the economical crisis of our own day, which has been the subject of the debate between Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Greg.

No man ever became, or can become, largely rich merely by labour and economy.[4] All large fortunes (putting treasure-trove and gambling out of consideration) are founded either on occupation of land, usury, or taxation of labour. Whether openly or occultly, the landlord, money-lender, and capitalist employer, gather into their possession a certain quantity of the means of existence which other people produce by the labour of their hands. The effect of this impost upon the condition of life of the tenant, borrower, and workman, is the first point to be studied;—the results, that is to say, of the mode in which Captain Roland fills his purse.[5]

18. Secondly, we have to study the effects of the mode in which Captain Roland empties his purse. The landlord, usurer, or labour-master, does not, and cannot, himself consume all the means of life he collects. He gives them to other persons, whom he employs for his own behoof—growers of champagne, jockeys, footmen, jewellers, builders, painters, musicians, and the like. The division of the labour of these persons from the production of food to the production of articles of luxury is very frequently, and at the present day, very grievously the cause of famine. But when the luxuries are produced, it becomes a quite separate question who is to have them, and whether the landlord and capitalist are entirely to monopolize the music, the painting, the architecture, the hand-service, the horse-service, and the sparkling champagne of the world.

[1] ["Is a Christian life feasible in these days?"]

[2] [See Vol. VII. p. 357 *n.*; and compare p. 520, above.]

[3] [Job xii. 2.]

[4] [See *Munera Pulveris*, § 139 (above, p. 264): "No man can become largely rich by his personal will. . . . It is only by the discovery of some method of taxing the labour of others that he can become opulent." See also *Time and Tide*, § 81 (above, p. 388).]

[5] [See above, p. 559.]

19. And it is gradually, in these days, becoming manifest to the tenants, borrowers, and labourers, that instead of paying these large sums into the hands of the landlords, lenders, and employers, for them to purchase music, painting, etc., with, the tenants, borrowers, and workers had better buy a little music and painting for themselves. That, for instance, instead of the capitalist-employer paying three hundred pounds for a full-length portrait of himself, in the attitude of investing his capital, the united workmen had better themselves pay the three hundred pounds into the hands of the ingenious artist, for a painting in the antiquated manner of Leonardo or Raphael, of some subject more religiously or historically interesting to them; and placed where they can always see it. And again instead of paying three hundred pounds to the obliging landlord, for him to buy a box at the opera with, whence to study the refinements of music and dancing, the tenants are beginning to think that they may as well keep their rents to themselves, and therewith pay some Wandering Willie[1] to fiddle at their own doors, or bid some gray-haired minstrel

> "Tune, to please a peasant's ear,
> The harp a king had loved to hear."[2]

And similarly the dwellers in the hut of the field and garret of the city are beginning to think that instead of paying half-a-crown for the loan of half a fire-place, they had better keep their half-crown in their pockets till they can buy for themselves a whole one.

20. These are the views which are gaining ground among the poor; and it is entirely vain to endeavour to repress them by equivocations. They are founded on eternal laws; and although their recognition will long be refused, and their promulgation, resisted as it will be, partly by force, partly by falsehood, can only be through incalculable confusion and misery, recognised they must be eventually; and with these three ultimate results: —that the usurer's trade will be abolished utterly,[3]—that the employer will be paid justly for his superintendence of labour, but not for his capital, and the landlord paid for his superintendence of the cultivation of land, when he is able to direct it wisely: that both he and the employer of mechanical labour, will be recognised as beloved masters, if they deserve love, and as noble guides when they are capable of giving discreet guidance; but neither will be permitted to establish themselves any more as senseless conduits through which the strength and riches of their native land are to be poured into the cup of the fornication[4] of its capital.

[1] [For Wandering Willie (*Redgauntlet*), see *Præterita*, iii., §§ 73, 74, 77 *n.*]
[2] [*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Introduction.]
[3] [On this subject, see above, p. xcviii.]
[4] [See Revelation xvii. 4.]

END OF VOLUME XVII

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